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# [***This Time, It May Actually Come Down to Turnout***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9F-5771-DXY4-X1ST-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1232 words

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

**Highlight:** Democrats have gained among high-turnout voters, while Donald Trump has made gains among groups that tend to show up only for presidential races, or not at all.

**Body**

Democrats have gained among high-turnout voters, while Donald Trump has made gains among groups that tend to show up only for presidential races, or not at all.

Every four years, the pundits say “it all comes down to turnout.” The line is such a cliché — it’s never inaccurate but also means nothing — that it’s sometimes a joke on social media.

This year, though, I’m not laughing. This time, the election really might come down to turnout.

Usually, this is not my view. If anything, I have tended to think of turnout as a somewhat overrated factor in explaining election results. The makeup of the electorate is relatively predictable; the big question is usually whom those voters will support. In Pennsylvania [*in 2022*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html), for instance, the same voters backed a Democrat for governor by 15 percentage points and another Democrat for Senate by five points, and backed Republicans in the U.S. House. This wide variation all came from the same turnout!

But this election seems different. As we’ve reported all cycle, Democrats [*excel*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html) among high-turnout voters, while Donald J. Trump is strong [*among*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html) relatively low-turnout voters. He’s made his biggest gains among low-turnout demographic groups like young men and nonwhite voters.

This pattern has held all the way to the final stretch.

In the most recent wave of New York Times/Siena College polls of key battlegrounds, Kamala Harris led collectively among voters who turned out in recent primaries or the 2022 midterms, while Mr. Trump had a 12-point lead among the 2020-but-not-2022 vote and a 19-point lead among those who didn’t vote in 2020 (but who were registered at the time; new registrants are evenly divided).

This is an extraordinary change from as recently as a decade ago, when Democrats were presumed to be the party that benefited from high turnout. During the Obama era, Democratic chances seemed to depend on mobilizing young, nonwhite and infrequent voters to the polls.

Now, all these familiar maxims have been turned upside down. As the prominent Democratic pollster Anna Greenberg [*put it*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html): “The Harris coalition rests on the most reliable voters (older, college educated). Trump needs every single low-propensity less educated young person to come out and vote for him.”

Ms. Harris can probably take it to the bank that primary-or-midterm voters will turn out in a presidential election. Those who didn’t vote in 2022, let alone 2020, are a little more iffy. Tens of millions of them will undoubtedly vote, but just how many — and exactly which ones — can easily decide the election.

In the extreme, the Times/Siena data suggests Mr. Trump could win the presidency, perhaps even fairly handily, if he could turn out all registered voters. To take a striking example: Ms. Harris or President Biden has never led a Times/Siena poll of registered voters in Michigan so far this cycle.

If, on the other hand, Ms. Harris could replay the midterm electorate, when more casual voters stayed home, she could easily win over 300 electoral votes and carry the swing states by a comfortable margin.

The broader demographic story of the election may also hinge on turnout. As we first [*reported a year ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html), Mr. Trump is faring surprisingly well among young, Black and Hispanic voters, but almost all of that strength is contained among those who sat out the midterms.

This is not simply about education: Even the college graduates who sat out the midterms were far likelier to say they backed Mr. Trump.

Of course, just because Mr. Trump leads among irregular voters does not necessarily mean he will win the irregular voters who decide to show up. In the midterms, Democrats managed to draw a disproportionately Democratic group of voters out of the pool of voters who didn’t vote in primaries. This time, it’s possible they could draw a disproportionately Democratic group out of the Republican-leaning pool of those who didn’t vote in the midterms.

Imagine, for instance, that the infrequent Black or young voters who say they back Mr. Trump in the polls generally don’t show up, while those who back Ms. Harris really do come to the polls. This does not strike me as especially far-fetched (and I wrote that sentence before a comedian at a Trump rally [*referred to*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html) Puerto Rico as an “island of garbage” and set off a torrent of social media criticism).

The Times/Siena polling suggests something like this is a real possibility. The poll asks voters how likely they are to vote, and Ms. Harris usually fares best among those who say they’re almost certain to vote, while Mr. Trump fares better among those who aren’t sure.

This should not be especially surprising, as Ms. Harris fares best among higher-turnout voters. What is more surprising is that this advantage penetrates even within different turnout groups. For instance, Mr. Trump leads by seven points among 2022 nonvoters who say they’re almost certain or very likely to vote, while he leads by 14 points among those who are less likely.

All of this information is incorporated into the Times/Siena poll, which estimates the likelihood people will vote by blending their track record of voting with whether they say they will vote in the coming election. Historically, both measures have independent value in predicting turnout. In this election, they point the same way: As a result, Ms. Harris has usually fared better among likely voters than registered voters in Times/Siena polling. We consistently find her ahead in Michigan, for instance, even as she consistently trails among registered voters.

This basic approach has validated well after elections: The electorate in the Times/Siena poll usually closely resembles the actual electorate, based on the final turnout data available months after the election. In fact, this is probably the one thing that hasn’t contributed to survey error in Times/Siena polling in recent cycles.

Nonetheless, this record does not necessarily mean anyone should be confident in this exact view of the electorate. In the past, Times/Siena polling hasn’t found such a stark relationship between these turnout measures and vote choice. As a result, it has been far less sensitive to these kind of choices — and the eventual turnout.

This cycle, it’s easy to see how this ends up going differently, with big consequences for the outcome and our understanding of the election. These scenarios can even be mixed and matched: What if white ***working-class*** people with no record of voting turn out for Mr. Trump, while the dissenting and disaffected young and Black voters stay home? In this scenario, many of the big demographic swings toward Mr. Trump that [*we’ve reported about*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html) this cycle might fade, but Mr. Trump could win nonetheless. There are countless other possibilities.

There’s another reason not to be so confident in how low-turnout voters will behave this cycle: They are also fairly likely to be undecided. Even during the last Times/Siena polls, they were far less likely to know whom they supported. As a consequence, they may have also been far less likely to know whether they would vote at all. As they decide, they may also decide to turn out — or not.

If these voters break one way or another as they tune in to the race, it’s easy to imagine how either side wins comfortably.

PHOTO: Who will have the hidden edge in turnout? Waiting in line to vote in Rochester, N.Y. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Matt Burkhartt for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Ocasio-Cortez, Once an Outsider, Gets a Prime-Time Slot***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSG-W9D1-JBG3-6010-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

In a prime-time speech, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez gave a forceful endorsement of Kamala Harris.

Four years ago, Democrats allotted Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York a scant 90 seconds to speak at their convention. She used it to symbolically nominate Senator Bernie Sanders for president and never mentioned Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s name.

So when Ms. Ocasio-Cortez took the convention stage on Monday night in Chicago shortly before Hillary Clinton, her prime-time speaking slot offered a vivid display of how far the Democratic Party and the leader of its progressive wing have moved to embrace each other since 2020.

Greeted with chants of ''A-O-C,'' Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, a democratic socialist who made her name by taking on the Democratic establishment, delivered an affectionate tribute to Mr. Biden, laced into Donald J. Trump and forcefully endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris as a champion of working Americans.

''We know Trump would sell this country for a dollar if it meant lining his own pockets and greasing palms of his Wall Street friends,'' Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said. ''And I, for one, am tired of hearing about how a two-bit union buster thinks of himself as more of a patriot than the woman who fights every single day to lift working people out from under the boots of greed trampling on our way of life.''

She added: ''The truth is, Don, you cannot love this country if you only fight for the wealthy and big business.''

The thunderous applause that followed would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. At their last convention, Democrats seemed more comfortable spotlighting Republicans supporting Mr. Biden than a young leftist like Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, whose policies and rhetoric they feared would alienate moderate swing voters.

Since then, though, she has worked closely with the White House on economic and climate policy, served as a Biden surrogate and increasingly won over allies in Democratic leadership -- sometimes at the expense of leftist support.

Her allies say the shift reflects Ms. Ocasio-Cortez's pragmatic streak as well as the party's growing willingness to embrace its left flank. An aide to the congresswoman said the party had proactively invited her to speak at the convention and had made no effort to edit or temper her remarks.

For her part, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, 34, largely sidestepped painful fissures with her party over the war in Gaza that have cast a shadow over the convention. The congresswoman has been a vocal critic of the war, which has killed tens of thousands of Palestinians over the past 10 months, and has led calls to cut off American military aid to Israel. But, even as pro-Palestinian demonstrators gathered in Chicago to protest outside the convention, she conspicuously credited Ms. Harris with ''working tirelessly to secure a cease-fire in Gaza and bring the hostages home.''

Instead, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez focused her attention on ***working-class*** voters. She leaned on her own biography, reminding viewers that only ''six years ago, I was taking omelet orders as a waitress in New York City.'' Ms. Harris, she said, rose from a similar background.

''To love this country is to fight for its people -- all people, working people, everyday Americans like bartenders and factory workers and fast-food cashiers who punch a clock and are on their feet all day in some of the toughest jobs out there,'' the congresswoman said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/nyregion/aoc-dnc-speech-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/nyregion/aoc-dnc-speech-harris.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York gave a forceful endorsement of Vice President Kamala Harris. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

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[***JD Smirks His Way Into the Future***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-C9N1-DXY4-X2MX-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 952 words

**Byline:** By Maureen Dowd

**Body**

When I've covered the campaigns of women on presidential tickets, the question invariably arises: ''Is she tough enough to be commander in chief?''

With the bubbly Geraldine Ferraro, a lot of voters had their doubts.

There was less worry with Hillary Clinton. She was a gold-plated hawk who voted to let President George W. Bush invade Iraq and persuaded President Barack Obama to join in bombing Muammar el-Qaddafi's Libya.

It is not surprising, with cascading conflicts, that Republicans are leveling the toughness question at Kamala Harris. This week the Trump/Vance campaign released an ad called ''Weakness.'' (Donald Trump also ran an ad called ''Weakness'' against Nikki Haley, a hawk.)

The ad's subtext is clearly gender, trying to exploit Kamala's problems winning over Black and white ***working-class*** men.

In a Times/Siena College poll last month, 55 percent of respondents said Trump was respected by foreign leaders while 47 percent said that of Harris.

The ad claims Harris is not tough enough to deal with China, Russia, Iran or Hamas. It features actors playing Vladimir Putin, Hamas fighters and a tea-sipping ayatollah watching videos of the candidate who wants to be the first woman president. It ends with four clips of Kamala dancing -- a lot better than Trump does -- and a clip of Trump walking on a tarmac with a military officer and a Secret Service agent. The tag line is: ''America doesn't need another TikTok performer. We need the strength that will protect us.''

Even though Trump lives in a miasma of self-pity and his businesses often ended up in bankruptcy, somehow his fans mistake his swagger and sneers for machismo. What a joke. Trump is the one who caves, a foreign policy weakling and stooge of Putin.

This weekend, he is martyr-milking the one moment where he did show courage, the assassination attempt in Butler, Pa., by returning to the crime scene and treating it as hallowed ground for his quasi-religious lion imagery. After vowing at the convention to never discuss the event again -- ''It's actually too painful to tell'' -- he wants to wallow in accolades from Elon Musk and JD Vance, and sell more of his $299 ''FIGHT FIGHT FIGHT'' high-tops depicting his bloody face and raised fist.

His new ad slams Harris for ''anti-Israel statements'' that Hamas will use as a green light ''to keep murdering Israelis.''

But Harris has said she would always stand up for Israel's right to defend itself and she praised Israel's killing of Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah, saying he was ''a terrorist with American blood on his hands.''

She has, however, shown more sympathy for Palestinians than has Joe Biden. In a Trumpworld that thrives on mendacity, demonizing and dividing, sympathy is weakness.

Unless you need to fake it to improve your favorability numbers -- like Vance did in his debate against Tim Walz.

David Axelrod had predicted it would be a match between a Labrador retriever and a coyote. But there were two Labs onstage.

Vance's performance was chilling. Once I thought Trump would be an aberration for Republicans. But on Tuesday night, I saw the future of the party and it was lies piled on lies, and darkness swallowing darkness.

Vance seemed like a replicant. There was no sign of the smarmy right-wing troll who said Harris ''can go to hell'' and told CNN's Dana Bash that he created stories about migrants eating cats and dogs to dramatize a narrative that helps the Republican ticket. (A racist narrative.)

His views against abortion are adamantine and, until recently, he was an I.V.F. opponent. He has a bizarre, degrading view of the role of women in American society.

But on Tuesday night, he put on a mask of likability and empathy. ''Christ have mercy, it is awful,'' Vance said, looking down and shaking his head, when Walz told of his teenage son witnessing a shooting.

The chameleon brought back the JD Vance who was the darling of Hollywood, when ''Hillbilly Elegy'' was made into a movie, before he ambitiously code-switched into a Trumper. His wife, Usha, a debate adviser, helped him craft a persona that made him more palatable to women.

He was wily and deceptive in how he talked about abortion, stressing that women needed ''options'' and sending his love to an old friend who he said had had an abortion.

One woman in the CNN focus group was impressed with his empathy and talk of options, saying she was surprised and encouraged that Vance sounded so ''progressive.''

But before the 40-year-old JD teamed up with the 78-year-old Donald, his abortion position was draconian. For women in the wrong states, the need to get an abortion is a terrifying prospect that could lead to death, if you are denied the proper treatment. And treatment is harder to get because doctors fear going to jail.

It's remarkable, given Vance's compassionate tone in his book, and his plea that the people of Appalachia be understood rather than ridiculed, how easily he morphed into someone with no compassion, stereotyping migrants and women.

After nearly 90 minutes of being lulled by Vance's sham persona, Walz finally ripped his opponent's mask off when Vance refused to say Trump lost the last election.

''Tim,'' Vance protested, ''I'm focused on the future.''

It was the truest thing Vance said in a night of lying about his own positions and mythical Trump achievements.

Vance was focused on the future -- his own.

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

**Load-Date:** October 6, 2024

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[***Tiny Homes Face the Ax in Hong Kong, Leaving Many Families Worried***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBP-9TR1-DXY4-X1WV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 5, 2024 Tuesday 22:52 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 1364 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:** 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.

**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*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/02/world/asia/hong-kong-protest-photos.html).

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*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/02/world/asia/hong-kong-protest-photos.html).

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*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/02/world/asia/hong-kong-protest-photos.html) 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.”

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 6, 2024

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[***How Can We Save the Best Parts of Our Cities?; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJ2-DC51-JBG3-61GW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 30, 2024 Saturday 21:48 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 2163 words

**Byline:** Michael KimmelmanMichael Kimmelman is The Times&amp;#8217;s architecture critic and the founder and editor-at-large of , a team of journalists focused on large global challenges and paths to progress. He has reported from more than 40 countries and was previously chief art critic.

**Highlight:** A gay bar. A bookstore. Fresh salt air. We could learn to preserve what matters most to people.

**Body**

In April 1969, two months before police officers raided a gay bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village called the [*Stonewall Inn*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/), 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) on its national list of Intangible Cultural Property. The [*Ise Shrine*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/), 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/), 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) fund, as part of a program adopted in [*two dozen*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/), 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/),” 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) populations, for example.

[*Certain energy codes*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/) 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/), 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*](https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/stonewall-inn-christopher-park/),” edited by Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel, which NYRB will publish Dec. 10.

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** December 4, 2024

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[***JD Smirks His Way Into the Future; Maureen Dowd***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D44-6XB1-JBG3-64G6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 5, 2024 Saturday 12:09 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 943 words

**Highlight:** The misogynist ticket takes a shot at Kamala for dancing — and being a woman.

**Body**

When I’ve covered the campaigns of women on presidential tickets, the question invariably arises: “Is she tough enough to be commander in chief?”

With the bubbly Geraldine Ferraro, a lot of voters had their doubts.

There was less worry with Hillary Clinton. She was a gold-plated hawk who voted to let President George W. Bush invade Iraq and persuaded President Barack Obama to join in bombing Muammar el-Qaddafi’s Libya.

It is not surprising, with cascading conflicts, that Republicans are leveling the toughness question at Kamala Harris. This week the Trump/Vance campaign released an ad called “Weakness.” (Donald Trump also ran an ad called “Weakness” against Nikki Haley, a hawk.)

The ad’s subtext is clearly gender, trying to exploit Kamala’s problems winning over Black and white ***working-class*** men.

In a [*Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/19/us/elections/times-siena-poll-likely-electorate-crosstabs.html) last month, 55 percent of respondents said Trump was respected by foreign leaders while 47 percent said that of Harris.

The ad claims Harris is not tough enough to deal with China, Russia, Iran or Hamas. It features actors playing Vladimir Putin, Hamas fighters and a tea-sipping ayatollah watching videos of the candidate who wants to be the first woman president. It ends with four clips of Kamala dancing — a lot better than Trump does — and a clip of Trump walking on a tarmac with a military officer and a Secret Service agent. The tag line is: “America doesn’t need another TikTok performer. We need the strength that will protect us.”

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She has, however, shown more sympathy for Palestinians than has Joe Biden. In a Trumpworld that thrives on mendacity, demonizing and dividing, sympathy is weakness.

Unless you need to fake it to improve your favorability numbers — like Vance did in his debate against Tim Walz.

David Axelrod had predicted it would be a match between a Labrador retriever and a coyote. But there were two Labs onstage.

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The chameleon brought back the JD Vance who was the darling of Hollywood, when “Hillbilly Elegy” was made into a movie, before he ambitiously code-switched into a Trumper. His wife, Usha, a debate adviser, helped him craft a persona that made him more palatable to women.

He was wily and deceptive in how he talked about abortion, stressing that women needed “options” and sending his love to an old friend who he said had had an abortion.

One woman in the CNN focus group was impressed with his empathy and talk of options, saying she was surprised and encouraged that Vance sounded so “progressive.”

But before the 40-year-old JD teamed up with the 78-year-old Donald, his abortion position was draconian. For women in the wrong states, the need to get an abortion is a terrifying prospect that could lead to death, if you are denied the proper treatment. And treatment is harder to get because doctors fear going to jail.

It’s remarkable, given Vance’s compassionate tone in his book, and his plea that the people of Appalachia be understood rather than ridiculed, how easily he morphed into someone with no compassion, stereotyping migrants and women.

After nearly 90 minutes of being lulled by Vance’s sham persona, Walz finally ripped his opponent’s mask off when Vance refused to say Trump lost the last election.

“Tim,” Vance protested, “I’m focused on the future.”

It was the truest thing Vance said in a night of lying about his own positions and mythical Trump achievements.

Vance was focused on the future — his own.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/19/us/elections/times-siena-poll-likely-electorate-crosstabs.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/interactive/2024/09/19/us/elections/times-siena-poll-likely-electorate-crosstabs.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/19/us/elections/times-siena-poll-likely-electorate-crosstabs.html).

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This article appeared in print on page SR3.

**Load-Date:** October 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Lauded Works Flesh Out Film Festival Lineup***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNR-6H51-DXY4-X0K0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 8, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 541 words

**Byline:** By Annie Aguiar

**Body**

Top titles from Cannes and Berlin, like Sean Baker's ''Anora'' and Mati Diop's ''Dahomey,'' join new work by Pedro Almodóvar, Steve McQueen and RaMell Ross.

This fall's New York Film Festival will feature celebrated prizewinners from Cannes and the Berlinale, organizers announced Tuesday, unveiling a main slate that will join new works from the filmmakers Pedro Almodóvar, Steve McQueen and RaMell Ross.

The festival, which runs Sept. 27 to Oct. 14, will screen films from 24 countries and include two world premieres, five North American premieres and 17 American premieres.

Ross's film, ''The Nickel Boys,'' is an adaptation of Colson Whitehead's Pulitzer Prize-winning 2019 novel about two Black teenagers in a Jim Crow-era Florida reform school. It's the opening-night selection. Almodóvar's ''The Room Next Door,'' about a rekindled friendship between women played by Julianne Moore and Tilda Swinton, will be the centerpiece. And the festival will close with Steve McQueen's ''Blitz,'' starring Saoirse Ronan as a ***working-class*** single mother in London who gets separated from her 9-year-old son during World War II.

Winners from Cannes and the Berlin Film Festival feature heavily in the festival's main slate lineup.

Cannes imports include the Palme d'Or winner ''Anora,'' from Sean Baker; the Grand Prix winner ''All We Imagine as Light'' from Payal Kapadia; best director winner Miguel Gomes's ''Grand Tour''; the two best-director winners from the Un Certain Regard section, Roberto Minervini with ''The Damned'' and Rungano Nyoni with ''On Becoming a Guinea Fowl''; and special prize winner ''The Seed of the Sacred Fig'' from Mohammad Rasoulof.

Berlinale veterans playing in New York include the Golden Bear prizewinner ''Dahomey,'' a documentary from Mati Diop about the complicated postcolonial legacy of artifacts from the former African kingdom; Philippe Lesage's Quebecois coming-of-age drama, ''Who by Fire''; and the documentary ''No Other Land,'' about the destruction of West Bank villages by the Israeli military, made over five years by a Palestinian-Israeli collective.

Two festival mainstays, the filmmakers Hong Sang-soo and Wang Bing, will each have two films playing this fall.

Hong is bringing ''By the Stream,'' about a former film director, and ''A Traveler's Needs,'' which won the Silver Bear Grand Jury Prize at the Berlinale and stars Isabelle Huppert as an inexperienced French teacher in a Seoul suburb. (Hong also showed two films last year.)

The second and third parts of Wang's observational nonfiction ''Youth'' trilogy, titled ''Youth (Hard Times)'' and ''Youth (Homecoming)'' and focused on migrant textile workers in the Chinese district of Zhili, will also screen at the festival. The first part of the trilogy, ''Youth (Spring),'' was included in last year's lineup.

''The most notable thing about the films in the main slate -- and in the other sections that we will announce in the coming weeks -- is the degree to which they emphasize cinema's relationship to reality,'' the festival's artistic director Dennis Lim said in a news release. ''They are reminders that, in the hands of its most vital practitioners, film has the capacity to reckon with, intervene in and reimagine the world.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/movies/new-york-film-festival-sean-baker-anora.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/movies/new-york-film-festival-sean-baker-anora.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Tilda Swinton, far left, and Julianne Moore in Pedro Almodóvar's ''The Room Next Door.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY IGLESIAS MÁS/EL DESEO, VIA NEW YORK FILM FESTIVAL) This article appeared in print on page C2.

**Load-Date:** August 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Ocasio-Cortez, Once an Outsider, Takes Center Stage at Convention***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS8-5BD1-DXY4-X01B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 19, 2024 Monday 05:48 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 565 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Fandos Nicholas Fandos is a Times reporter covering New York politics and government.

**Highlight:** In a prime-time speech, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez gave a forceful endorsement of Kamala Harris.

**Body**

In a prime-time speech, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez gave a forceful endorsement of Kamala Harris.

Four years ago, Democrats allotted Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York [*a scant 90 seconds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/18/us/politics/aoc-bernie-sanders-nomination-speech.html) to speak at their convention. She used it to symbolically nominate Senator Bernie Sanders for president and never mentioned Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s name.

So when Ms. Ocasio-Cortez took the convention stage on Monday night in Chicago shortly before Hillary Clinton, her prime-time speaking slot offered a vivid display of how far the Democratic Party and the leader of its progressive wing have moved to embrace each other since 2020.

Greeted with chants of “A-O-C,” Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, a democratic socialist who made her name by taking on the Democratic establishment, delivered an affectionate tribute to Mr. Biden, laced into Donald J. Trump and forcefully endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris as a champion of working Americans.

“We know Trump would sell this country for a dollar if it meant lining his own pockets and greasing palms of his Wall Street friends,” Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said. “And I, for one, am tired of hearing about how a two-bit union buster thinks of himself as more of a patriot than the woman who fights every single day to lift working people out from under the boots of greed trampling on our way of life.”

She added: “The truth is, Don, you cannot love this country if you only fight for the wealthy and big business.”

The thunderous applause that followed would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. At their last convention, Democrats seemed more comfortable spotlighting Republicans supporting Mr. Biden than a young leftist like Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, whose policies and rhetoric they feared would alienate moderate swing voters.

Since then, though, she has worked closely with the White House on economic and climate policy, served as a Biden surrogate and increasingly won over allies in Democratic leadership — sometimes [*at the expense of leftist support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/18/us/politics/aoc-bernie-sanders-nomination-speech.html).

Her allies say the shift reflects Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s pragmatic streak as well as the party’s growing willingness to embrace its left flank. An aide to the congresswoman said the party had proactively invited her to speak at the convention and had made no effort to edit or temper her remarks.

For her part, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, 34, largely sidestepped painful fissures with her party over the war in Gaza that have cast a shadow over the convention. The congresswoman has been [*a vocal critic of the war*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/18/us/politics/aoc-bernie-sanders-nomination-speech.html), which has killed tens of thousands of Palestinians over the past 10 months, and has led calls to cut off American military aid to Israel. But, even as pro-Palestinian demonstrators gathered in Chicago to protest outside the convention, she conspicuously credited Ms. Harris with “working tirelessly to secure a cease-fire in Gaza and bring the hostages home.”

Instead, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez focused her attention on ***working-class*** voters. She leaned on her own biography, reminding viewers that only “six years ago, I was taking omelet orders as a waitress in New York City.” Ms. Harris, she said, rose from a similar background.

“To love this country is to fight for its people — all people, working people, everyday Americans like bartenders and factory workers and fast-food cashiers who punch a clock and are on their feet all day in some of the toughest jobs out there,” the congresswoman said.

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump's Transformation of the Republican Party Is Complete***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHX-M5K1-DXY4-X2FN-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. 4; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1816 words

**Byline:** By Michael Lind

**Body**

Can Trumpism outlast Donald Trump? The selection of Senator JD Vance of Ohio as his running mate suggests that the answer is yes.

Even the most successful political parties are coalitions of odd bedfellows and competing interests. But parties risk decline if they cannot attract new voters or if they suppress internal debates. The Republican Party Mr. Trump inherited in 2016 had been defined by free market ideology and neoconservative foreign policy for a generation: From Ronald Reagan through both Bushes to Mitt Romney, mainstream conservatism pursued a narrow agenda of tax and entitlement cuts at home and wars of regime change abroad. Mr. Trump's election was a clear if unexpected breaking of that mold. The only question was whether his legacy would dissipate whenever he eventually left politics or give birth to a true and lasting political movement.

Now we know the answer. The Republican Party we saw in Milwaukee this past week has been fundamentally changed. With Mr. Vance at his back, leading a new counterestablishment that Mr. Vance helped shape, Mr. Trump has cemented his legacy -- and transformed the Republican Party.

Until recently, there was no counterestablishment in the Republican Party. There was merely a populist counterculture.

A counterestablishment is a government in waiting. Its goal is to win power through elections and then to staff government agencies with political appointees or career civil servants who have the expertise, discipline and bureaucratic skill to carry out a shared policy agenda.

Countercultures, whether of the right or the left, prefer performance to power. For some countercultural purists, protest is an end in itself. Working within the existing system is often seen as a betrayal of principle.

Others view counterculture as a source of profit rather than power. Since the 1990s, the rise of shock-jock radio, Rupert Murdoch's Fox channel and more recently Twitter and other social media platforms have provided celebrity and riches to populist Republicans who ''own the libs'' for an audience of true believers. It is not surprising that many young conservatives have dreamed of being the next Rush Limbaugh or Ben Shapiro, instead of a deputy assistant secretary of state.

The few more intellectual members of this group debated philosophical questions with no effect whatsoever on tax policy or military strategy. Until recently, these populists had been frozen out of the Republican establishment, which outsourced the serious thinking about policy to two groups, neither of them particularly conservative. Domestic policy under the two Bushes was turned over to libertarians, while foreign policy was dominated by neoconservatives. In my experience, many Republican officials, like almost all explicitly libertarian activists and pundits, have long been social as well as economic liberals, favoring sexual freedom and freedom of drug use, as well as free trade and open borders, even if Republicans in government paid lip service to the values of the religious right. For their part, those who came to be known as neoconservatives, like my former employer Irving Kristol and my mentor Daniel Patrick Moynihan, were mostly former Cold War liberals whose ideal was a foreign policy underpinned by Wilsonian liberal internationalism.

Mr. Trump won the Republican nomination and then the presidency in 2016 by rejecting almost everything those two groups stood for. Unlike other Republican candidates, he had denounced the Iraq war and the toleration of illegal immigration favored by some business interests and promised not to cut Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid. But once in Washington, with no one waiting in the wings to fill thousands of posts in the White House and executive agencies, he was forced to rely on Reagan and Bush veterans, many of whom quietly opposed his policies.

To provide an alternative to the Republican establishment, a new counterestablishment on the right has emerged since Mr. Trump's 2016 victory. Variously called populists, national conservatives or postliberals, these mostly young dissidents worked at think tanks like Oren Cass's American Compass; journals like American Affairs, Compact and Tablet; advocacy groups like the America First Policy Institute; and American Moment, founded by Saurabh Sharma and Nick Solheim to supply a new, more populist and nationalist generation to replace legacy Reaganites and corporate lobbyists.

Mr. Trump's chief contribution was to prove by his example that Republican candidates could depart from Reaganite orthodoxy and be rewarded at the ballot box. Not all of the architects of this movement supported him. Julius Krein, the editor and a co-founder of American Affairs, repudiated Mr. Trump early in his presidency. But following his election, a small but influential faction of Republican elected officials emerged in Congress, including some like Senators Marco Rubio and Josh Hawley who had been skeptical of the old orthodoxy before Mr. Trump ran for president the first time. In the past few years, Mr. Hawley and Bernie Sanders cosponsored a second $1,200 round of Covid stimulus checks, Mr. Rubio supported a measure by Mr. Sanders to guarantee railway workers paid sick leave, and Mr. Hawley, Mr. Rubio and Mr. Sanders have all favored expanding the child tax credit.

JD Vance is unique in having played a role in both the intellectual and political arenas. Before being elected to the Senate from Ohio, he was a friend and ally of many of the insurgent conservative intellectuals and a speaker at National Conservatism conferences organized by the Edmund Burke Foundation's Yoram Hazony and his colleagues. And for a time, he was a board member of American Moment, the institution devoted to training government operatives rather than TV talking heads.

I first met Mr. Vance in the fall of 2016 before the election, when Hillary Clinton was expected to win, at a conference on the future of work and family policy held at New America, the nonpartisan think tank I co-founded. At the time, Mr. Vance was one of Mr. Trump's fiercest critics. But while his perception of Mr. Trump has changed, in the near-decade I have known him, his views on issues like industrial, labor and family policy have been aligned with the evolving consensus of the new Republican counterestablishment.

Having criticized the dysfunctional culture of his Appalachian kin and Rust Belt neighbors in ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' Mr. Vance, like his allies, has added an emphasis on the harm done to ***working-class*** Americans of all backgrounds by structural changes such as the offshoring of industry and the decline of the bargaining power of workers. The two ideas are complementary, inasmuch as bad economic structures can engender a culture of poverty. In the words of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who like Mr. Vance was an intellectual politician from a broken ***working-class*** family: ''The central conservative truth is that it is culture, not politics, that determines the success of a society. The central liberal truth is that politics can change a culture and save it from itself.''

The growing influence of this New Right was evident at the Republican National Convention, where Mr. Vance's address and the opening keynote speech by the Teamsters president, Sean O'Brien, proved that the Reagan-to-Romney era had ended.

To be sure, the Republican Party remains a coalition of sometimes conflicting factions and subcultures, united by opposition to the Democrats. And Mr. Trump himself is often inconsistent.

But while his control of the G.O.P. is far from total, for better or worse, Mr. Trump is the undisputed political leader of America's newest populist movement, in the way that William Jennings Bryan was the tribune of turn-of-the-century populism and Andrew Jackson the figurehead of Jacksonian democracy. (Perhaps coincidentally, Mr. Trump, like Bryan and Jackson, has been nominated for president three times.) The American populist movements that Jackson and Bryan led outlasted them and transformed America. Mr. Trump's version of populism, like theirs, is likely to last because it mobilizes outsiders, including many ***working-class*** voters of all races who feel their interests have been neglected and their values have been ignored by post-Reagan Republicans and post-Clinton Democrats.

Incendiary rhetoric aside, Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance are more moderate on many issues than their recent Republican predecessors. Their combination of support for the military and skepticism about unwinnable ''forever wars'' makes them realists, not isolationists. In seeking to enforce existing laws against illegal immigration, they evoke the bipartisan consensus that led Democratic Senators Joe Biden, Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton to vote for a border fence in 2006. George W. Bush led the assault on gay marriage and gay rights; Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance, while opposed to sex-change operations for children, have welcomed gay and lesbian supporters. In 2003, Republicans in Congress barred Medicare from negotiating prescription drug prices; Mr. Vance favors such price-lowering negotiations, and in 2020, Mr. Trump signed an executive order promoting lower drug prices.

Even if the Trump-Vance ticket doesn't win this year, Mr. Vance's nomination as vice president makes him a leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination in 2028. The distress that Mr. Vance's nomination has caused the editors of The Wall Street Journal, National Review and other organs of legacy Reaganism shows that the old Republican establishment and the donors who fund it will continue to fight for a restoration of libertarian economics and neoconservative foreign policy.

The activist base of the G.O.P. is still dominated by many small-business owners who may not like big corporations and banks but also view trade unions and high wages as mortal threats. And the national conservative insurgency, under Mr. Trump or a successor, may yet fizzle out. Many would-be revolutionaries of right, left and center in Washington have ended up as burned-out lobbyists in middle age.

But Mr. Trump's choice of Mr. Vance has made one thing certain: Mr. Trump's legacy will be not just a family dynasty or an ephemeral cult of personality, but also a political movement, with JD Vance as one of its most formidable leaders.

Michael Lind is a contributor to Tablet, a fellow at New America and the author of ''The New Class War: Saving Democracy From the Managerial Elite.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/20/opinion/trump-republican-party.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/20/opinion/trump-republican-party.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY THALASSA RAASCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR4.

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[***Once China’s ‘Worst Nightmare,’ Labor Activist Refuses to Back Down; The Global Profile***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCS-5XB1-DXY4-X270-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday 17:55 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 1454 words

**Byline:** Alexandra StevensonAlexandra Stevenson is the Shanghai bureau chief for The Times, reporting on China&amp;#8217;s economy and society.

**Highlight:** 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.”

**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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/30/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-explain.html) and [*dismantled the protections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/30/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-explain.html) 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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/30/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-explain.html): 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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/30/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-explain.html), 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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/30/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-explain.html).

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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/30/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-explain.html) 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.”

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.

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[***Trump Won, So Would-Be Migrants Hurry North or Opt to Stay Home***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62FV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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

**Length:** 1480 words

**Byline:** By Julie Turkewitz, Emiliano Rodríguez Mega and Genevieve Glatsky

**Body**

This Sunday was the day that Daniel García, a Venezuelan delivery worker living in the capital of Colombia, had planned to begin an arduous land journey toward the United States.

Then Donald J. Trump became president-elect, and everything changed. Unsure if he could make it to the border before Mr. Trump's inauguration, and fearful that he would be turned away once Mr. Trump was in office, Mr. García, 31, has decided to stay put.

''It is a very high investment,'' he said of the journey north, which he figured would cost him $2,500, about a year's savings. ''I prefer not to risk it,'' he added.

With Mr. Trump now headed back to the White House, many potential migrants are rethinking their plans, while border officials are working hard to understand what a Trump presidency will mean for the number of people trying to make it the United States.

Mr. Trump made a broad crackdown on immigration a pillar of his campaign -- a message that spread around the world.

In Mexico, humanitarian groups and migration officials are preparing for a possible rush of migrants to the United States before he assumes the presidency in January.

''The vast majority of those in Mexico are going to try to get to the border,'' said Irineo Mujica, the Mexico director of People Without Borders, a transnational advocacy group. ''The door definitely closes now, and a lot of them are going to try to make a run for it.''

But it is too early to tell if that surge will actually materialize. Online, in Facebook and WhatsApp groups where potential migrants share information, smugglers are using Mr. Trump's election to urge people to use their services -- now.

''There's still time,'' said one smuggler in a WhatsApp group for potential migrants that has more than 400 members.

A person in good health, with some savings and luck, can make it from South America to the U.S. border in about two months.

If the person is kidnapped, robbed or assaulted -- common experiences for migrants, particularly when passing through Mexico -- it can take longer.

And, of course, many migrants never even get close to the U.S.-Mexico border. They are deported, stopped by Mexican authorities or become victims of injuries -- or worse.

Some people who had considered the journey, however, said they have already decided that Mr. Trump's election means that they will not try to make it to the United States, by illegal or legal means. Some said they feared deportation, or simply an unwelcoming climate.

Mr. Trump has blamed immigrants for many problems in the United States, like crime and rising housing costs, and has vowed to carry out the largest mass deportation effort in the country's history.

In Maracaibo, Venezuela's second largest city, Josefina Quintero, 59, said her daughter had left for the United States years ago and had urged her to consider applying for a legal entry program known as humanitarian parole so the family could be reunited.

Ms. Quintero, who makes about $20 a week doing cleaning work, never applied. She worried about leaving her 90-year-old father, who has dementia, and she now believes that Mr. Trump will end the program.

''That dream is gone. I have to settle with staying,'' she said. ''It hurts me not to meet my grandchildren in person, to never hug them. I will continue talking to them by video call until there is a new opportunity.''

Migration at the U.S. southern border surged to record levels under the Biden administration, fueled by poverty and conflict in countries like Venezuela and Ecuador. Another factor has been the growing popularity of a route through the Darién Gap, the jungle straddling South and North Americas that was once a formidable physical barrier for people who sought to trek to the United States.

Mr. Trump blasted the Biden administration's border and migration policies, calling them too lax. On the route to the United States over the past two years, many Venezuelans have told New York Times reporters that part of their decision to make the journey had to do with a belief that Mr. Biden had created a special border entry policy for people from their country.

In 2022, apprehensions of migrants at the southern border surged to 2.2 million, feeding discontent in the United States and becoming a centerpiece of the November presidential election.

Crossings at the U.S. southern border have slowed in recent months, as the Biden administration cracked down, narrowing options for claiming asylum and encouraging countries along the route to make it more difficult for people to pass through. The administration has also expanded legal entry programs.

The Mexican government has made it particularly arduous for people to traverse the nation, sending migrants who arrive in the northern part of the country back to distant southern regions, and creating what one researcher called a ''migratory carousel.''

In this loop, migrants have to cross Mexico again and again to make it to the U.S. border, worn down in each attempt by criminal groups that use violence to extract money. In some cases, they have become the victims of migration officials and even the armed forces.

Some people who had considered migrating in recent months said a growing understanding about the risks of the route -- and not Mr. Trump's election -- ultimately swayed them against making the journey.

Berky Silva, 49, who lives in a ***working-class*** part of Caracas, the Venezuelan capital, said two relatives, a father and son, had left recently for the United States, fleeing a wave of repression inside the country.

The last she heard of them, in early November, they had been kidnapped in Mexico and needed $4,000 to be freed.

Facing this kind of violence on the route, only to face ''xenophobia or being illegal'' once she arrived in the United States, she said, ''is not something I want to experience.''

Some would-be migrants said they were considering staying put for a different reason: A number of Venezuelans said they viewed Mr. Trump's election as potentially positive for their country.

They thought the incoming president might be able to oust their nation's autocrat, Nicolás Maduro, eliminating the need to leave. (Analysts say this is unlikely to happen.)

Pedro Ron, 28, a delivery worker from Venezuela who lives in Bogotá, the Colombian capital, said his neighborhood was full of celebrating Venezuelans on Nov. 6, the day after Mr. Trump's victory

''We all cried when we heard the result,'' he said. ''Everybody was like, 'I hope Trump lends a hand to help.'''

U.S. border apprehensions may be down, but there are still thousands of people already en route to the United States and many others who say they have migration plans firmly in place -- no matter who the president is.

In Ecuador, Javier Olivo, 50, a construction worker from Guayaquil, a large city on the country's Pacific Coast, said that because of his country's security problems -- an expanding narcotrafficking industry has unleashed a surge of violence -- he had been thinking for years about heading to the United States.

Now, frequent electricity cuts -- caused by a historic drought that has been made worse by climate change -- have increased his desire to leave.

While he had heard that Mr. Trump planned to treat migrants with a ''heavy hand,'' he said that the decision to go to the United States with his wife had ''already been made.''

''With God's help, we hope things go well for us there,'' he said. His trip is planned for May.

There are now three migrant caravans in southern Mexico heading north -- the largest of them with about 1,600 people, according to the United Nations Refugee Agency.

More caravans, which migrants often join for protection against criminal groups, are expected to come together in the next few days, said Luis Rey García Villagrán, a migrant advocate who has helped organize them for years.

At a shelter in the Mexican border city of Tijuana, Rosalba Magallón, 45, said she used to sell quesadillas in the Mexican state of Michoacán, until cartel members burned her house when she refused to pay extortion fees.

It did not matter that Trump was about to become president, she said. She fears that cartel gunmen may have followed her to Tijuana, and thinks the United States is the only place she might find safety.

''I fled, and now I live in uncertainty,'' she said. ''We are obviously worried about the arrival of Trump, but I can't go back.''

Reporting was contributed by Aline Corpus from Tijuana, Mexico; Jody García from Guatemala City; Sheyla Urdaneta from Maracaibo, Venezuela; Isayen Herrera from Caracas, Venezuela; and Thalíe Ponce from Guayaquil, Ecuador.Reporting was contributed by Aline Corpus from Tijuana, Mexico; Jody García from Guatemala City; Sheyla Urdaneta from Maracaibo, Venezuela; Isayen Herrera from Caracas, Venezuela; and Thalíe Ponce from Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/09/world/americas/trump-immigration-migrants-border.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/09/world/americas/trump-immigration-migrants-border.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Daniel García, a Venezuelan, decided to remain in Colombia rather than try to reach the United States. Left, migrants in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, looking for a place to cross the border in July. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NATHALIA ANGARITA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PAUL RATJE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2024

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[***How Power Shoulders Tell a Story of This Campaign; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB9-D5J1-DXY4-X0J9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1420 words

**Byline:** Derek Guy

**Highlight:** Padded shoulders originated in military and hunting attire. But they’ve come to communicate so much more, creating a silhouette embraced by both candidates.

**Body**

This is an installment of Visual Studies, a series that explores how images move through and shape culture.

In terms of personality and policy, Kamala Harris and Donald Trump are starkly contrasting figures. Yet they’ve often had one thing in common: a silhouette that features powerfully padded shoulders.

For 150 years, the size of a suit jacket’s shoulder pad — which exists today as a small, simple, triangular shaped piece of material stuffed with wadding — has fluctuated in response to fashion trends. But in this year’s election, the power shoulder has become a potent, multifaceted symbol.

The complex history of the power shoulder means it can convey confidence, power and authority. But it can also conjure swagger, playful subversion and an outsider’s defiance of an established order.

For both candidates, this strong silhouette offers the opportunity to shape a defining image: for Mr. Trump, as a billionaire who positions himself as anti-establishment; for Ms. Harris, as a formidable figure who more than belongs in a realm once reserved for men.

That may seem like a lot of meaning to put on a pair of shoulder pads — but the power shoulder can bear it.

The semiotics of a square shoulder as a powerful silhouette has its roots in utilitarian clothing. Military uniforms have long used [*epaulets*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epaulette) as a way to communicate rank. In Britain, tailoring houses such as H. Huntsman &amp; Sons and Gieves &amp; Hawkes stuffed their equestrian, hunting and military attire with thick shoulder pads designed to soften with wear.

In 1912, King George V, seen here, appointed Gieves &amp; Hawkes to make [*the square-shouldered uniforms*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epaulette) for the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen at Arms, the bodyguard of the monarchy.

In the late 1800s in the United States, college football players began wearing protective gear across their shoulders, which lent an imposing square-shouldered look. As a visual statement, the square shoulder as a projection of strength and power spread across borders and social classes.

In the 1956 film “The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit,” Gregory Peck starred as a company man struggling with the conformity of a white-collar life. Men of his character’s social class would have typically worn the soft-shouldered tailoring made popular by Brooks Brothers — a look associated with WASP morality.

But Peck’s suit for the film was cut for him by H. Huntsman &amp; Sons, whose generous use of shoulder pads build up and broaden the shoulder line, lending Peck a square-shouldered look. While this silhouette did not supplant the soft-shouldered Brooks Brothers style, it suggested a possible alternative for corporate America.

The padded shoulder was also accruing different connotations, including ones that made it a useful tool for creating more imposing, larger-than-life figures. Joan Crawford, seen here in the 1945 film “Mildred Pierce,” was known for wearing heavily padded shoulders, a look created for her by the renowned couturier [*Gilbert Adrian*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epaulette), known as Adrian.

This angular silhouette gave her a commanding presence despite a diminutive stature, enabling her to visually inhabit roles such as Pierce, an ambitious and powerful woman who refuses to be subservient to men.

In the 1930s and ’40s, racial and ethnic minorities, particularly young Black and Latino men, adopted an oversized silhouette known as the zoot suit, featuring thick pads to keep the ends of the shoulders from collapsing.

For some, the zoot suit represented ebullience and rebellion. But to others, especially in white middle-class America, this look appeared unseemly and sinister — an attitude that culminated in violence in the [*Zoot Suit Riots*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epaulette) in 1943 in Los Angeles, in which zoot-suit-wearing men were targeted and viciously attacked by racist mobs.

In the 1970s, Tommy Nutter and Edward Sexton, working under the label [*Nutters*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epaulette) of Savile Row, used the subversive power of the padded shoulder to turn traditional men’s tailoring on its head. Nutters incorporated an extreme padded shoulder into tailoring for rock royalty such as the Beatles and Mick Jagger, seen here at his wedding. The structured silhouette came to further invoke countercultural sexiness and cool.

These two contrasting meanings of the power shoulder — strength, tradition and masculinity, but also exuberance and swagger — came together in the shoulder pad’s undisputed heyday: the 1980s.

Brazen finance types — both personified in and inspired by Michael Douglas’s character, Gordon Gekko, in the 1987 film “Wall Street” — adopted a strongly structured shoulder as part of a new power-broker uniform. Combined with a flashy power tie and a contrast banker collar, thick shoulder pads symbolized the “greed is good” ethos and the bravado of a new tycoon class.

The look was not limited to men. Seen here on the women in the television series “Dynasty,” shoulder pads in the 1980s took on the dimensions of aircraft carriers, exemplifying the excesses of the decade.

For both men and women, these cartoonishly angular silhouettes offered a sharp contrast to the soft-shouldered look associated with establishment elites and old-money power — figures who publicly valued modesty and humility, such as George Plimpton or President George H.W. Bush.

The 1980s was, of course, the decade that gave rise to the showboating mogul Donald Trump — and his personal uniform has remained anchored in this era ever since.

Today, Mr. Trump’s square-shouldered suits serve as a central part of his presentation as an unapologetic outsider, waging war on an entrenched elite. When he vows to “drain the swamp,” he’s talking, in part, about ridding Washington of its Brooks Brothers bureaucrats.

When Mr. Trump was on trial on 34 felony counts in Manhattan, many high-profile supporters showed up in solidarity wearing similar attire: worsted suits heavily padded across the top and paired with white shirts and bright red satin ties, a uniform look that signals loyalty to him.

Kamala Harris’s 2024 campaign attire is also rooted in social changes evident in the 1980s. As more women entered the work force and rose to new heights in the corporate world, many adopted visible shoulder pads to signal dependability and professionalism. In “Working Girl,” a 1988 film about a ***working-class*** woman’s ascent in business, the actress Melanie Griffith came armored in a powerfully padded suit.

The power shoulder creates what’s long been read as a masculine silhouette, so for women entering sectors from which they’ve been historically excluded, this distinct look offers a ready professional uniform.

For the most important night of her political life, Vice President Harris accepted her party’s nomination at the Democratic National Convention in a navy [*Chloé*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epaulette) power suit, with shoulder pads that built up and broadened her shoulder line, giving her a sharper, more angular silhouette.

It’s a look she’s sported often since her days as California attorney general — buttoned-up and assertive, yet recalling a stylish outsider’s aesthetic — while not making so much of a fashion statement that the focus shifts from her message to her clothes.

On Election Day, Mr. Trump may be sent back to the White House clad once again in padded shoulders that represent a long history of sport, war and business, as well as another era’s idea of swaggering masculinity.

Or Ms. Harris may prevail and smash through the last American glass ceiling, garbed in a storied silhouette that evokes political tradition as well as a history of ebullience — and is also a nod to the female trailblazers who’ve used a shoulder pad to command the respect they deserve.

Derek Guy, also known as the Menswear Guy on X, is a fashion industry commentator and the editor of Die, Workwear!, a men&#39;s wear blog.

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**Load-Date:** November 4, 2024

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[***The Loneliness Epidemic Has a Cure; David French***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVW-1T51-JBG3-600J-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1442 words

**Byline:** David French David 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;#8220;Divided We Fall: America&amp;#8217;s Secession Threat and How to Restore Our Nation.&amp;#8221; You can follow him on Threads (@davidfrenchjag).

**Highlight:** There are few higher and better callings than to forge a bond with a person and provide a place where they belong.

**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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html). 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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html) 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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html) 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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html) 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, in an essay in The Washington Post, Michael Bender wrote about his experience [*embedded with Donald Trump’s most loyal fans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html), 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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html) that analyzed data from 70.3 million users of Facebook [*found that*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html) “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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html) 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*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.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/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/books/review/divided-we-fall-david-french.html).

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[***Chicago's Mayor Hewed to Teachers' Union Agenda. Now, the Red Ink Is Gushing.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB9-R021-JBG3-60K1-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 30

**Length:** 1518 words

**Byline:** By Dana Goldstein

**Body**

In Chicago, the mayor and the teachers' union are tightly connected. The relationship has ushered in generous spending and led to political turmoil.

For years, Chicago was ground zero for the Democratic Party's big transition on education.

With the support of longtime resident Barack Obama, who was in the White House, and his close ally Rahm Emanuel, then in the mayor's office, the city turned away from policies favored by teachers' unions and toward policies meant to provide families with choices and accountability, like charter schools and school-grading systems based on student test scores.

That was then.

Now, Chicago is in the midst of a radically different experiment: What would happen if one of the nation's feistiest teachers' unions was able to elevate the mayor of its choice, who then embraced the union's agenda almost unequivocally?

On one hand, results have been good. The district's 300,000 students have demonstrated unusually strong recovery from pandemic-era learning loss in reading, and more students than ever are enrolling in college-level courses.

On the other hand, there has been financial and political turmoil. The school district used federal Covid-19 relief money to hire thousands of teachers, instructional coaches, counselors, nurses and social workers, even as student enrollment shrunk.

That money is now running out, and the system is hundreds of millions of dollars in the red. Mayor Brandon Johnson, a former social studies teacher and teachers' union organizer, has been trying to oust the schools chief executive, Pedro Martinez, who resisted the mayor's proposal for the district to take out a high-interest loan to help cover the gap.

Amid this dispute, the entire school board resigned en masse this month, and was replaced by a new group of mayoral appointees.

The dynamic could shift again in the coming weeks. On Election Day, voters will have their first chance to elect 10 school board members, after the Chicago Teachers Union lobbied for years to end mayoral control of the school system.

''The Chicago Teachers Union has really become the political machine in Chicago,'' said Paul Vallas, a former schools superintendent in the city and a longtime critic of the union. He ran against Mr. Johnson for mayor last year and lost.

The mayor's critics say he should be willing to say ''no'' to the union: to close under-enrolled schools, reduce the size of the staff and refuse the union's demand for a 9 percent raise.

But Mr. Johnson says he has little reason to say no, because he believes the agenda he and the union share is the right one. He argued that children in Chicago's low-income neighborhoods have never had equal access to school libraries or robust programs in the arts, languages, athletics, advanced academics or quality career training.

Adversarial relationships between past mayors and teachers' union officials led to poor outcomes for Black and Hispanic students, he said, and the loss of Black teaching jobs.

''What are we going to lean into and say yes to?'' Mr. Johnson asked in an interview. ''I was elected to invest in people. Guess what I'm doing? I'm investing in people.''

As a former educator with a strongly pro-union approach to education policy, Mr. Johnson is part of a rising group of Democrats that includes the party's vice-presidential candidate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota.

Their prominence has been all the more notable because the unions' support for lengthy pandemic school closures caused deep division in liberal parts of the country.

But the political salience of that debate faded when schools reopened. For big cities like Chicago, New York and Los Angeles, one of the most pressing issues now is maintaining services as student populations decline in size, since schools are funded on a per-pupil basis.

Families have left big-city school systems over the past decade for a variety of reasons, including high housing costs, frustration with virtual learning during the pandemic and the draw of charter and private schools.

Enrollment numbers have ticked up in Chicago and other cities over the past two years, but still remain well below prepandemic levels.

But in the view of Mr. Johnson and his close ally -- the Chicago Teachers Union president, Stacy Davis Gates, another former social studies teacher -- fewer students should not mean fewer schools.

They point to research suggesting that when Mr. Emanuel closed 50 schools in 2013, the financial benefits were modest, while students who had attended the shuttered schools seemed to suffer academic setbacks in subsequent years.

Mr. Johnson and Ms. Davis Gates are instead suggesting putting more money into schools that few families currently attend. An example is Frederick Douglass Academy High School on the city's West Side, which served more than 500 students in 2007, and now has only 34 enrolled.

Mr. Johnson and Ms. Davis Gates speak in sweeping, historical terms, casting their agenda as a form of ''reconstruction'' for Black and Latino students.

''The goal of Chicago Public Schools in its inception was to do two things: to maintain segregation and to offer the ***working class*** an entry into the stockyards and the factories,'' Ms. Davis Gates said.

What's needed in 2024, she argued, is a wholesale rethinking of the system's purpose, which she defined as providing every Chicago student with a high-quality school they can walk to, rich with bilingual programs, extracurricular activities and the arts.

The mayor, she said, is rightfully ''impatient and intolerant about waiting longer.''

The two of them are personal friends, Ms. Davis Gates noted. She and the mayor have both said their commitment to preserving every neighborhood's school was informed by the compromises they have made in their own lives as Black parents living in historically Black neighborhoods with struggling institutions.

Mr. Johnson's oldest son travels to a magnet school in a different neighborhood, attracted there by its orchestra and Advanced Placement classes, he said.

Ms. Davis Gates said one of her three children had enrolled in a private school because it had stronger athletics.

Mr. Martinez, the schools chief executive, also has his own children enrolled in the district. He said he agreed with the goal of creating new programs to draw students back to under-enrolled schools, and noted that Black students travel farthest across the city to find a school they prefer.

The core of his disagreement with the mayor, Mr. Martinez said in an interview, is that while the mayor has said no funding stream should be left off the table, Mr. Martinez believes taking out a loan would replicate past mistakes and leave the district saddled with debt. Instead, he would like the city to tap property tax surpluses and lobby for greater state and federal investment.

Andrew Broy, president of the Illinois Network of Charter Schools, said that instead of flooding low-performing, under-enrolled schools with more money, Chicago school leaders should support policies that allow more parents to make the choices they have made -- picking high-quality schools that work for their families.

He argued that students were losing out because two parties that typically sit across the negotiating table -- the mayor and the teachers' union president -- are so closely allied.

''When you have two people on the same side of the table, the only ones not represented are students and taxpayers,'' he said. ''When they're not at the table, they end up being on the menu.''

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Chicago and several other cities transitioned away from elected school boards to mayoral control of schools, part of a national movement meant to streamline accountability for public education. But academic and political results were mixed. Illinois Gov. JB Pritzker, a Democrat, signed a bill in 2021 transitioning Chicago to an elected board. Now, with the first vote to seat new board members approaching on Election Day, the union and its critics in the charter-school world are pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars into direct mail.

Union allies have accused their Democratic critics of embracing a Trump-like agenda. Charter school supporters are pushing back against Mr. Johnson's promise to prioritize traditional neighborhood schools over charters, magnet schools and selective enrollment options.

The union has long seen the elected board as a way to influence the system's governance. But shifting to elections also means its opponents could gain seats.

Even some left-leaning members of the Chicago City Council have become skeptical of the mayor's budget strategy, worrying about piling up new debt when the district cannot afford its existing pension commitments.

Andre Vasquez, a City Council member, noted that he, like the mayor, had come into elected office with a background in progressive activism. But the two roles, he argued, were fundamentally different.

''A lot of us are used to holding up picket signs,'' he said. ''Now you have to deliver the results. You start realizing it's a lot more nuanced.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/chicago-teachers-union-school-board-brandon-johnson.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/chicago-teachers-union-school-board-brandon-johnson.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A30.

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[***Trump’s Transformation of the Republican Party Is Complete; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHP-FH01-DXY4-X23G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1824 words

**Byline:** Michael Lind

**Highlight:** With JD Vance at his back, the former president has cemented his legacy.

**Body**

Can Trumpism outlast Donald Trump? The selection of Senator JD Vance of Ohio as his running mate suggests that the answer is yes.

Even the most successful political parties are coalitions of odd bedfellows and competing interests. But parties risk decline if they cannot attract new voters or if they suppress internal debates. The Republican Party Mr. Trump inherited in 2016 had been defined by free market ideology and neoconservative foreign policy for a generation: From Ronald Reagan through both Bushes to Mitt Romney, mainstream conservatism pursued a narrow agenda of tax and entitlement cuts at home and wars of regime change abroad. Mr. Trump’s election was a clear if unexpected breaking of that mold. The only question was whether his legacy would dissipate whenever he eventually left politics or give birth to a true and lasting political movement.

Now we know the answer. The Republican Party we saw in Milwaukee this past week has been fundamentally changed. With Mr. Vance at his back, leading a new counterestablishment that Mr. Vance helped shape, Mr. Trump has cemented his legacy — and transformed the Republican Party.

Until recently, there was no counterestablishment in the Republican Party. There was merely a populist counterculture.

A counterestablishment is a government in waiting. Its goal is to win power through elections and then to staff government agencies with political appointees or career civil servants who have the expertise, discipline and bureaucratic skill to carry out a shared policy agenda.

Countercultures, whether of the right or the left, prefer performance to power. For some countercultural purists, protest is an end in itself. Working within the existing system is often seen as a betrayal of principle.

Others view counterculture as a source of profit rather than power. Since the 1990s, the rise of shock-jock radio, Rupert Murdoch’s Fox channel and more recently Twitter and other social media platforms have provided celebrity and riches to populist Republicans who “own the libs” for an audience of true believers. It is not surprising that many young conservatives have dreamed of being the next Rush Limbaugh or Ben Shapiro, instead of a deputy assistant secretary of state.

The few more intellectual members of this group debated philosophical questions with no effect whatsoever on tax policy or military strategy. Until recently, these populists had been frozen out of the Republican establishment, which outsourced the serious thinking about policy to two groups, neither of them particularly conservative. Domestic policy under the two Bushes was turned over to libertarians, while foreign policy was dominated by neoconservatives. In my experience, many Republican officials, like almost all explicitly libertarian activists and pundits, have long been social as well as economic liberals, favoring sexual freedom and freedom of drug use, as well as free trade and open borders, even if Republicans in government paid lip service to the values of the religious right. For their part, those who came to be known as neoconservatives, like my former employer Irving Kristol and my mentor Daniel Patrick Moynihan, were mostly former Cold War liberals whose ideal was a foreign policy underpinned by Wilsonian liberal internationalism.

Mr. Trump won the Republican nomination and then the presidency in 2016 by rejecting almost everything those two groups stood for. Unlike other Republican candidates, he had denounced the Iraq war and the toleration of illegal immigration favored by some business interests and promised not to cut Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid. But once in Washington, with no one waiting in the wings to fill thousands of posts in the White House and executive agencies, he was forced to rely on Reagan and Bush veterans, many of whom quietly opposed his policies.

To provide an alternative to the Republican establishment, a new counterestablishment on the right has emerged since Mr. Trump’s 2016 victory. Variously called populists, national conservatives or postliberals, these mostly young dissidents worked at think tanks like Oren Cass’s American Compass; journals like American Affairs, Compact and Tablet; advocacy groups like the America First Policy Institute; and American Moment, founded by Saurabh Sharma and Nick Solheim to supply a new, more populist and nationalist generation to replace legacy Reaganites and corporate lobbyists.

Mr. Trump’s chief contribution was to prove by his example that Republican candidates could depart from Reaganite orthodoxy and be rewarded at the ballot box. Not all of the architects of this movement supported him. Julius Krein, the editor and a co-founder of American Affairs, repudiated Mr. Trump early in his presidency. But following his election, a small but influential faction of Republican elected officials emerged in Congress, including some like Senators Marco Rubio and Josh Hawley who had been skeptical of the old orthodoxy before Mr. Trump ran for president the first time. In the past few years, Mr. Hawley and Bernie Sanders cosponsored a second $1,200 round of Covid stimulus checks, Mr. Rubio supported a measure by Mr. Sanders to guarantee railway workers paid sick leave, and Mr. Hawley, Mr. Rubio and Mr. Sanders have all favored expanding the child tax credit.

JD Vance is unique in having played a role in both the intellectual and political arenas. Before being elected to the Senate from Ohio, he was a friend and ally of many of the insurgent conservative intellectuals and a speaker at National Conservatism conferences organized by the Edmund Burke Foundation’s Yoram Hazony and his colleagues. And for a time, he was a board member of American Moment, the institution devoted to training government operatives rather than TV talking heads.

I first met Mr. Vance in the fall of 2016 before the election, when Hillary Clinton was expected to win, at a conference on the future of work and family policy held at New America, the nonpartisan think tank I co-founded. At the time, Mr. Vance was one of Mr. Trump’s fiercest critics. But while his perception of Mr. Trump has changed, in the near-decade I have known him, his views on issues like industrial, labor and family policy have been aligned with the evolving consensus of the new Republican counterestablishment.

Having criticized the dysfunctional culture of his Appalachian kin and Rust Belt neighbors in “Hillbilly Elegy,” Mr. Vance, like his allies, has added an emphasis on the harm done to ***working-class*** Americans of all backgrounds by structural changes such as the offshoring of industry and the decline of the bargaining power of workers. The two ideas are complementary, inasmuch as bad economic structures can engender a culture of poverty. In the words of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who like Mr. Vance was an intellectual politician from a broken ***working-class*** family: “The central conservative truth is that it is culture, not politics, that determines the success of a society. The central liberal truth is that politics can change a culture and save it from itself.”

The growing influence of this New Right was evident at the Republican National Convention, where Mr. Vance’s address and the opening keynote speech by the Teamsters president, Sean O’Brien, proved that the Reagan-to-Romney era had ended.

To be sure, the Republican Party remains a coalition of sometimes conflicting factions and subcultures, united by opposition to the Democrats. And Mr. Trump himself is often inconsistent.

But while his control of the G.O.P. is far from total, for better or worse, Mr. Trump is the undisputed political leader of America’s newest populist movement, in the way that William Jennings Bryan was the tribune of turn-of-the-century populism and Andrew Jackson the figurehead of Jacksonian democracy. (Perhaps coincidentally, Mr. Trump, like Bryan and Jackson, has been nominated for president three times.) The American populist movements that Jackson and Bryan led outlasted them and transformed America. Mr. Trump’s version of populism, like theirs, is likely to last because it mobilizes outsiders, including many ***working-class*** voters of all races who feel their interests have been neglected and their values have been ignored by post-Reagan Republicans and post-Clinton Democrats.

Incendiary rhetoric aside, Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance are more moderate on many issues than their recent Republican predecessors. Their combination of support for the military and skepticism about unwinnable “forever wars” makes them realists, not isolationists. In seeking to enforce existing laws against illegal immigration, they evoke the bipartisan consensus that led Democratic Senators Joe Biden, Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton to vote for a border fence in 2006. George W. Bush led the assault on gay marriage and gay rights; Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance, while opposed to sex-change operations for children, have welcomed gay and lesbian supporters. In 2003, Republicans in Congress barred Medicare from negotiating prescription drug prices; Mr. Vance favors such price-lowering negotiations, and in 2020, Mr. Trump signed an executive order promoting lower drug prices.

Even if the Trump-Vance ticket doesn’t win this year, Mr. Vance’s nomination as vice president makes him a leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination in 2028. The distress that Mr. Vance’s nomination has caused the editors of The Wall Street Journal, National Review and other organs of legacy Reaganism shows that the old Republican establishment and the donors who fund it will continue to fight for a restoration of libertarian economics and neoconservative foreign policy.

The activist base of the G.O.P. is still dominated by many small-business owners who may not like big corporations and banks but also view trade unions and high wages as mortal threats. And the national conservative insurgency, under Mr. Trump or a successor, may yet fizzle out. Many would-be revolutionaries of right, left and center in Washington have ended up as burned-out lobbyists in middle age.

But Mr. Trump’s choice of Mr. Vance has made one thing certain: Mr. Trump’s legacy will be not just a family dynasty or an ephemeral cult of personality, but also a political movement, with JD Vance as one of its most formidable leaders.

Michael Lind is a contributor to Tablet, a fellow at New America and the author of “The New Class War: Saving Democracy From the Managerial Elite.”

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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The author of “The New Class War: Saving Democracy from the Managerial Elite.”

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY THALASSA RAASCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR4.

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[***Trump’s Cabinet Will Be an Embarrassment of Wretches; Frank Bruni***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK5-CGN1-DXY4-X3FW-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2257 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:** The onslaught of awful makes bad look good.

**Body**

Flash back to Donald Trump’s first campaign for president. It should have been doomed when he mocked John McCain’s years as a prisoner of war in North Vietnam. Or when he fantasized about one of his supporters shooting Hillary Clinton. Or when, on that “Access Hollywood” tape, he was heard reveling in the genital prerogatives of fame.

But no. And that wasn’t just because there were so many Americans so dissatisfied with conventional politicians and politics that Trump’s provocations seemed a necessary solvent for the status quo. It was also because his offenses were so numerous, and came along with such frequency, that no single scandal could get lasting attention. Each faded into the crowd.

Trump desensitized his audience as his improprieties became their own unremarkable norm. And while he may not have plotted it that way, he definitely learned his lesson.

His selections for senior jobs in his new administration attest to that education.

It’s galling that he chose a son-in-law’s father, Charles Kushner, who spent two years in prison for witness retaliation, tax evasion and making false statements to the Federal Election Commission, to live in 60,000-square-foot splendor in Paris and swan around the Champs-Élysées as the next American ambassador to France.

But is that any worse than Kash Patel storming around America’s capital in the role of F.B.I. director? As Garrett M. Graff, a historian and journalist, explained in [*a recent guest essay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) for Times Opinion, Patel’s disposition is as dangerous as his résumé is irrelevant to the post. He was chosen on the basis of his flamboyant obsequiousness to Trump, in defiance of a long tradition of F.B.I. directors who were steadfastly independent from the presidents they served. And he has vowed repeatedly to seek vengeance against Trump’s opponents and critics.

But there’s little sign of serious resistance to Patel’s confirmation from Republicans in the Senate. They have slimier fish to fry — for example, Pete Hegseth, Trump’s designee for defense secretary.

Hegseth was a comely Fox News host. He has a great head of hair. But as head of two different advocacy organizations, Veterans for Freedom and Concerned Veterans for America? He was apparently a disgrace. In [*an article*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) in The New Yorker this week, Jane Mayer reported that Hegseth was forced out of both jobs “in the face of serious allegations of financial mismanagement, sexual impropriety and personal misconduct.” That allegedly included incidents of intoxication so severe that “at one point, Hegseth had to be restrained while drunk from joining the dancers on the stage of a Louisiana strip club, where he had brought his team.”

Such charges might be less credible were Hegseth’s own mom not so censorious of his sloppy and sexist ways. Sharon LaFraniere and Julie Tate of The Times [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) that in 2018, she sent him an email “on behalf of all the women (and I know it’s many) you have abused in some way,” in her words. She wrote: “I have no respect for any man that belittles, lies, cheats, sleeps around and uses women for his own power and ego. You are that man.”

On Wednesday, she [*attempted damage control*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) in an interview on Fox News, saying that her son had changed. Her son, meanwhile, ricocheted around Capitol Hill trying to get skittish senators not to look at what he’s done but to look at how he looks. He also spoke at length with Megyn Kelly for her SiriusXM show. He told her that the accusations against him reflected “the art of the smear.”

But Trump himself was [*reportedly having second thoughts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) and toying with the idea of swapping out Hegseth and [*swapping in Gov. Ron DeSantis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) of Florida, whom Trump despised and disparaged until three seconds ago. Object of ridicule to object of affection: “Meatball Ron” would be traveling one of the most well-trod paths in TrumpLand.

But Hegseth’s troubles better the odds that the conspiracy theorist and carcass fetishist Robert F. Kennedy Jr. winds up the secretary of health and human services and that the al-Assad apologist and Putin fangirl Tulsi Gabbard gets to run national intelligence. There’s only so much resistance that Republican senators can muster. Only so many times that lap dogs this thoroughly muzzled can bark.

Trump’s picks for lofty posts speak to his veneration of scoundrels — to his belief that rules are for sissies and the strong take what they want however it must be taken. He embraces one binary above all others: If you’re not predator, you’re prey.

And government is for gloating. That’s what he’s doing with his planned nominees — showing what he can get away with, whom he can stick it to.

But his choices are also a tactic. As Peter Baker [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) in The Times on Monday, Trump “appears to be following a sort of swarm strategy, flooding the Senate with many contentious nominations that might not pass muster in normal circumstances and forcing the incoming Republican majority to choose which, if any, to block and which to let through.”

It’s overkill meant to overwhelm: a blitz approach. And with this surfeit of sordid cabinet prospects, Trump has created a yardstick that generously measures anyone without, say, a criminal conviction, a rape accusation or a fortune amassed by highly suspicious means.

In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. In a cabinet of such wretchedness, Kristi Noem is Snow White.

For the Love of Sentences

In The Washington Post, David Von Drehle’s celebration of the 50th anniversary of George F. Will’s columns for the newspaper [*included*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) this description of one of Will’s journalistic idols, Murray Kempton: “He traversed New York by bicycle, hawk-nosed and regal with a faint Virginia drawl. Arriving at the courthouse or political protest or boxing gym, the scion of Episcopal bishops unclipped his trouser legs and readied another column as poet laureate of the city’s scoundrels, rogues and prizefighters. If you wanted a writer who might start a sentence with Suetonius or the 1928 Book of Common Prayer and end up 150 winding words later at the blood-soaked scene of a Mafia hit, Kempton was your man.” (Thanks to Deborah Cleaver of Portland, Ore., and Steven R. Strahler of Oak Park, Ill., among others, for nominating this.)

In The Atlantic, Spencer Kornhaber [*divined*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) parallels between Jake Paul’s victory over Mike Tyson in the boxing ring and the MAGA movement’s Nov. 5 triumph: “Jake set out to prove he was something realer than a media whore, but he showed only that he had the clout to overhype a terribly unfair fight. Coming so soon after an election partly decided by highly online men who feel their status to be under threat, this outcome seems like an omen: Old systems may soon be torn down, with little to replace them but bluster spun as redemption.” (Simeon Stolzberg, Adams, Mass., and Gwen Toole, Pensacola, Fla.)

In The Times, Tressie McMillan Cottom [*rebelled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) against the evangelists of a certain kind of wellness: “If I do any more mindful, radical self-care, I am going to exfoliate myself into not existing.” (Matt Cass, Denver, and Sylvie Ryckebusch, Geneva, among others)

Also in The Times, John McWhorter [*disputed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) certain ancestral claims: “Black America tracing itself to Egypt makes as much historical sense as would Czechs deciding to celebrate St. Patrick’s Day, seek out first editions of James Joyce and favor tartans as an expression of being European.” (Marjorie Ivey, St. Louis)

And Melissa Clark was [*let down by*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) the chef Thomas Keller’s restaurant Per Se: “Instead of Mr. Keller’s brilliant butter-poached lobster, we got two wee langoustines topped with a damp crust of grated brussels sprouts that promptly, with flawless comic timing, slid off like loose toupees.” (Susan Caruso, Glen Head, N.Y., and Anne Childs, West Bath, Maine)

In The Free Press, Nellie Bowles [*observed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) that Trump World had already broken Robert F. Kennedy Jr., who let himself be seen ingesting McDonald’s and Coke on Trump’s plane: “Making R.F.K. take a photo eating junk food is like putting a deer’s head on the wall of a vegan’s dining room.” (Terry Savage, Chicago)

In The New Yorker, Adam Gopnik [*identified*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) the fundamental flaw in a mob’s rationale: “When you are ‘taking democracy into your own hands,’ what you have in your hands is not democracy, because democracy begins with the recognition that other people have hands, too.” (Martin Ainsley, Fredericton, New Brunswick)

Also in The New Yorker, John Cassidy [*puzzled over*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) Trump’s logic: “The president-elect is promising to help out the ***working class*** by cutting taxes on major corporations and his fellow billionaires. He’ll fix the deficit by slashing government revenues. He’ll bring down prices by introducing tariffs that raise them.” (Roy B. Cohn, New Canaan, Conn.)

In The Washington Post, Ty Burr [*reviewed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) “Wicked.” “Millions will flock to this movie to cheer for a woman of color (albeit green) in her rebellion against a populist charlatan who has whipped up the excitable citizens of Munchkinland into a frenzy of hatred,” he wrote. “I guess some things only happen over the rainbow.” (Rich Moche, Brookline, Mass., and Shelley Klein, Bethesda, Md.)

I was as fond of Burr’s [*take*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) on “Gladiator II,” which apparently lacks historical accuracy: “When one character sits down at a sidewalk cafe to read the nonexistent Daily Papyrus over his morning coffee — a beverage that won’t arrive in Europe for another 1,500 years — the only response is an indulgent horselaugh and disappointment that they didn’t just go ahead and give him an iPad.”

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/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html) and include your name and place of residence.

What I’m Watching

I’ve been slowly catching up on prestige movies that were released toward the end of the year with the holiday-season box office, award nominations or both in their sights, and I keep experiencing a mix of exhilaration and irritation. That’s because I keep encountering excellent performances in movies that don’t do justice to them.

“[*Conclave*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html),” for example, has a structure as conventional as its conclusion is ludicrous. It’s a cheap (but often fun) trick in liturgical threads. And the characters are underwritten, including the main one, a Roman Catholic cardinal played by Ralph Fiennes. But from Fiennes’s first scene to his last, the play of emotions on his face is mesmerizing. I’d spend two hours watching Fiennes load the dishwasher or organize his sock drawer.

“Conclave” is a masterpiece beside “[*The Substance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html),” whose indictment of our culture’s tyrannical beauty standards and obsession with youth isn’t so much explored as spelled out in big block letters smeared with body-horror gore. But in the middle of this bloody and strangely boring mess are a few deeply moving scenes, thanks to the vulnerability and rage that the movie’s star, Demi Moore, expertly conveys. She’s a knockout.

So, in “[*Emilia Pérez*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html),” is Zoe Saldaña, who gets the kind of big, emotional scenes that she was denied in the “Avatar” movies and her other sci-fi and action extravaganzas. No wonder she’s a front-runner for the best supporting actress Oscar. But “Emilia Pérez” itself — a kinda-sorta musical about a transgender Mexican drug kingpin — is enamored of its own eccentricity, and it’s a tonal mishmash that pushes you away as often as it draws you in.

“[*A Different Man*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/opinion/kash-patel-trump-fbi.html),” about a disfigured actor whose life doesn’t change as expected after a medical miracle of sorts, starts strong and ends tritely. Still, I was happy to keep tabs on its star, Sebastian Stan, a current It Boy (he plays Trump in “The Apprentice”) who keeps lengthening his stride.

On a Personal (By Which I Mean Regan) Note

I’ve been cheating on Regan.

The other day I found myself in the forest, beside the neighborhood creek, which she loves to splash in, but she wasn’t there. I’d left her at home. As I’d walked down the driveway, I could see her in the glass front door, her eyes tracking my retreat. I swear she was glaring at me.

On a previous morning, I joined my neighbor Mary and her dog, Indie, who is Regan’s best buddy, on their long walk. I was Regan-less then, too. And I knew that when I returned home, she’d smell Indie on me. She’d register the betrayal. Maybe she’d wonder what she’d done wrong, how I could be so cruel, whether God had abandoned her. OK, I’m being melodramatic, and I’m anthropomorphizing like nobody’s business, but that just reflects the magnitude of my guilt. I’m denying Regan, again and again and again. And there’s no way to make her understand why.

She’s recovering from a serious injury. That means limited movement. It means enforced rest. Our usual three- and four- and five-mile walks? Maybe by late February. A game of fetch in the yard? At least as far-off. For now she’s not supposed to exercise for more than 10 minutes at a time, and she’s prohibited from moving quickly, pivoting abruptly, jumping high.

But she wants to. She tries to. I stop her and admonish her and force myself to believe that the expression on her face isn’t one of outrage. Of contempt. I tell her that what I’m doing is for the best. I tell her that it’s only for now. But the words, I know, are an aural muddle to her. They’re no greater consolation to me.

With pets as with people (and I’m not equating the two), it’s so easy to demonstrate love through indulgence. Through permission. Through giving. But sometimes real love, or at least responsible love, is about taking away.

And that’s much, much harder to do.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ben Wiseman FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***What to See in N.Y.C. Galleries in December***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK5-SRW1-DXY4-X3JR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 5, 2024 Thursday 15:48 EST

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 2472 words

**Byline:** Will Heinrich and Max LakinWill Heinrich writes about new developments in contemporary art, and has previously been a critic for The New Yorker and The New York Observer.

**Highlight:** This week in Newly Reviewed, Max Lakin covers Liza Lacroix’s psychic landscapes, Il Lee’s ballpoint wonders and Mel Bochner’s conceptual prank.

**Body**

This week in Newly Reviewed, Will Heinrich covers Raven Chacon’s birdsong, Thornton Dial’s big cats and Park Seo-Bo’s news interventions.

Raven Chacon

Through July 3, 2025. American Academy of Arts and Letters, Audubon Terrace, Broadway between 155th and 156th Street, Manhattan; 212-368-5900, [*artsandletters.org.*](https://www.artsandletters.org)

A day or two after the election I rode up to Audubon Terrace on 155th Street to sit in an empty room listening to birdsong. The room, a bright and stately Beaux-Arts gallery with an enormous frosted-glass skylight, is one of several that the century-old [*American Academy of Arts and Letters*](https://www.artsandletters.org) has just started [*opening to the public year-round*](https://www.artsandletters.org), under the direction of Jenny Jaskey, the academy’s new chief curator. The birdsong, a nine-channel medley of Audubon Society field recordings and calls that the artist Raven Chacon had devised for extinct species once native to the area, was an artwork called “[*Aviary*](https://www.artsandletters.org).”

Across the patio and downstairs are two other shows. One is a dazzling array of brilliantly colored musical scores by [*Wadada Leo Smith*](https://www.artsandletters.org), who taught Chacon at Cal Arts. The other, organized by Rhea Anastas and Nora Schultz, is a look at the incisive conceptual work of [*Christine Kozlov*](https://www.artsandletters.org). “Aviary” itself has hosted [*performances*](https://www.artsandletters.org) by other artists, and there’s even a new publication series.

If you know that Audubon Terrace was built on land that once belonged to John James Audubon, who bought it with the proceeds of his hugely popular book “The Birds of America”; that he based his extraordinary paintings mostly on dead specimens; and that he [*was also a slaveholder*](https://www.artsandletters.org), you can take “Aviary” as a cutting, even chilling, piece of satire.

At the same time, though, the gallery itself is magnificent, and Chacon’s installation offers an exceptionally elegant way of calling attention to not only the beauty of the American Academy’s campus, but — what may be more critical at the moment — its broader potential as a wellspring of community.

Thornton Dial

Through Jan. 11. Hauser &amp; Wirth, 542 West 22nd Street, Manhattan; 212-790-3900, [*hauserwirth.com*](https://www.artsandletters.org).

In 1988 Thornton Dial made a long, lanky animal out of rope. He looped it back and forth, as if coiling a rug; painted it blue; and glued it to an eight-foot board. Across these blue lines of rope, Dial (1928-2016) also painted white stripes: It was a tiger. (He titled the piece “Monkeys and People Love the Tiger Cat.”) Surrounding the tiger, he painted monkeys in black and white, simple outline figures that look like shadows or opposites of one another. One sits, another lies on his back, and a third crouches on all fours under the tiger’s belly, as if the animal’s negative space had come into a life of its own.

There are only two tiger pieces in “[*Thornton Dial: The Visible and the Invisible*](https://www.artsandletters.org).” But the same back and forth, inside out, everything-at-once energy that Dial channeled into his tigers also courses through the seven large feats of wall-mounted assemblage that make up the rest of the show.

The pieces, spanning decades of his practice, incorporate paint-can lids, artificial plants, historical and art historical references, scraps of carpet, a lawn ornament and many other objects sticking every which way, so that their perspective and organization reel and rock like the deck of a boat. A single molten color scheme balances the chaos and gives each piece a powerful formal unity — the unity of a feverish, singular mind.

Park Seo-Bo

Through Jan. 11. White Cube, 1002 Madison Avenue, Manhattan; 212-750-4232, [*whitecube.com*](https://www.artsandletters.org).

In the late 1970s, while living in Paris and cleaning his brushes with old copies of Le Monde, the Korean painter [*Park Seo-Bo (1931-2023)*](https://www.artsandletters.org) found himself beguiled by his unexpected power to blot out or reshape the news. Later he dedicated himself to a decades-long series of up-and-down scribbles that he called Écritures, because they resembled writing. (They also resembled conceptual art, or an idiosyncratic meditation practice.)

In 2022, knowing that he was dying, Park returned to newspaper, with the intention of leaving behind as many marks as possible. (This time the papers, ranging from the 1930s to the 1980s, were sourced specially.) Thirty of the resulting pieces — along with a few loosely related monochromes from the 1990s — make up this [*surprisingly riotous show*](https://www.artsandletters.org) at White Cube. It’s the paradox of minimalism: Narrowing your vocabulary as severely as Park did amplifies the force of any change you do allow. And the difference between Park’s tight and angry ups and downs, between his confident loops and his simple hooks, all of them scratched into white paint with a pencil or the wrong end of a paintbrush, feels enormous.

My favorite is an issue of Le Petit Provençal from a Sunday in 1939, its title, printed in red, unmarked, but its news all obscured by whimsical, every-which-way scribbles that evoke soap on the window of a store being renovated. The understated dissonance between the news of the day in World War II-era France and Park’s intensely abstract and personal project feels all too timely.

Last Chance

Liza Lacroix

Through Dec 21. Magenta Plains, 149 Canal Street, Manhattan; 917-388-2464, [*magentaplains.com*](https://www.artsandletters.org).

Heavy weather settles over Liza Lacroix’s new paintings, nine atmospheric oil abstracts on canvas in a moody palette of oxidized rust and charred browns. They suggest less meteorological event, though, than psychic landscapes, smokily diffuse and liable to shift without warning. Sulfuric blooms of vermilion emerge and are overwhelmed. Drips, bumps, and brush hair interrupt the plane. Smooth, dry-brushed passages knock into shiny wet.

They’re not jubilant, but there is an ecstasy to be found in catharsis. A bright break encroaching from an upper corner in “She enjoyed 2 deaths” (2024) counts as sunny — what Emily Dickinson called the “certain Slant of light” of winter afternoons “that oppresses.” The paintings recall J.M.W. Turner’s disaster scenes, though wiped of their foregrounds. Lacroix shares Turner’s knack for molding sturm und drang into something both beautiful and unnerving, like an aura reading or an oil spill.

Lacroix has a lot of ideas that paint alone cannot satisfy, and her attention shifts between image and installation. An original soundtrack created with the sound artist Reece Cox, alternating between ambient plonking and muffled conversation, haunts the gallery’s three levels, amplifying the paintings’ split consciousness.

On the top floor, Lacroix punctures the gloss of the gallery’s daily operations, throwing open all of the cabinets in its staff kitchen, revealing the employees’ drinkware and snack preferences. The intervention lands somewhere between the subtle alterations of Michael Asher and the bodily vulnerability of Robert Gober. In the spirit of mutually assured destruction, or exposure therapy, one of Lacroix’s Celine pumps sits forlorn in the top rack of the kitchen’s dishwasher. MAX LAKIN

More to See

Il Lee

Through Feb. 28, 2025. Art Projects International, 434 Greenwich Street, Manhattan; 212-343-2599, [*artprojects.com*](https://www.artsandletters.org).

Il Lee’s monochrome pictures are a study in contrapuntal forces: reduction and expansion; flatness and tactility; constructing form while also dissolving it. Lee’s work, done mostly with just ballpoint pen on canvas, suggests paint where there’s none. Restriction like that can be useful, and these works’ nuanced, nearly imperceptible shifts in tone and texture elevate the lowly Bic to the lofty status of acrylics and oils.

Lee began using ballpoint upon arriving in New York in 1977 from Seoul, where he was a student of Dansaekhwa, Korea’s monochrome modernism, and its progenitor, Park Seo-Bo. (Park’s final Ecriture series, on view uptown at White Cube, provides useful context here.) Lee advances the movement’s concerns with nature with a distinctly New York flavor, the quality of his line evoking the sharp verticality of the city’s architecture and the scratchy scrawls of subway graffiti.

When Lee does use paint, the effect is just as impressive. In “TW-1801” (2018), his pen functions like a knife, carving fleshy lines through the acrylic for an effect like the crackled glaze of porcelain. It’s a different kind of natural landscape: thick knots of line work creating a dense network of firing synapses or parched earth.

The show’s centerpiece is “BL-060” (2005), a 7-foot-by-12-foot canvas of innumerable pen marks conjuring a mountain evanescing into mist. The image’s dance between weight and weightlessness is an affecting meditation on solidity and its opposite — that is to say, life and death. Intensely physical and exhausting upward of 500 pens to create, it functions like a map of the artist’s focused energy, both tightly wound and fluid, controlled and free. MAX LAKIN

Mel Bochner

Through Jan. 11, 2025. Peter Freeman, 140 Grand Street, Manhattan; 212-966-5154, [*peterfreemaninc.com*](https://www.artsandletters.org).

In 1968, while he was the artist-in-residence at Singer Laboratories in New Jersey as part of Robert Rauschenberg’s E.A.T. (Experiments in Art and Technology) program formed to encourage collaboration between artists and scientists, Mel Bochner began making works that took the measure of things quite literally.

Tickled by his hosts’ dry fidelity to quantifiable metrics, Bochner recorded small measurements around the lab, posting them in Letraset lettering — the distance between objects, the length of a floor tile — a gentle ribbing of faith in objectivity, and probably the first conceptual art prank. The gag had philosophically profound implications. It turns out that visualizing the invisible world forces us to question how we know what we know — to confront existential doubt.

The next year Bochner conceived “48” Standards,” a series of measurements-as-objects: brown kraft paper and Letraset that would incorporate and interrogate the space they occupied. They followed minimalism’s preoccupations — the mass-produced non-art materials, the monkish detachment — to a deadpan endpoint.

The works were never produced, until now. Like jazz standards, each piece riffs on a familiar refrain: the paper unceremoniously stapled into the wall, its crisp edges and blank surfaces aping painting; sheets of cardboard leaned against the wall as if waiting to be hung or carted away (some of these incorporate creased or crumpled paper, adding visual interest without tipping into whimsy). In their utter regularity they approach the realest possible version of realism, art reduced to the sober facts of the dimensions that govern it.

The works fail minimalism’s test in one way, though: by being funny. Contemplating the void via store-bought wrapping paper and adhesive vinyl has a Beckettian punchline: the gallery locked in perpetual mid-installation, preparing for the arrival of something better that never comes, because it was here all along. MAX LAKIN

Luis Fernando Benedit

Through Jan. 25. Institute for Studies on Latin American Art, 142 Franklin Street, Manhattan; [*islaa.org*](https://www.artsandletters.org).

Luis Fernando Benedit (1937-2011) was a star Argentine conceptualist. This survey — his biggest in New York City since 1972 — focuses on two phases of his career: the molten pop-psychedelic paintings from the late 1960s and the acrylic bug habitats from around 1970.

The paintings fling cartoonish social invectives. Some refer to traditional dishes of the ***working class***: “Coniglio a la cacciatora (Rabbit Cacciatore),” 1967, depicts a kind of cutaway cartoon rabbit, its bones and organs visible and its face frozen in a red-eyed glare. Another from that year, “La gran cocción (the Great Cooking),” sets vaguely intestinal, dainty pink and blue forms frothing in a pot. The anarchic disdain behind “Silla presidencial con aparato eyector (Presidential Chair With Ejecting Apparatus),” 1996, a turdlike politician launched through space, is unvarnished.

An impending junta shadowed this period of Benedit’s life. Artists and intellectuals were among the thousands “disappeared” by death squads between 1974 and 1983. Benedit’s systems art, especially the transparent tabletop environments he built for ants, snails, spiders and other critters, presumably slipped more easily past censors and reactionaries.

The few on display here come without tenants, but you can imagine a seedling sitting in the test tube of “Evaporador de Sachs (Sachs Evaporator)” or a drop of water dangling in a small acrylic tower behind a magnifying glass inset like a clock face. “Laberinto para hormigas (Labyrinth for Ants)” is basically a grid of pipettes, without much in the way of goals or obstacles.

The schematics on view, for the environments as well as for more fanciful constructions like a mechanical caterpillar, have a wonderful biological crispness. They feel playful and curious, but also methodical.

Benedit’s trajectory suggests how adapting art to an authoritarian society might be a fruitful kind of restraint or prompt. In 1971, his labyrinths reached human scale in the installation “Laberinto invisible (Invisible Labyrinth),” a system of lights and mirrors; cross an invisible beam, and you and trigger a grating siren. The way Benedit compressed the wildness of his early work into controlled packages suggests that totalitarianism still may require a kind of consent. TRAVIS DIEHL

Andres Serrano and Benjamin Bertocci

Through Jan. 11. Lubov, 5 East Broadway, No. 402, Manhattan; 347-496-5833, [*lubov.nyc*](https://www.artsandletters.org).

Andres Serrano will always be known as the artist who made “Piss Christ,” a photo of a crucifix immersed in amber urine that incensed culture warriors in the late 1980s. His latest pieces, on view in a show with the painter Benjamin Bertocci, are photos of broken classical sculptures, sloppily overpainted — immersed, even — in garish primary colors and browns. In “Eternal Sleep,” trickles of blood lace a pile of putti, and the missing limbs of the figure in “Angel of Death” leave meaty wounds.

The paintings are schlocky, the way they gruffly evoke people blown up by bombs, and the rendering is barely pleasant. Several are mounted on cardboard. It’s an anti-aesthetic way to rage against the machine, without beautifying violence. In other words, the paintings are rough because the world is.

Bertocci’s paintings similarly pair thick aggression with reverence. Portraits of people with abstract faces jut in from the vertical edges, or muddy landscapes churn with impasto. But Bertocci overlays some of these scenes with delicate nets of small brushstrokes, in yellow, or in the red, green and blue of a screen’s pixels, like warped, membranous picture planes fluttering within the pictures. TRAVIS DIEHL

See the [*November gallery shows here*](https://www.artsandletters.org)

PHOTO: Thornton Dial, “Alone in the Jungle: One Man Sees the Tiger Cat,” 1988, enamel, rope carpet and industrial sealing compound on wood. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Estate of Thornton Dial/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York; via Hauser &amp;amp; Wirth FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Has Made His View of Migrants Clear. Will It Stop Them From Coming?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCK-1JF1-JBG3-624W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 9, 2024 Saturday 09:49 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1515 words

**Byline:** Julie Turkewitz, Emiliano Rodríguez Mega and Genevieve GlatskyJulie Turkewitz is the Andes Bureau Chief for The Times, based in Bogot&amp;#225;, Colombia, covering Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru.

**Highlight:** The incoming president has promised the largest deportation effort in U.S. history. Now migrants are weighing a new Trump administration in deciding whether to trek to the United States.

**Body**

This Sunday was the day that Daniel García, a Venezuelan delivery worker living in the capital of Colombia, had planned to begin an arduous land journey toward the United States.

Then Donald J. Trump became president-elect, and everything changed. Unsure if he could make it to the border before Mr. Trump’s inauguration, and fearful that he would be turned away once Mr. Trump was in office, Mr. García, 31, has decided to stay put.

“It is a very high investment,” he said of the journey north, which he figured would cost him $2,500, about a year’s savings. “I prefer not to risk it,” he added.

With Mr. Trump now headed back to the White House, many potential migrants are rethinking their plans, while border officials are working hard to understand what a Trump presidency will mean for the number of people trying to make it the United States.

Mr. Trump made a broad crackdown on immigration a pillar of his campaign — a message that spread around the world.

In Mexico, humanitarian groups and migration officials are preparing for a possible rush of migrants to the United States before he assumes the presidency in January.

“The vast majority of those in Mexico are going to try to get to the border,” said Irineo Mujica, the Mexico director of People Without Borders, a transnational advocacy group. “The door definitely closes now, and a lot of them are going to try to make a run for it.”

But it is too early to tell if that surge will actually materialize. Online, in Facebook and WhatsApp groups where potential migrants share information, smugglers are using Mr. Trump’s election to urge people to use their services — now.

“There’s still time,” said one smuggler in a WhatsApp group for potential migrants that has more than 400 members.

A person in good health, with some savings and luck, can make it from South America to the U.S. border in about two months.

If the person is kidnapped, robbed or assaulted — common experiences for migrants, particularly when passing through Mexico — it can take longer.

And, of course, many migrants never even get close to the U.S.-Mexico border. They are deported, stopped by Mexican authorities or become victims of injuries — or worse.

Some people who had considered the journey, however, said they have already decided that Mr. Trump’s election means that they will not try to make it to the United States, by illegal or legal means. Some said they feared deportation, or simply an unwelcoming climate.

Mr. Trump has blamed immigrants for many problems in the United States, like crime and rising housing costs, and has vowed to carry out the largest mass deportation effort in the country’s history.

In Maracaibo, Venezuela’s second largest city, Josefina Quintero, 59, said her daughter had left for the United States years ago and had urged her to consider applying for a legal entry program known as humanitarian parole so the family could be reunited.

Ms. Quintero, who makes about $20 a week doing cleaning work, never applied. She worried about leaving her 90-year-old father, who has dementia, and she now believes that Mr. Trump will end the program.

“That dream is gone. I have to settle with staying,” she said. “It hurts me not to meet my grandchildren in person, to never hug them. I will continue talking to them by video call until there is a new opportunity.”

Migration at the U.S. southern border surged to record levels under the Biden administration, fueled by poverty and conflict in countries like Venezuela and Ecuador. Another factor has been the growing popularity of a [*route through the Darién Gap*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/world/americas/migrant-business-darien-gap.html), the jungle straddling South and North Americas that was once a formidable physical barrier for people who sought to trek to the United States.

Mr. Trump blasted the Biden administration’s border and migration policies, calling them too lax. On the route to the United States over the past two years, many Venezuelans have told New York Times reporters that part of their decision to make the journey had to do with a belief that Mr. Biden had created a special border entry policy for people from their country.

In 2022, apprehensions of migrants at the southern border [*surged to 2.2 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/world/americas/migrant-business-darien-gap.html), feeding discontent in the United States and becoming a centerpiece of the November presidential election.

Crossings at the U.S. southern border [*have slowed in recent months*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/world/americas/migrant-business-darien-gap.html), as the Biden administration cracked down, narrowing options for claiming asylum and encouraging countries along the route to make it more difficult for people to pass through. The administration has also expanded legal entry programs.

The Mexican government has made it particularly arduous for people to traverse the nation, sending migrants who arrive in the northern part of the country back to [*distant southern regions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/world/americas/migrant-business-darien-gap.html), and creating what one researcher called a “migratory carousel.”

In this loop, migrants have to cross Mexico again and again to make it to the U.S. border, worn down in each attempt by criminal groups that use violence to extract money. In some cases, they have become the victims of migration officials and [*even the armed forces*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/world/americas/migrant-business-darien-gap.html).

Some people who had considered migrating in recent months said a growing understanding about the risks of the route — and not Mr. Trump’s election — ultimately swayed them against making the journey.

Berky Silva, 49, who lives in a ***working-class*** part of Caracas, the Venezuelan capital, said two relatives, a father and son, had left recently for the United States, fleeing a wave of repression inside the country.

The last she heard of them, in early November, they had been kidnapped in Mexico and needed $4,000 to be freed.

Facing this kind of violence on the route, only to face “xenophobia or being illegal” once she arrived in the United States, she said, “is not something I want to experience.”

Some would-be migrants said they were considering staying put for a different reason: A number of Venezuelans said they viewed Mr. Trump’s election as potentially positive for their country.

They thought the incoming president might be able to oust their nation’s autocrat, Nicolás Maduro, eliminating the need to leave. (Analysts say this is unlikely to happen.)

Pedro Ron, 28, a delivery worker from Venezuela who lives in Bogotá, the Colombian capital, said his neighborhood was full of celebrating Venezuelans on Nov. 6, the day after Mr. Trump’s victory

“We all cried when we heard the result,” he said. “Everybody was like, ‘I hope Trump lends a hand to help.’”

U.S. border apprehensions may be down, but there are still thousands of people already en route to the United States and many others who say they have migration plans firmly in place — no matter who the president is.

In Ecuador, Javier Olivo, 50, a construction worker from Guayaquil, a large city on the country’s Pacific Coast, said that because of his country’s security problems — an [*expanding narcotrafficking industry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/world/americas/migrant-business-darien-gap.html) has unleashed a surge of violence — he had been thinking for years about heading to the United States.

Now, frequent electricity cuts — [*caused by a historic drought that has been made worse by climate change*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/world/americas/migrant-business-darien-gap.html) — have increased his desire to leave.

While he had heard that Mr. Trump planned to treat migrants with a “heavy hand,” he said that the decision to go to the United States with his wife had “already been made.”

“With God’s help, we hope things go well for us there,” he said. His trip is planned for May.

There are now three migrant caravans in southern Mexico heading north — the largest of them with about 1,600 people, according to the United Nations Refugee Agency.

More caravans, which migrants often join for protection against criminal groups, are expected to come together in the next few days, said Luis Rey García Villagrán, a migrant advocate who has helped organize them for years.

At a shelter in the Mexican border city of Tijuana, Rosalba Magallón, 45, said she used to sell quesadillas in the Mexican state of Michoacán, until cartel members burned her house when she refused to pay extortion fees.

It did not matter that Trump was about to become president, she said. She fears that cartel gunmen may have followed her to Tijuana, and thinks the United States is the only place she might find safety.

“I fled, and now I live in uncertainty,” she said. “We are obviously worried about the arrival of Trump, but I can’t go back.”

Reporting was contributed by Aline Corpus from Tijuana, Mexico; Jody García from Guatemala City; Sheyla Urdaneta from Maracaibo, Venezuela; Isayen Herrera from Caracas, Venezuela; and Thalíe Ponce from Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Reporting was contributed by Aline Corpus from Tijuana, Mexico; Jody García from Guatemala City; Sheyla Urdaneta from Maracaibo, Venezuela; Isayen Herrera from Caracas, Venezuela; and Thalíe Ponce from Guayaquil, Ecuador.

PHOTOS: Daniel García, a Venezuelan, decided to remain in Colombia rather than try to reach the United States. Left, migrants in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, looking for a place to cross the border in July. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NATHALIA ANGARITA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; PAUL RATJE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Banker Is Scouting Trump’s Nominees. Some Will Oversee His Interests.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCK-KJC1-DXY4-X21C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1532 words

**Byline:** Kate Kelly and Kenneth P. VogelKate Kelly covers money, policy and influence for The Times.

**Highlight:** 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.

**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*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf), 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*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf) 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*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf).

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*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf), 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*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf) and [*to congressional Republicans*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf), to assist Tether in Washington. An arm of Cantor Fitzgerald, Mr. Lutnick’s holding company, has [*paid Mr. Miller’s firm $300,000*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf) 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*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf) 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*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf) over the billionaire’s promise to cut $2 trillion in government spending through a proposed Department of Government Efficiency, or [*DOGE*](https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/217e53b5af610019/a1ad8a5d-full.pdf), 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.

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.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***You Can't Miss It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0X3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 20, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; TGreats; Pg. 56; ARTS AND LETTERS

**Length:** 2386 words

**Byline:** By Rachel Corbett and Nicholas Calcott

**Body**

For people who have historically been excluded by museums and galleries, their own properties have became a source of inspiration.

AT THE DEAD end of a quiet residential street in Birmingham, Ala., is a half-acre lot filled with rusted metal beams, two-by-fours and old crutches jutting into the sky. At first glance, the artist Joe Minter's ''African Village in America,'' situated on the lawn of his home, next to the historically Black cemetery where his father, wife and two sons are buried, looks like little more than an affectionately tended junkyard, the kind of neighborhood eyesore people are generally programmed to walk past. But inside is one of the more intriguing public art installations in the country. Discarded dolls, car parts and other found objects are grouped together by shape and color. As one gazes at the collection, forms emerge -- steel bodies, cinder-block towers, outlines of rooms. Closer inspection reveals hundreds of sculptures, including a few concrete Dobermans guarding a cage that represents the cell at the Birmingham City Jail where Martin Luther King Jr. was imprisoned in 1963 for protesting local segregation laws.

Minter, 81, lives on the property in a small blue house that he bought in the 1970s with money he made as a construction worker and from G.I. Bill loans. (He served during the Vietnam War era.) When he retired in 1989, he used the skills he'd learned on the job, and from his dad and brother, to create sculptural elegies to the victims of slavery and their descendants, condemning America for not paying reparations. Crooked signs with hand-painted messages like ''U.S.A. Repent'' and ''Free at Last'' cover Minter's fence. Wiry and stooped, with an ash gray beard, he leads tours of the ''African Village'' in a blue hard hat, with a wooden shield that reads ''Mandela'' strapped to his back. He points out the ''queen of the 'African Village''' -- a mattress spring to which are affixed tennis rackets sticking out like arms and a set of oven racks arrayed to suggest a headdress -- and a conch seashell that ''represents my ancestors lost in the Atlantic Ocean.'' He tells his visitors, ''I've never created nothing inside a building.''

For years, Minter's work, which now occupies the lawns of two houses that he owns across the street, too, went noticed only by neighbors, who were largely tolerant, and other artists, like his fellow Alabamian Lonnie Holley, who began making assemblages out of salvaged materials on his property in Birmingham in the 1980s and who has called Minter a ''hero.'' Their creations are part of an outdoor artistic tradition sometimes called yard art, which has its origins in America in the 1800s but truly flourished in the mid-20th century, its rise concurrent with that of the single-family home. New technologies of mass production permitted the construction of affordable assembly-line homes, while the G.I. Bill and the availability of better mortgage terms after the war allowed greater numbers of ***working-class*** and, to some extent, nonwhite Americans to buy property. The yard became a symbol of the American dream and the site of a particularly American art form, an outdoor gallery to showcase one's tastes -- whether assimilationist (a white picket fence) or kitschy (pink flamingos). If suburban-style neighborhoods, within and outside of cities, represented conformity, they also became vast grounds for self-expression.

But it wasn't until some of these middle-class areas went into decline that a more ambitious and even confrontational artistic impulse emerged. Influential yard art started appearing at the beginning of the 1980s, in neighborhoods that had been devastated by recessions and neglected by city governments. Artists, many of whom were Black or immigrants, used their property, and the discarded detritus around them, as a kind of canvas -- a reminder that people were still living in these places, and a monument to all that had been left behind.

Yard art is often made by those who never attended art school. They're frequently blue-collar workers who hold -- or once held -- manual labor jobs: Holley, for instance, picked up trash at a drive-in and dug graves. Some learned fabrication skills at work and had access to salvageable parts. Cities have often been hostile to these unsanctioned displays of art by so-called nonartists. In 1994, Birmingham condemned Holley's wooded, two-acre yard environment, which he'd made over the course of 15 years, later bulldozing thousands of paintings and sculptures to clear the way for an airport expansion. ''They made it into an art graveyard,'' he's said.

But now, as traditional art institutions re-evaluate their canons, they're increasingly embracing these artists precisely because they've existed outside of them. Minter's work is owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Smithsonian. Tyree Guyton, 69, who makes art out of abandoned materials and houses in Detroit, is represented by Martos Gallery in New York. A show of yard art at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia that opened in July includes artists like Noah Purifoy, who spent 15 years working with junked materials on his property in Joshua Tree, Calif., and John Outterbridge, who made assemblages out of metal, wood and other scraps sourced from junkyards in Pasadena. What had once been thought of as a kind of outsider form is being celebrated as an influential movement that sought to use art to improve a community long before such an idea was taken as a given.

Yard art, then, finds itself at an unexpected crossroads, in demand by curators yet still under threat in the places where it's made, subject to forces outside its creators' control: unhappy neighbors, real estate developers, the weather. Its generational durability is also in doubt. For one thing, younger artists may not have the physical canvas that someone like Minter did. According to a Berkeley Institute for Young Americans analysis, a 30-year-old millennial was much less likely to own a home than a 30-year-old baby boomer. In many ways, yard art was a movement that could only prosper at a certain moment in America, and it seems likely that, as institutions navigate a life for these works beyond their in situ environments, the end of this art-historical era is near.

ONE OF THE first major works of yard art was by an Italian immigrant named Sabato ''Simon'' Rodia, a day laborer who built rebar towers, some nearly 100 feet tall, stitched together with wire and coated in mortar, behind his house in Watts, a diverse ***working-class*** neighborhood on the outskirts of Los Angeles. He worked obsessively on the project between 1921 and 1954, after which he moved north to live near his sister. The City of Los Angeles ordered its demolition, and it survived only because a graduate film student and an actor bought the property for $3,000 in 1959. (A few years later, Rodia was immortalized as one of the cardboard cutout figures on the cover of the Beatles' 1967 album ''Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band.'') The structures are now a National Historic Landmark.

Rodia, like many yard artists, saw his work as a gift to the community; he called Watts Towers ''Nuestro Pueblo,'' or ''Our Town.'' Yet some of his neighbors viewed the assemblage more as blight than art. That's also been the fate of Guyton's ''Heidelberg Project'' since its inception 38 years ago. Heidelberg Street, the four-block-long thoroughfare on Detroit's East Side where the artist was raised, was in an enclave of auto industry employees. It fell into disrepair as more and more families left the city after the uprisings against racial inequality that destroyed large portions of Detroit in the summer of 1967. After a stint in the army in the '70s, Guyton returned to Heidelberg Street to find it in decline. A few years later, with the help of his grandfather, he transformed the area into a multiblock parade of found-art assemblages, painting vacant houses with polka dots and symbols and creating sculptures out of discarded children's toys, old shoes, television sets and furniture. Word of the project grew, and it became a stop on the art pilgrimage circuit. On an afternoon in May, there were people visiting from around the world, and Guyton, a former firefighter and autoworker, was showing off what he'd been working on lately: a precariously stacked pile of shopping carts, a row of TVs on the sidewalk, an abandoned house with giant clocks painted on it.

While Guyton's reputation as an artist has grown internationally, he's spent decades being resented locally. Some of his neighbors have complained about him to authorities and even on ''The Oprah Winfrey Show.'' In the 1990s, he twice watched the City of Detroit demolish the houses he'd painted -- which were crack houses, burned-out buildings and other derelict spaces he'd chosen to draw attention to local officials' neglect of his community. ''You call the 'Heidelberg Project' an eyesore -- what's this?'' he said, gesturing toward one house as he recalled past battles. The authorities only seemed to care about tearing down the houses once his art appeared on them, putting the artist's plans in jeopardy. ''We always had a vision of acquiring the land that we had been -- I always say sharecropping -- that we'd been taking care of,'' Guyton's wife, Jenenne Whitfield, said. Starting in 2013, a series of suspicious fires ruined even more of his work. Today, only two of the approximately 24 houses that he originally painted still stand. Last year, the organization that he and Whitfield founded to maintain the art and run community programs ran out of money and laid off its staff. ''I cried like a baby,'' he said. Still, Guyton, who once announced that he'd dismantle the ''Heidelberg Project,'' now has plans not only to maintain his work but to expand it.

The organization is still fund-raising, as Guyton bolsters his career outside of Heidelberg Street, finding the art world surprisingly easier to navigate than the place to which he's devoted much of his adult life. The very artworks that some had ridiculed in Detroit are now being purchased by collectors. His sculptures have been accused of lowering property values; but take one to New York and it could be worth more than a house on Heidelberg. Guyton's dealer said he can sell one of the artist's sculptures for $40,000.

AS THE ARTISTS of Guyton's and Minter's generations age, the question of how to preserve their work has become more urgent. At a house across town in Hamtramck, a small, immigrant-dense city within Detroit's borders, one arts nonprofit is offering a model of what might be done with a yard environment after its creator has died. Dmytro Szylak, who left Ukraine after World War II, started building a menagerie of mechanical toys, carousel horses and wooden windmills on top of his two backyard garages after he retired from a General Motors factory in the mid-80s. The installation, which he called ''Hamtramck Disneyland,'' soon towered over the alley on his compact block.

When Szylak died in 2015 at age 92, the property wound up in probate court and the future of his ''Disneyland,'' which was attracting thousands of visitors, was unclear. ''There was a sense that maybe the Ukrainian community in Hamtramck wasn't super into it because it's a bit garish,'' said Renee Willoughby, who takes care of the property on behalf of a nonprofit called Hatch Art, which was created in 2006 to support creative endeavors in Hamtramck. But unlike the ''Heidelberg Project,'' Szylak's work generally received municipal support. After Szylak died, Hamtramck's then-mayor, Karen Majewski, said the city was ''committed to preserving this jewel, and the artist's legacy.''

And while the yard-art tradition doesn't seem to have a next generation of direct descendants creating open-air museums on their front lawns, a number of younger artists are still making neighborhoods central to their practice. They're going about it in reverse order, however, using their art-world stature to acquire properties.

The 48-year-old painter Titus Kaphar's foundation NXTHVN repurposed two disused factories in a historically Black neighborhood of New Haven, Conn., in the hopes of encouraging artists to settle in town rather than leave for New York after attending the Yale School of Art. And in Chicago, Theaster Gates, 51, who has a background in both urban planning and ceramics, and his Rebuild Foundation have bought up more than 40 properties across the city's South Side to create housing, jobs and space for other community services. Many artists have looked to the house in historically Black neighborhoods as their subject, including Rick Lowe, 63, whose ''Project Row Houses,'' begun in 1993, involved restoring 22 homes in Houston's Third Ward and now spans five city blocks and 39 structures, and Amanda Williams, 50, who's painted houses slated for demolition on the South Side of Chicago in bright pink and yellow to call attention to their existence. Younger arts organizers are also playing a pivotal role in bringing renewed interest to the work of elder yard artists, including the Whitney Museum curator Rujeko Hockley, 40, who showed sculptures by Minter in the 2019 Whitney Biennial.

Matt Arnett, 56, who co-founded the Souls Grown Deep foundation for Black artists in the South with his brothers and late father, the author and collector Bill Arnett, said he's been working with museums, foundations and private individuals to preserve Minter's work -- ideally on-site. But ''the backup plan is to have the work saved ... somewhere.'' He hopes the uproar over the razing of Holley's work will help prevent Birmingham from repeating its mistake with Minter: ''I don't think any city wants to be responsible for destroying two of the most important sites in America,'' he says. Minter seems to be thinking a lot about what will happen to his work when he's gone. It's ''up to the next generation to preserve it,'' he said, ''because me and my wife took it as far as we can in the hands of God and with what little resources we had.'' He knows his art -- like a neighborhood itself -- will only survive if a community gets behind it. As another sign on the fence around Minter's yard reads, ''Come together or perish.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/t-magazine/yard-art-joe-minter-tyree-guyton.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/t-magazine/yard-art-joe-minter-tyree-guyton.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above: the view from the alley of ''Hamtramck Disneyland,'' created by the former General Motors employee Dmytro Szylak at his home near Detroit. Left: a sculpture by Tyree Guyton on Heidelberg Street in Detroit, where the artist grew up.

Left: Joe Minter has been adding to what he calls the ''African Village in America'' on his property adjacent to a historically Black cemetery in Birmingham, Ala., since 1989. Above: Szylak's ''Hamtramck Disneyland,'' which he worked on from the '80s until his death in 2015.

Above: some of the four-block-long Heidelberg Street has been taken up by Guyton's art. Right: to make his sculptures, Guyton uses salvaged materials from around Detroit, including discarded televisions. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICHOLAS CALCOTT) This article appeared in print on page M256, M258, M260.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

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[***Do Careerism and College Mix?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4H-FPH1-DXY4-X416-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 7, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; LETTERS

**Length:** 1146 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re ''Our Culture of Careerism Is Ruining the College Experience,'' by Isabella Glassman (Opinion guest essay, Sept. 29):

The author is spot on about the pre-professional pressures students face and how this contributes to mental health challenges.

As a psychiatrist working with college students for 30 years, I have seen students sink into a depression if they are not achieving the perfect 4.0 to get into medical school, or hired by the finance or high-tech job leading to the most lucrative jobs.

The author rightly points out that parents have a big influence on their child's career choice, and they should be most concerned about their child finding a career that makes them happy. I would add: a job that also pays the bills.

Young people are under increasing pressure now because of the high cost of living and housing, but they can still have a good and rewarding life with a job they love, and most important, a strong support system.

Marcia MorrisOcala, Fla.The writer is the author of ''The Campus Cure: A Parent's Guide to Mental Health and Wellness for College Students.''

To the Editor:

Isabella Glassman actually experienced what college should be all about: gaining knowledge to better shape life experiences -- and good for her.

She is right, of course, about pre-professional pressure culture driving current college experiences and outcomes. But she nevertheless turned her college experiences into better life choices.

Phil RobertsHayward, Calif.

To the Editor:

Isabella Glassman's essay laments the culture of pre-professional pressure at universities. It is no wonder, with an average yearly tuition and fees of about $47,000 at ranked private universities. Many students have loans to reimburse upon graduation.

Furthermore, the names of blue-chip firms on a rÃ©sumÃ©, as well as the networks developed at those employers, give a leg up on someone's entire career.

As someone who majored in French and worked in management consulting, I can attest that it is still possible to major in the humanities and get a job, but it would have been a whole lot easier had I majored in business.

Also, more than $200,000 for all-in tuition seems a lot to pay for fluency in French, n'est-ce pas?

Shayna SilvermanAmsterdamThe writer is an American expatriate.

To the Editor:

Careerism has an important place on college campuses. A campus completely chock-full of financiers and consultants is not conducive to fostering meaningful academic discourse nor representative of the American reality. However, one solely composed of moralists and completely lacking in pre-professional culture is equally devoid of academic richness and equally disconnected from the experiences of ***working-class*** Americans.

Some young people, such as Isabella Glassman and me, deeply value the impact of their careers. Others, including many of my peers at Georgetown University and Ms. Glassman's peers at the University of Pennsylvania, value the material benefits and prestige they will receive from their work.

A university must have students who represent the incredible diversity of opinions and perspectives about the value and morality of work in America. Doing so is critical to furthering meaningful discourse both inside and outside the classroom.

To thrive, a university needs both. Encouraging a diversity of perspectives on campus means a diversity of perspectives on all topics, including work. The wannabe Goldman Sachs bankers and Deloitte consultants hold a meaningful place in academia, right alongside the aspiring lawyers, doctors and public-school teachers.

Zane NagelWashington

To the Editor:

Uh-oh! We live in an ever-changing, complex, diverse and interdependent world facing challenges we've never faced before. So will our children (who are the future) trained only in mergers and acquisitions be equipped to help us survive and thrive?

Meanwhile, I just need a qualified plumber to show up.

Susan B. WestAthens, Ohio

New York City's New Outdoor Dining Program

To the Editor:

Re ''The Death of Outdoor Dining Is a Blow to New York's Vitality,'' by Parker Richards (The Point, Opinion, nytimes.com, Sept. 24):

The headline wrongly declares that New York City's new law governing outdoor dining is a ''blow to New York's vitality.''

New Yorkers came to enjoy outdoor dining during the pandemic, and the Adams administration has made it a permanent part of our city's streetscapes. To achieve this, we needed clear and consistent rules that work for restaurant owners and the communities they serve.

That is why, with support from leading restaurant associations, I was proud earlier this year to launch Dining Out NYC, the nation's biggest and best outdoor dining program. The program preserves the best parts of outdoor dining, addresses important quality of life concerns and adheres to City Council legislation that made outdoor dining seasonal.

Six months before the launch of the program's first season, three times as many restaurants signed up for outdoor dining as participated in the previous prepandemic outdoor dining program largely limited to sidewalks in Manhattan.

We are also making it easier to participate. Our Dining Out NYC Marketplace offers one-stop shopping for restaurant owners to find compliant dining setups, as well as rental and storage solutions.

I am excited that we have an outdoor dining program that is built for the long haul and reimagines our streets as vibrant public spaces that meet the needs of all New Yorkers. I encourage restaurants to sign up.

Ydanis RodriguezNew YorkThe writer is commissioner of the New York City Department of Transportation.

To the Editor:

I'm not sure where in Brooklyn Parker Richards lives, but in my corner of the borough the rats certainly enjoy eating in outdoor dining sheds more than I do. After four years of watching the slow deterioration of these wooden structures, I found their removal a relief.

Don't get me wrong. I enjoy eating outside for the few months of the year when it is warm enough to do so. But eating on a dilapidated wooden platform with walls just isn't ''it'' for me.

Allowing people to eat in the open air, away from the potentially deadly germs of others, was an important lifeline for New York's residents and restaurants during the era of Covid limitations. As pandemic restrictions have all but gone away, it's time for the year-round sheds to go, too.

I hate to agree with the just indicted Mayor Eric Adams, but on this issue, I do.

Amelia KingstonBrooklyn

Immigrants Built America

To the Editor:

The immigration views of the MAGA folks ignore that America was made great by the immigrants to begin with. That's right: The immigrants built our railroads, they built our bridges and they worked in just about every manufacturing job that made us the envy of the world.

George KafantarisWarren, Ohio

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/06/opinion/careers-college.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/06/opinion/careers-college.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A21.

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**End of Document**



[***Pennsylvania Democrats Ride Harris's Momentum***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CP5-7C31-JBG3-60PD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1279 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

Gov. Josh Shapiro won't be on the Democratic ticket, and nor, for that matter, will the Scranton-born President Biden. But party officials in the battleground state are cautiously hopeful.

To Josh Shapiro's supporters, the case for him as Vice President Kamala Harris's running mate was clear: He was the popular governor of Pennsylvania, and could help her lock down the most important battleground state on the map.

Ultimately, of course, she went with Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota instead, leaving Pennsylvania Democrats to confront a new reality.

After years of basking in attention from the Scranton-born President Biden, and after roughly two weeks of furious speculation about Mr. Shapiro's potential promotion, their state no longer stars on their party's presidential ticket.

Democrats may reassess Ms. Harris's choice of a running mate in hindsight if she narrowly loses Pennsylvania, the electoral-vote-rich state that decided the 2020 election for Mr. Biden and is universally seen as pivotal and highly competitive again this year.

But for now, interviews with even some of Mr. Shapiro's strongest backers in Pennsylvania suggest that most Democrats, riding a wave of newfound momentum, have not only made peace with Ms. Harris's choice -- they have also embraced it fully.

''We like to have our favorite son there, naturally,'' said former Representative Robert A. Brady, the chairman of the Philadelphia Democratic Party, who was a vocal Shapiro supporter during the vice-presidential search.

Yet Mr. Brady sounded more than mollified after watching the top two Democrats roll out their partnership at a raucous rally in Philadelphia this week -- after an effusive introduction by Mr. Shapiro. Asked if he thought the race was harder for Democrats in his state without the governor, Mr. Brady replied, ''Not according to what we saw on Tuesday.''

''It will be competitive,'' he said. ''But I think that there's such an energy.''

In Pennsylvania and across the country, Democrats are invigorated after Mr. Biden bowed out of the presidential contest, ending a painful intraparty fight and what had seemed like a long slog toward a November defeat. Their sense of catharsis has given way to displays of enthusiasm for Ms. Harris that draw comparisons to then Senator Barack Obama's campaign in 2008.

In key battleground states, however, party officials stress that the general election is still poised to be close and unpredictable, as voters worry about issues like the cost of living, the broader economy and a volatile global landscape. The presidential ticket shake-up put Democrats back in the game, the argument goes, but the road ahead is long and difficult.

Given that backdrop, some had argued that Mr. Shapiro was the obvious choice to be Ms. Harris's running mate.

In a recent Fox News poll, his favorability rating was 61 percent, strikingly high in such a closely divided state. In his past races for governor and state attorney general, he made inroads in more rural and conservative parts of the state that have drifted further from the national party, while running up the margins in the suburbs.

''If Josh was on the ticket, you couldn't guarantee you were going to bring all those people over,'' said Larry Ceisler, a Democratic public affairs executive in Pennsylvania. ''But what you could guarantee is that he could open the door to them listening to a persuasive argument.''

But, he added, ''Democrats, even though a lot of people are disappointed personally that Josh is not on the ticket, we believe that there's a very, very good chance to win Pennsylvania. But I do think that Gov. Shapiro's participation is very important.''

In his rousing address at the rally on Tuesday, Mr. Shapiro promised that ''I'm going to be working my tail off'' for the ticket. Though known to be ambitious, he has also emphasized that he is happy as his state's chief executive, a role he has held for less than two years. Privately, he had appeared more cautious about the prospect of the vice presidency than others in the mix, asking about his role and responsibilities, according to multiple people familiar with the selection process.

A Shapiro adviser said that the governor planned to help Democrats up and down the ballot, noting that he frequently spends time in parts of the state where sightings of Democrats are rare (an approach partly inspired by Mr. Obama, Mr. Shapiro told The New York Times last week).

''What I heard throughout that process was a combination of people saying, 'He would be great,' and people saying, 'Oh, we don't want to lose him here yet,''' said Representative Mary Gay Scanlon, a Democrat from Pennsylvania.

Historically, vice-presidential nominees have not always delivered their home states, and the Harris team's polling did not suggest that Mr. Shapiro would bring a decisive advantage in Pennsylvania.

While exit polling showed that he won 16 percent of Republicans in his 2022 race against a far-right opponent, and 64 percent of independents, state races tend to be less partisan than federal ones that determine the balance of power in Washington. Democrats and Republicans running for governor, for example, have a greater ability to win on unfriendly political terrain than candidates for Senate or the presidency.

Jeff Bartos, a Republican from suburban Philadelphia who ran in Pennsylvania's Senate primary in 2022, said he considered Mr. Shapiro a longtime friend. His wife, Sheryl Bartos, co-hosted a fund-raiser for Mr. Shapiro in 2022.

But given the spate of challenges Mr. Bartos sees facing the country and the state -- including concerns about energy -- he said he would have supported former President Donald J. Trump regardless of what the Democratic ticket looked like.

''No matter how you look at the election, Vice President Harris was always going to have to answer for the policies of the Biden-Harris administration,'' Mr. Bartos said.

Many Democrats realize they will not convert most Republicans, or fully win back the white ***working-class*** voters who were once reliably Democratic but have trended hard against their party -- but they also know they cannot afford to lose those voters by overwhelming margins.

Mr. Walz, a liberal governor who can speak the language of the more conservative heartland, is responsible for taking on that challenge.

A former high school teacher and football coach who represented a largely rural House district before becoming governor, he brings a plain-spoken and affable Midwestern sensibility to a ticket led by a former prosecutor from coastal California.

''Governor Walz will be a key messenger in these rural areas where we're focused on limiting Republicans' margins,'' Dan Kanninen, the battleground states director for the Harris-Walz campaign, said in a memo released Wednesday.

He said the campaign was working ''to make inroads in historically safe Republican areas'' by establishing operations in Pennsylvania's Union, Lancaster, Cumberland and York Counties, all places Mr. Trump won by double digits in 2020.

A campaign aide said the team was considering sending Mr. Walz to local football games, and Lt. Gov. Austin Davis of Pennsylvania said he thought the Minnesota governor would connect with ***working-class*** voters in the state, including in old steel towns, though he acknowledged that Pennsylvanians did not know much about him yet.

''This is going to be a close race,'' Mr. Davis said. Emphasizing the importance of on-the-ground field organizing, he continued: ''We have to own the ground. We have to be in communities all across Pennsylvania -- in communities, sometimes, where it's not easy to be a Democrat.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/harris-shapiro-pennsylvania.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/harris-shapiro-pennsylvania.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Josh Shapiro gave Vice President Kamala Harris an energetic welcome at a rally in Philadelphia despite not being picked as her running mate. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** August 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Obama Tears Into Trump in North Carolina, Which Has Eluded Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8F-BN41-DXY4-X1F2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday 14:32 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1241 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:** Barack Obama’s presence looms large in the state, which his party hasn’t won since his first presidential bid. He painted Donald Trump as a danger to the country, families and pocketbooks.

**Body**

Barack Obama’s presence looms large in the state, which his party hasn’t won since his first presidential bid. He painted Donald Trump as a danger to the country, families and pocketbooks.

Former President Barack Obama offered a stark warning on Friday night of dangers posed by a second Donald Trump presidency, pleading with North Carolina voters to cast their ballots over the final days of early voting in the state.

Speaking for nearly 50 minutes to a crowd of nearly 6,000 in the Charlotte Convention Center on Friday, Mr. Obama highlighted [*Gen. John Kelly’s claims*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/john-kelly-trump-fitness-character.html) that Mr. Trump had spoken admiringly of Hitler. He laid out the concerns raised by former Trump administration officials and senior Republican White House staff members about what they saw as abuses of power and authoritarian tendencies that made Mr. Trump a threat to America’s democratic principles.

Alluding to recent erratic behavior — such as a town hall [*where he swayed on a stage to music for over 30 minutes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/john-kelly-trump-fitness-character.html) — and [*incendiary remarks about his political opponents*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/john-kelly-trump-fitness-character.html) and Americans who died in war, Mr. Obama posited that his successor in the White House was unfit in more ways than one.

“If a family member acted like that, you might still love them, but you wouldn’t put them in charge of anything,” Mr. Obama said. “And yet, when Donald Trump lies or cheats or shows utter disregard for our Constitution, when he calls our service members who died in battle ‘losers,’ when he calls our fellow citizens ‘vermin,’ people make excuses.”

He also repeated many of the same themes that have animated his campaign speeches in the last few weeks regarding Mr. Trump, arguing that his lack of policy plans would harm Americans in almost every aspect of their lives, from health care to housing to groceries. If elected, Mr. Obama said, Mr. Trump’s second term would be more damaging than his first, particularly for middle- and ***working-class*** voters.

Those who wish to “shake things up” by voting for him or who feel he would deliver a stronger economy, he added, are misinformed. It was he, Mr. Obama, who was responsible for building up the economy after the Great Recession.

“Please do not give him credit for an economy he didn’t have anything to do with making work,” he said. “Do not fall for the okey-doke. Don’t get bamboozled.”

Democrats see North Carolina as a southern swing state that is within their reach after their repeated presidential losses there. Polls show that Vice President Kamala Harris is narrowly trailing Mr. Trump in the state, which is vital to his path back to the White House. But in key blue corners of the state, turnout among key voting blocs is lagging, leading Democrats to lean on a dose of star power to bolster their closing argument in battleground states.

A visit from Mr. Obama, whose 2008 victory made him the last Democrat to win North Carolina, offers a chance for the party to increase turnout among key constituencies in the Tar Heel State, namely Black voters and young people — the voters who helped power his first and only win there.

Charlotte, North Carolina’s biggest metropolitan area, is also [*the seat of Mecklenburg County*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/john-kelly-trump-fitness-character.html), which has been a heartbreaker for Democratic presidential candidates in recent cycles. In 2020, Joseph R. Biden Jr. lost North Carolina by just over a percentage point, his narrowest loss of the election. Democrats in the state pointed to lower turnout in Mecklenburg County as the cause.

“His presence here will energize the base,” Doug Wilson, a Democratic strategist based in Charlotte, said before Mr. Obama’s rally. Harking back to 2008, when Mr. Obama swept the state, he added that his visit was “a reminder of what is possible.”

This year, the county’s Democratic Party operation is better funded and more organized, [*state leaders say*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/john-kelly-trump-fitness-character.html). And Mr. Obama is looming large — literally and figuratively — over the contest.

“I think that he is going to bring out some people who may have doubts at this point,” said Constance McGee-Alharazim, 57, an independent voter who had traveled to the rally from Greensboro, N.C., and was planning to support Ms. Harris. “Getting people out to vote early is going to be crucial, I think, because once we get closer to the Election Day, I don’t feel like they’ll want to be inconvenienced.”

As the presidential race enters its final days, more than two million people in North Carolina have already cast ballots, outperforming turnout numbers from 2020, according to the State Board of Elections. But Democrats still have work to do in getting their voters to the polls. Turnout in Mecklenburg County has so far underperformed. Over 117,000 more voters had cast ballots in the county by this time four years ago. What’s more, Black voter turnout is lower now than it was in 2020 by almost 40 percent — a worrying sign for Democrats in the state.

Before addressing the crowd gathered in the Charlotte Convention Center’s Crown ballroom, Mr. Obama gave a short speech to supporters who crowded an overflow space outside the room. Nodding to the enthusiasm of those present, Mr. Obama said in his speech: “Let’s face it. If you’re here, you’re probably going to vote.”

The next step, he added, was encouraging others not in attendance to get to the polls.

At one point, Mr. Obama riffed on his “don’t boo, vote” line that has become a slogan among national Democrats. As the crowd groaned while he listed Mr. Trump’s campaign promises, he said of Republicans, “They can’t hear you booing, but they can hear you voting.”

In a brief interview after the rally, Gov. Roy Cooper of North Carolina, one of Ms. Harris’s most prominent allies, said Democratic voters would make up the lag in turnout.

“I believe during the next week that we’ll see a strong turnout in our early vote,” he said, pointing to Republicans’ embrace of early voting in recent months, which has led to an increase in the number of conservative voters heading to the polls. “We’re seeing a lot of votes that would otherwise be on Election Day or just earlier. So I don’t think Republicans have got any more votes.”

The party is also amplifying its voter engagement efforts through big rallies like Mr. Obama’s. The former president spoke at a rally in Georgia on Thursday that the Harris campaign said had drawn more than 23,000 people and was headlined by Bruce Springsteen, Samuel L. Jackson, Tyler Perry and Spike Lee. And as supporters emptied out of the convention center in Charlotte on Friday, Ms. Harris readied to rally in Texas, a historically deep-red state, where she was joined by Willie Nelson and Beyoncé.

In the Tar Heel State, Democrats have grown increasingly bullish, pointing to the changing demographics around Charlotte and the Research Triangle, which includes Raleigh and Durham. They are also likely to be aided by a galvanizing governor’s race between Josh Stein, the state’s Democratic attorney general, and Mark Robinson, its Republican lieutenant governor, whose [*inflammatory remarks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/john-kelly-trump-fitness-character.html) and [*personal scandals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/john-kelly-trump-fitness-character.html) have been an anchor on his campaign.

Mr. Obama has traversed several battleground states for Ms. Harris’s campaign in its final stretch, underlining his enduring popularity among Democratic voters. On Saturday, Ms. Harris will join the former first lady Michelle Obama for a rally in Michigan.

PHOTO: Former President Barack Obama at a campaign rally for Vice President Kamala Harris in Clarkston, Ga., on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, August 04th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CN3-8WT1-DXY4-X07B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 4, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 537 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 04, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending July 20, 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 | 67 | 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 | 300 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 3 | 4 | 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 | 57 | EVERYTHING I KNOW ABOUT LOVE, by Dolly Alderton. (Harper Perennial) The British journalist shares stories and observations; the basis of the TV series. |
| 5 | 6 | CHAOS, by Tom O'Neill with Dan Piepenbring. (Back Bay) A reassessment of events surrounding the murders committed by Charles Manson?s followers. |
| 6 | 4 | 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 | 38 | THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR ON PALESTINE, by Rashid Khalidi. (Metropolitan) An account of the history of settler colonialism and resistance, based on untapped archival materials and reports. |
| 8 | 219 | 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.? |
| 9 | 81 | 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 | 55 | CRYING IN H MART, by Michelle Zauner. (Vintage) The daughter of a Korean mother and Jewish American father, and leader of the indie rock project Japanese Breakfast, describes creating her own identity after losing her mother to cancer. |
| 11 | 177 | 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. |
| 12 | 495 | 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 | 77 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 14 | 223 | 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. |
| 15 | 30 | 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. |

**Load-Date:** August 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Elon Musk’s Political Influence***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFH-1361-DXY4-X0NH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 18, 2024 Monday 06:43 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1843 words

**Byline:** Jonathan MahlerJonathan Mahler, a staff writer for The New York Times Magazine, has been writing for the magazine since 2001.

**Highlight:** We explore Musk’s agenda and ideology.

**Body**

We explore Musk’s agenda and ideology.

Over the course of the 2024 presidential campaign, Elon Musk went from dark-money donor to high-profile surrogate to [*unofficial chief of staff*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). He camped out at Mar-a-Lago after the election with the Trump family and hopped on Donald Trump’s call with Ukraine’s president. He’s even played diplomat, meeting secretly in New York with Iran’s ambassador to the United Nations.

Last week, the president-elect named Musk to co-lead a department focused on government efficiency, a role that will put him in a position to recommend the hiring and firing of federal workers and the restructuring of entire agencies. But it’s clear that Musk’s influence could reach far beyond even this.

He and Trump are in sync on a lot of issues (immigration, trans rights). And although they diverge on some others (climate change and policies that push people toward electric vehicles), the world’s richest person has now allied himself with the leader of the free world whom he helped install in office, creating a political partnership unlike anything America has ever seen.

In today’s newsletter, we will look at Musk’s agenda and ideology — and at what his influence in the new administration could mean for both him and the country.

Big government deals

Musk previewed plans for his new job on the campaign trail.

He said that the federal government’s $6.8 trillion budget should be slashed by at least $2 trillion and acknowledged that such draconian cuts would “necessarily involve some temporary hardship.” Slashing and burning is certainly one of his hallmarks: He laid off 80 percent of X’s staff after buying the company — then called Twitter — in late 2022.

Musk has a lot to gain from a second Trump administration. His businesses are already entangled with the federal government, which awarded them $3 billion in contracts across numerous agencies last year. His rocket company, SpaceX, launches military satellites and shuttles astronauts to the International Space Station. Even before the election, Musk [*asked*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) Trump to hire SpaceX employees at the Defense Department, presumably to further strengthen their ties.

Musk is also at war with federal regulators. He faces at least 20 investigations or reviews, including [*one*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) into the software of Tesla’s self-driving cars and [*another*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) into polluted water allegedly discharged from SpaceX’s launchpad in Texas. It’s safe to assume that Musk will try to quash these inquiries and also seek greater freedom from oversight in the future.

Musk views government regulation as more than just a drain on profits. He is a [*techno-utopian*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) who sees his work — from trying to [*colonize Mars*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) to implanting computer chips in people’s brains that will enable them to control devices with their thoughts — as vital to the long-term survival of the human race, and he doesn’t want bureaucracy to stand in his way. “The Department of Government Efficiency is the only path to extending life beyond Earth,” he wrote last month on X.

At the same time, some government regulations have proved enormously beneficial to him. Tesla generates billions of dollars selling zero-emission vehicle credits to carmakers that don’t make enough electric cars to earn them.

Cultivating Trump seems to be paying off. Trump was a harsh critic of electric vehicles; he accused them of hurting American autoworkers while helping China and Mexico. But on the campaign trail this year, Trump said that he was “for electric cars” because “Elon endorsed me very strongly.” And that was before Musk relocated to Pennsylvania during the homestretch and spent nearly $120 million to help Trump win.

Musk’s ideas

Musk is not just an entrepreneur. He is a new kind of media mogul, with ready access to the president and few rules governing how he uses his platform. And he wants a hands-off approach.

He considers himself a free-speech absolutist. After buying Twitter and renaming it X, Musk [*reinstated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) the accounts of hundreds of users barred for spreading misinformation or inciting violence. Trump’s was among them — he was kicked off the platform after the Jan. 6 attack out of concern that he might encourage more violence— and during the campaign Musk used his own account to promote Trump’s candidacy to his more than 200 million followers.

That could make X a new home for the MAGA movement as Trump seeks out friendly outlets to champion his policies. The platform is already a gathering place for Trump’s supporters. Once Trump is back in the White House, it’s easy to imagine it as the primary means through which he and his officials communicate with the public, bypassing an independent media that Trump considers hostile and Musk considers unnecessary and corrupt.

It would cement an unusual bond between two extraordinarily powerful, if famously impulsive, men. Provided that they don’t fall out, they stand to gain a great deal from each other.

For more

* Musk has wooed [*right-wing heads of state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) to help him and his companies.

1. NASA, the Pentagon, the E.P.A.: [*See the government agencies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) that pay Musk’s businesses and how much they shell out.

* Trump has chosen Brendan Carr, a critic of Big Tech, [*to lead the Federal Communications Commission*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). Carr currently sits on the commission and wrote a chapter on the F.C.C. for the Project 2025 planning document.

1. Trump said [*he was standing by Pete Hegseth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), his nominee for defense secretary who has been accused of sexual assault. Hegseth says the interaction was consensual. He previously entered into a financial settlement with the woman that had a confidentiality clause.
2. Trump is [*interviewing candidates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) for Treasury secretary, including the Wall Street billionaire Marc Rowan and the former Federal Reserve governor Kevin Warsh.

THE LATEST NEWS

War in Ukraine

* President Biden has authorized Ukraine to use U.S.-supplied long-range missiles [*for strikes inside Russia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). Read about [*the weapons that might be used*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

1. Biden was [*responding to Russia’s decision*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) to allow North Korean troops into the fight, officials said. Trump might undo his efforts.

Middle East

* [*Israeli airstrikes hit Beirut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), killing at least six people, Lebanese officials said. Attacks inside Beirut are rare, but Israel’s military has been targeting Hezbollah in areas nearby.

1. Families of American victims of the Oct. 7 terrorist attack and of those killed fighting in Gaza [*sued Iran*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). They accused Iran of supporting the deadliest massacre of Jews since the Holocaust.

More International News

* The authorities in New Delhi have [*closed schools and urged people to stay indoors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) because the Indian capital is choked by toxic smog.

1. Gang violence is prevailing in Haiti, despite foreign intervention. Solutions are [*difficult to find*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).
2. Anti-immigrant sentiment [*is gaining ground*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) in Europe despite a decline in the number of border crossings.
3. The Times spoke with [*Venezuela’s opposition leader in hiding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). She is pushing Trump to oust the country’s leader, Nicolás Maduro, who is accused of stealing the election.

Politics

* Biden [*visited the Amazon rainforest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) and promised Brazil funds for environmental initiatives.

1. This election cycle, Democrats’ challenges with white ***working-class*** voters worsened. One diagnosis: Those voters see the party as [*unresponsive to their daily troubles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).
2. Ann Selzer, a vaunted pollster, announced the end of her [*election polling operation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). Her final Iowa poll before the election showed Kamala Harris leading Trump.

Homelessness

* A progressive stronghold in California plans to [*target two sprawling homeless encampments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), relying on a Supreme Court decision handed down by a conservative majority.

1. At least 146,000 public school students in New York City [*were homeless last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), a record, according to an advocacy group.

Other Big Stories

* About [*a dozen people carrying Nazi flags*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) and shouting expressions of white power and racial slurs marched through part of Columbus, Ohio.

1. Spirit Airlines has [*filed for bankruptcy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). It recently failed to renegotiate its looming debt.
2. Conservative social media platforms are [*becoming more popular*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

Opinions

Trump’s decision to [*fill his cabinet with military hawks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) signals a return to “might makes right” rule. Decades of counterterrorism operations prove it’s not effective, Oona Hathaway writes.

Pete Hegseth of Fox News represents [*America’s dissatisfaction with our military leaders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). But he doesn’t have the experience to be defense secretary, Jennifer Steinhauer writes.

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens discuss [*Trump’s appointments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) and Biden’s presidency.

Here are columns by David French on [*Trump’s demise*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), and Ezra Klein on [*what Colorado’s governor can teach Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

MORNING READS

The National Bible Bee: See inside a competition where young Christians [*recite memorized verses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

Ask Vanessa: “Should socks be subtle, or [*should they stand out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html)?”

Bluesky: People are turning to the upstart social media site as they [*seek alternatives to Facebook, X and Threads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

Test: How well do you know “Romeo and Juliet”? [*Take our quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

Object of desire: A [*$190 soap dispenser*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) is all the rage in Downtown Manhattan.

Metropolitan Diary: [*A hypnotic city*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

Lives Lived: In 1974, Celeste Caeiro, handed out red carnations to soldiers on their way to ending a 40-year right-wing dictatorship in Portugal. Her spontaneous patriotic act gave a largely bloodless coup its name: the Carnation Revolution. Caeiro [*died at 91*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

SPORTS

N.F.L.: The Buffalo Bills [*beat the Kansas City Chiefs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), 30-21, handing the defending Super Bowl champions their first loss of the season.

W.N.B.A.: The Dallas Wings [*won the No. 1 pick*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) in next year’s draft and a chance to select UConn’s Paige Bueckers, considered [*to be the likely top choice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

N.B.A.: The Cleveland Cavaliers achieved a blowout victory over the Charlotte Hornets. The Cavaliers became only the fourth team in NBA history to [*start a season with 15 straight wins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Malört — which is made from neutral spirits, wormwood and sugar — is the unofficial liquor of Chicago. The drink is bitter, herbaceous and citrusy, like sucking dandelion juice through a straw made of car tires or biting a grapefruit like an apple. In the last decade, Malört has gone from being sold exclusively in Illinois to populating bars across 33 states. [*Some fans worry it is losing its roots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

More on culture

* Clothes could become more expensive under Trump’s proposed tariffs. [*Read more in The Cut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

1. Seeing pregnant women undressed was once scandalous. [*Now they are visible all over advertising*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), Amanda Hess writes.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Bake [*cacio e pepe cheese puffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), with a bite of black pepper and Parmesan.

Find the best travel credit card [*with these tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

Bring [*a gift*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) to Thanksgiving dinner.

Play PC games [*with a controller*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

Take [*our news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). Yesterday’s pangrams were biplane and plebeian.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.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/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/musk-trump-transition-mar-a-lago.html).

PHOTO: Elon Musk at Mar-a-Lago. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Friday Briefing: Stars Rally for Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D87-94J1-DXY4-X0BS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1282 words

**Byline:** Gaya Gupta

**Highlight:** Plus, an interview with the Taliban’s most fearsome leader.

**Body**

Plus, an interview with the Taliban’s most fearsome leader.

The stars come out for Harris

With less than two weeks left before Election Day, Kamala Harris is pulling out big names to drive her supporters to the polls. She’ll hold a rally in Georgia with Barack Obama and Bruce Springsteen in the coming hours. And tomorrow, [*she’ll share the stage with Beyoncé*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) at a rally in Texas.

Between Beyoncé and Taylor Swift, who endorsed Harris after the presidential debate last month, Harris now has the backing of two of the world’s biggest pop stars, who carry particular influence with younger people.

At the same time, as the Harris campaign moves toward the political center, some worry that excitement among young voters is fading. The campaign’s tack to the right is meant to target college-educated, wealthier, white voters who may have voted Republican in the past. But some Democrats say [*she risks going too far and alienating progressives and* ***working-class*** *voters.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

A renewed push for a cease-fire in Gaza

Negotiators are expected to meet over the weekend [*in an effort to revive cease-fire negotiations*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) between Israel and Hamas. The head of Israel’s spy agency is expected to meet with the C.I.A. chief, Bill Burns, and the prime minister of Qatar.

U.S. officials said that they were open to the possibility of a shorter cease-fire — lasting roughly a week and a half — to allow more aid into Gaza in exchange for the release of a small number of the dozens of hostages. But it remains unclear whether Hamas was willing to re-engage in the long-stalled talks after Israel killed its leader.

Other Middle East news:

* The main emergency service in Gaza [*has ceased all rescue operations in the northern part of the territory*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) because of an Israeli offensive in the area.

1. Lebanon’s military said that [*an Israeli attack had killed three more of its soldiers*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) in the south.
2. France said it would support the [*recruitment of thousands of extra troops for Lebanon’s military.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

The world opens up to the Taliban

After facing near-total international isolation over recent years for their erasure of women’s rights, the Taliban are now seeing a shift. Dozens of countries have welcomed Taliban diplomats. There has even been talk of removing the group from terror lists.

The diplomatic moves toward normalizing the Taliban reflect a growing consensus among world leaders that [*the Taliban government is here to stay.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

Afghanistan’s best hope for change? Sirajuddin Haqqani was once known as an angel of death who topped the U.S. most-wanted list. But since the Taliban returned to power, [*he has tried to remake himself into a pragmatic statesman.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) Our Afghanistan bureau chief, Christina Goldbaum, interviewed him. [*Here’s what she learned.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

MORE TOP NEWS

* India: About a million people were evacuated from parts of the eastern coast as [*Tropical Cyclone Dana approached*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).

1. Canada: Prime Minister Justin Trudeau [*announced significant cuts to the number of immigrant newcomers*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) after years of expansion.
2. Climate: A U.N. assessment of the world’s climate goals found that [*countries have made no progress*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) in cutting emissions over the past year.
3. Russia: At a summit, President Vladimir Putin [*appeared to acknowledge*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) that North Korean troops had been deployed to his country.
4. Cambodia: Mech Dara, a journalist who exposed compounds in which people are forced to scam others online, [*was released on bail*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).
5. Britain: Lucy Letby, a former nurse who was convicted of the murder of seven babies, [*lost a bid to appeal one of her convictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).
6. Sri Lanka: The police have arrested three people over threats against tourists, specifically targeting [*visitors from Israel*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).
7. Turkey: Despite a deadly attack, the government is showing [*a new openness to reviving talks*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) with the Kurdistan Workers’ Party, or P.K.K.
8. Business: Boeing’s largest union [*rejected a tentative contract*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election), extending a damaging strike after the company reported a $6.1 billion loss.
9. Mozambique: Daniel Chapo was [*declared the winner of the presidential election*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) after a process marred by violence and fraud accusations.
10. Coins: Seven friends testing a metal detector found the Chew Valley hoard — [*the most valuable treasure ever discovered in Britain*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).

* A.I..: President Biden is expected to sign the first national security memorandum on [*how the Pentagon and the intelligence agencies should handle A.I.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

1. Chips: Intel is at the center of a plan to revive U.S. chip manufacturing. But [*the company’s poor performance is stoking fears*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) about its ability to deliver.
2. Crypto: Nigeria’s crackdown on cryptocurrencies led to the arrest of an American employee of Binance. He’s coming home, but [*ties between the countries are strained*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).

SPORTS

* Baseball: The World Series is here, with the Los Angeles Dodgers and the New York Yankees set to battle for the trophy. [*Here are our experts’ predictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).

1. Soccer: When the French superstar Kylian Mbappe made his long-awaited move to Real Madrid, he [*chose to live in La Finca, an exclusive private development.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)
2. Formula 1: Here’s a breakdown of the [*Mexico City Grand Prix*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) circuit.

MORNING READ

The journalist Shiori Ito became the face of #MeToo in Japan when she went public with rape allegations against a well-known television correspondent. Now, as she prepares for the release of “Black Box Diaries,” a documentary she directed about her experiences fighting Japan’s justice system, she’s ready to move on. Ito’s defiance [*has made her a feminist hero in some circles and a punching bag in others.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

Lives lived: [*Ron Ely*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election), a television actor best known for his role in the 1960s show “Tarzan,” died at age 86.

CONVERSATION STARTERS

* A normal partner: Lana Del Ray married her longtime boyfriend, Jeremy Dufrene, a swamp tour guide. [*Other celebrities have also wed someone who’s not rich or famous.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

1. Math is power: A documentary filmmaker and a mathematician [*discuss our fear of numbers and its civic costs.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)
2. Attention, passengers: American Airlines is testing a system that will [*produce a sound*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) when a passenger tries to skip the line.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Do people in ‘blue zones’ live longer?

The concept is simple and alluring: There are special regions around the world — called blue zones — where people remain vibrant and active into their 90s and 100s, thanks to a simple set of behaviors that anyone can follow.

It’s sensible enough to sound convincing and ambiguous enough to support a health and longevity empire. In the 20 years since blue zones were first introduced, the Blue Zones brand (now trademarked) has spawned eight books, a Netflix series and several product partnerships, all in the name of helping people attain their longevity goals.

But not everyone is buying into it. Some experts are questioning whether the blue zones themselves might be too good to be true. [*Here’s what they are saying.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

RECOMMENDATIONS

Cook: Scallion oil is the star of this foolproof preparation for [*flavorful fish*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).

Watch: “[*Magpie*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election),” starring Daisy Ridley, is about female rage and the loneliness of motherhood.

Read: Here are [*four new romance books*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) with a spooky twist for Halloween.

Train: [*These exercises*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) extend the spine’s range of motion and can help prevent back injuries.

Travel: Vancouver serves as a gateway to [*explore the beauty of British Columbia’s coastline.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election)

Play: [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election), the [*Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election) and [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election). Find [*all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).

That’s it for today. See you Monday. — Gaya

A correction: A photo caption in yesterday’s newsletter misspelled the surname of one of the subjects of the story. His name is Sewell Setzer, not Seltzer.

We welcome your feedback. Send us your suggestions at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/24/us/harris-trump-election).

PHOTO: Barack Obama and Eminem at a rally for Kamala Harris on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Paul Sancya/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***It’s the Corruption, Stupid; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJP-BBC1-JBG3-6136-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 11218 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:** The politician discusses what lessons he thinks Democrats have forgotten.

**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).

Our [*last episode was with Faiz Shakir*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/26/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-faiz-shakir.html), Bernie Sanders’s former campaign manager. And it was about the question of whether Bernieism was a way forward for the Democratic Party. But I said at the beginning that I was going to make that a pairing, that we’re going to have two very different perspectives on what Democrats should do next.

So here is the other. And it is, as I promised, very different. Rahm Emanuel is America’s ambassador to Japan. Before that, he was mayor of Chicago, but it’s what he did before that that interests me. Emanuel was Barack Obama’s chief of staff in the first two years of Obama’s first term. This was when Obama passed the stimulus bill, the Affordable Care Act, the Dodd-Frank financial reforms.

Archived clip of Barack Obama: It’s fair to say that we could not have accomplished what we’ve accomplished without Rahm’s leadership.

Archived clip of Rahm Emanuel: You never want a serious crisis to go to waste. And what I mean by that, it’s an opportunity to do things that you think you could not do before.

And before that, Emanuel led the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in 2006. This was the midterm elections following George W. Bush’s re-election in 2004. And Emanuel masterminded the campaign that won the House back for Democrats for the first time in 12 years.

Archived clip of Katie Couric: Americans voted for a change in the last election, and today we got it. The new 110th Congress convened with the Democrats in charge of both houses for the first time in 12 years. And for the first time ever, a woman is speaker of the House.

Archived clip of Rahm Emanuel: From every corner of the country, the American people have sent a resounding and unmistakable message of change and new direction for America.

And before that, Emanuel was one of Bill Clinton’s top advisers and top fund-raisers.

Archived clip of Rahm Emanuel: There’s an old saying that if you want to make an omelet, you have to break a few eggs. The American people were hungry for leadership. And I’m proud that in providing that leadership, President Clinton broke a few eggs.

Here’s what you cannot take away from him: He has been at the center of most of the biggest Democratic victories, both electoral and legislative, since the ’90s. The people who love him in the party — and there are many — they say: What this guy knows is how to win. And having lost in 2024, Democrats want to win.

And so Emanuel’s name is popping up a lot. David Axelrod, Obama’s former chief strategist, said that Emanuel should be the next Democratic National Committee chair. Steve Israel, a former top House Democrat, he said the same. Emanuel and his allies are clearly pushing him back into the frame. There’s a campaign going on right now.

But there are a lot of detractors too. Emanuel is a very controversial figure in the party. There are large factions that see the Clinton and Obama eras as good for Bill Clinton and Barack Obama but not that good for Democrats down ballot. And Emanuel is not from the wing of the party that believes the American public is waiting for democratic socialism.

He’s from the wing of the party that believes Democrats are often out of touch, that they listen to what gets said in the faculty lounge and dismiss what gets said on the street corner. That the most important thing Democrats have to do in any election, particularly a congressional election, is demonstrate — through the candidates they run, things they say and the things they choose not to say — that they’re listening to the people they claim to represent. I’ve said before that I think the analogue to be thinking about after 2024 is 2004. The last time a Republican president who won his first term by losing the popular vote got elected again in much more convincing fashion. And Rahm Emanuel was a guy, after that 2004 drubbing, who led the Democratic comeback in 2006.

So I wanted to have him on the show. What did he learn in that campaign? And what does he think Democrats should do now?

Ezra Klein: Let’s just start here. Why do you think the Democrats lost in 2024?

Rahm Emanuel: I mean, look, at a certain level, when 70 percent of the country thinks the economy is bad and, by equal measure, 70 percent think the country’s headed in the wrong direction, that is a structural equation for an anti-incumbent election.

Then there’s, I think, a second part, which takes understanding, and that is the top of the ticket performs worse than the congressional wing, which is not the norm. And then there’s kind of this moment in time — and you can look at other places where you and I are sitting here when a right-winger just went to the top in the Romanian election — people call it populism. I actually call it anti-establishment. And then I dial my clock all the way back, Ezra.

Look, I think there’s two seminal moments that explain the last 20-plus years in American politics. One, the Iraq war, where the American people were deceived into a war of choice. We lost thousands of young men and women. Thousands of young men and women are maimed for life. And we spent a trillion dollars in a failed endeavor and a war of choice. And we’re lied to, and nobody — and I mean nobody — is ever held accountable.

Six years later, the financial industry, housing crash, near depression, people lose not their lives like in the Iraq war, but they lose their livelihood, their homes.

So you have people losing lives, livelihood, and the elite and the top of the society totally unaccountable and never act like they did anything wrong. People out of the foreign policy establishment — they’re on boards, institutions, universities, bankers yelling for their bonuses, and the American people are fed up.

And then you fast-forward through Covid, and I think that what happens is the Democrats go — in the prior years, President Obama, the ’06 elections, etc. — from anti-establishment to the establishment and the elite, with the whole way we dealt with Covid, the way we dealt with science and talked to people.

And I think that is a deeper current. It’s unique to the United States. The first two examples — not totally the financial. And to me, that explains a lot of what I call the anti-Brussels, anti-Washington.

You say no one was ever held accountable, but that’s passive voice. You all never held anyone accountable.

Totally.

The administration that comes after the Iraq war and the financial crisis is the Obama administration. You’re the first chief of staff. Who was going to do it if not you?

That’s what I was going to tell you. There’s a famous — in about March, after the stimulus — it’s a very fair question, because we were having this debate after we passed children’s health insurance, Lilly Ledbetter legislation and the stimulus bill and a number of other things on national service and protecting kids on tobacco — we have this big Saturday debate.

President Obama had three major initiatives: cap and trade, health care reform and financial reform. And this is generic, at 10,000 feet — everybody, there’s nuances — we have a massive debate. The domestic side of it said that you got to get started on health care right now. It has to be first because every day you lose on health care to do it, you’re not going to get there. Not wrong about the legislative politics. The economic team worried that if you push financial reform first, the banks won’t lend, and it will hold the economy back.

I was arguing for Old Testament justice. It’s been written about, just taking a banker in the middle. Of the public square and literally beating the hell out of them through financial reform because they, this system, the society needed not only the catharsis, but we needed not only legislatively reforms, but I think the whole system needed somebody to be held accountable. And my argument about financial reform was the bankers would be on the other side fighting you — the financial industry.

In health care, to get it done — and there’s a memo to this effect — you’re going to need the health care industry — the lessons out of the Clinton administration — on your side of the table. The interest groups that had to be brought over or neutralized. And that was a big debate, and President Obama — you weigh kind of using the clock for health care or the fear about the economy, and you have to weigh these equities and never 100 percent.

And you’re right. And — not a banker and not a foreign policy establishment person — that kind of populism we talk about, I refer to as anti-establishment and anti-elite. And then the Democrats in ’06, ’08 win and because not only the type of candidates, the quality of candidates but also because we were against what the establishment had done.

I think we don’t realize how Covid flipped the script and we become the establishment, we become the elite, and there’s a series of other things that are additive to it. And you’re not wrong to raise that question. I think there’s a political price to pay that, literally, when we were doing financial reform after health care, bankers are yelling about their bonuses, they deserve bonuses, Washington shouldn’t tell them, and we’re bailing the industry out, to the tune of $800 billion, and in those days, that was a big number. So you’re not wrong on that level.

Can you really channel anti-elite or anti-establishment sentiment through the people of the establishment? And look, I’m talking to you. You’re a former White House chief of staff. You’re the ambassador to Japan. You’ve worked in finance. You’ve worked for presidents. You have led the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

There can be a tendency to say that there’s an anti-establishment mood and Democrats need to pick that up, but does that mean a personnel changeover? Your brother is a major health adviser and was a significant voice, Zeke Emanuel, during the pandemic, your other brother runs William Morris Endeavor.

When we talk about an anti-establishment mood, is it something that then requires a new generation of figures to channel that?

Well, that’s kind of a self-interested question from here, so yes and no. In the short answer, I mean, you look at Donald Trump, and he’s captured — I would not call the president-elect, by any imagination, an authentic voice of populism, yet he has sold himself as that person, and he does it not just on economic basis: I will be your instrument of your revenge. And he’s not — it just has to be authentic. He’s not exactly character A that you would point to, and I can give you the characters or individuals, rather, not characters, in Europe, etc., that also don’t — quote, unquote — fit that mold that you’re talking about and yet still have a voice that people attach to. That may tell you the depth of their anger, that they’ll look past a lot of contradictions to get there. Fair question, but then I go back to when I was Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chair in 2006.

I can’t tell you how many times I got told by members of the caucus, the people you’re recruiting at that time — these were veterans of the Iraq Afghanistan war, members of the intelligence community, national security apparatus, sheriffs, football players, different people, small-business owners. And they said: Well, these aren’t real Democrats.

I said, well, they’re not. They actually reflect, as every election does, but the election has a story and narrative behind it. They reflect this moment in time, and they are real Democrats. They may not come out of your mold, but they reflect the reality of their congressional district, which I think tells that story.

So part of the biography has to be authentic, but it’s not 100 percent an explanation for electoral or policy success. It’s a core piece, no doubt.

And I think the feeling has to be authentic. And we’re talking for two reasons, but one reason is one night, a few weeks ago, I’m sitting in my chair reading, and I get a call from a number I don’t recognize, and I pick it up, and it’s you. And with a lot of fury, you start telling me that you just feel Democrats have lost their way — you can say what you want to say from the conversation — but one thing you said that has been in my mind is that there were lessons in the Bill Clinton era, lessons in the Barack Obama era that you feel the Democratic Party has tossed aside.

That there’s, on the one hand — I think you’re right — an anti-establishment mood that the Democrats in the Biden and the Harris era did not channel and could not even speak to. But on the other hand, one of the things you have been saying publicly, and I think privately, is that there has also been a throwing overboard of what you see as both institutional and political wisdom that I think you understand yourself as a vessel for helping the Democratic Party, but back in front.

So tell me what that wisdom is.

Well, let me get one thing off — this is like therapy, so let me get one thing off my chest.

That’s podcasts.

Do you take Blue Cross Blue Shield?

No therapist does. That’s the problem.

I mean, think about it. The harshest criticism of President Clinton and President Obama’s tenure comes from Democrats.

Fact: Bill Clinton, first Democrat to get re-elected since Franklin Delano Roosevelt. That’s a fact. Second, from 1968 to 1988, 20-year run, outside of Jimmy Carter, the Republicans run the presidency, and they run on law and order under Richard Nixon, welfare queens under Ronald Reagan and Willie Horton under George Herbert Walker Bush.

Bill Clinton, from Arkansas, comes along and solves the riddle of these holes, what we would call cultures, but crime, drugs, immigration and welfare. Now we can go through the policies, argue certain things, but he not only gets re-elected, which is one measure of success, but he also sets in a period of time — I think it’s six out of the last seven presidential elections — Democrats win a majority of votes.

I’m not saying he’s totally responsible for it, but it sets a pattern. And rather than learn the lesson of how we solved a 20-year problem for the party that had weighed on Michael Dukakis, weighed on every other candidate prior to that, we totally shunt his presidency aside. The people that study it are the Republicans.

They learn from it. Now, the same thing, President Obama, through both talking about his community service in working with steelworkers and communities, how he then addressed saving both Chrysler and G.M. and the auto industry and not just the industry and the jobs but the communities that relied on that single plant in a Youngstown, Ohio, or in a Rockford, Ill., or in a Saginaw or Flint, Mich., and he could relate to it.

And we say, “Oh, well, that economic recovery was just so low and small. It wasn’t big. It wasn’t bold.” Won Ohio, got re-elected, passed major health care. You don’t do 100 percent. And we look at this, and then you can take this election, and we’re not only losing ***working-class*** whites. We’re losing ***working-class*** Blacks and Hispanics.

And it is under a tenure of a president who, clearly, most pro-labor president since either John Kennedy or Harry S. Truman. And I’ve said this to you privately — I’ve said it publicly — there is more to people than the collection of their wallet and their checkbook.

They care about where their kids go to school. They care about whether their wives, spouses or partners or children can drive a car without being carjacked, and yelling at people, “Well, crime is coming down,” doesn’t work. Let me tell you something, as a former mayor: Nobody walks around going, “You know what? I feel 22 percent safer in 2024 than I did in 2023.”

Crime’s a feeling, a sense of a — a place of mind. And rather than telling people, “You don’t see the data,” which is how we come off, we should be saying, “Here’s our agenda to ensure that we keep reducing crime. And here’s what we’re going to do next. We’re going to work on carjacking, car thefts,” which is actually going up, not coming down.

Now think about this. Pre-Covid — is another example of an issue and where I think our party goes wrong — pre-Covid, Democrats historically run somewhere between a 15-to-22-point advantage on education. From Covid forward, the only two things you hear from Democrats on education is: We’re going to shut the school down. We’re going to close the front door of the school, and after Covid, we’re going to blow open the bathroom school door.

That’s it. Not what you’re going to do on math, not what you’re going to do on reading, what you’re going to do to drive graduation. And now what is the net result? Not only are parents pulling kids out of public schools; we’re barely breaking even on the issue of education.

And a president is running for election saying: I’m going to shut down the Department of Education. And we don’t have a credible voice or a credible box to stand on. We took a singular issue that we were the voice on, and Republicans were 20 points behind us on, on average, and we’ve lost it all. And we don’t even look at: Why is it?

We were very strong pro-labor as a party. Joe Biden gets credit for that. We lost ***working-class*** votes. And these are parents. They live in a community. They send their kids to school. They send their kids to a park facility, a library. They’re driving in their community. We don’t actually — in the name of fighting for ***working class*** — we don’t actually hear them.

We don’t listen to them. We tell them how to eat their peas.

It’s hard for me to hear you say that and not think these are also lessons from your mayorship, which is not really where I want to focus on in this conversation, but a lot of the angriest criticism of you was around shutting down schools and what those schools meant to communities.

Did that change your sense of what it means when a school is not functioning, what a school means in a place?

No, I mean, there’s no, look, it was an angry part. I mean, I talk about it, and we did things like drive our graduation rate up, but that was the hardest, one of the hardest decisions I made as a mayor.

You had schools that were built for 800 with 200 or less kids, and it was incredibly hard because it was not just a school; it was an anchor in the community. Not only couldn’t you afford it, but the kids, the schools were — three, four, five, six, seven years in a row — failing. And the school meant something emotionally, physically, and I get it. Very tough.

But I think what’s tougher: letting a kid, because it was politically hard, stay in a failing school. At the end of the day, eight years later, while other mayors have opposed what I did, they haven’t opened up the schools.

One of the measures of success you mentioned with both Clinton and Obama, and I think correctly, is re-election.

Let me say one thing. I don’t mean to interrupt you, sir. I made that decision in my first term and got re-elected. I’m not saying it was easy, but there is a measure there on both the academic side and the political side.

Well, that actually sets up what I’m going to ask, which is one of the measures you’ve mentioned here is re-election, right? For Clinton, for Obama. And one critique you hear of both of them is that, yes, they got re-elected, but under them, the Democratic Party down ballot got annihilated. So under Clinton, Democrats lose the House for the first time in 40 years. Under Barack Obama, huge wipeout in 2010, very, very rough elections in 2014.

And Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has made a version of this argument against you that, yes, what they were able to do was successfully manage their own political capital, but they were not able to build a strong and healthy Democratic Party. And one of the reasons the Democratic Party subsequently turned on their brands of politics, more so on Clinton than Obama, in my view — obviously, Joe Biden was Obama’s vice president — is that the party felt that what they did worked for them but not for the future of the Democratic Party.

There’s a legitimacy to her observation and a conclusion. I don’t think it explains everything, and I don’t think it’s 100 percent accurate, but it’s a valid critique. One, you already start, under Ronald Reagan, seeing what are called Reagan Democrats, that movement, and the South, which had been a bastion for Democrats that we remembered, was shifting earlier than President Clinton. But it was a wipeout, and it doesn’t explain everything. I had disagreements with Bill Clinton. He thinks it was the assault weapon ban. I don’t think it was passing the assault weapon ban that caused the loss. President Clinton and I have — having been responsible for seeing that legislation through — had a 20-year running debate on whether the assault weapon ban was responsible for ’94.

And he does get re-elected, and Democrats do make gains, and by the way, in 1998, he breaks a 100-year kind of norm, which is in the sixth year, a presidency just gets blown out. Actually, the Democrats pick up House seats. So her critique is not wrong, but it’s not 100 percent accurate to what happened.

It’s more kind of devastating what happens, from a Democrat’s, when President Obama is done. I think we had the lowest House and legislative seats in about 100 years. I do think American politics is fundamentally different — this is my view, other people can argue — after the war and the financial meltdown.

It’s never getting above — you can’t get a president today above 60 percent. You can’t get — you know, right track, wrong track has been politicized. Economic sense, a right track, wrong track, in the sense of the direction of the country, economic sentiment about whether the economy is healthy or not healthy has been politicized, and the legitimacy and delegitimacy of Washington is in a place that’s different than it was pre-2000.

Now, to the effect on the party, a lot of efforts under President Obama are to build outside the party, not inside the party infrastructure, and that has its own consequences as well. And so it’s a critique, and as I’ve already said, it’s somewhat accurate but somewhat inaccurate. Because I do think — as you start, from Bill Clinton’s election forward — did create on a national level a favorable environment for Democrats because he finally took what we call this bag of issues, this cultural set of issues, and took them off the Democratic back and allowed us to get heard on a whole host of economic issues that we hadn’t been heard on before.

This then gets to the other reason I wanted to have you on the show, which is, after 12 years, the person who wins the House back is you. You’re the chair of the D.C.C.C. in the 2006 elections, which is a huge, huge Democratic wave victory. And I’ve been thinking a lot about 2004, which is maybe where I want to start, because 2004, to me, felt the most, for Democrats, like 2024 of anything, at least in my memory.

George W. Bush — it was known by then that the Iraq war was sold on lies. It was known by then that the Iraq war was proving to be a disaster. There’s a sense that who Bush was hadn’t been fully understood in 2000. He was an accidental president. There were butterfly ballots in Florida. He had lost the popular vote.

And then in ’04, when it is known, when the consequences of his policies are, seemingly, more clear, at least to liberals, he wins in a much more decisive fashion. And the day after, there’s a huge backlash against and inside the Democratic Party that feels very similar to today. Democrats have lost touch with the heartland is one of the arguments.

They have been too liberal on gay marriage. There were these gay marriage ballot initiatives that were partially blamed for their loss. There’s a sense that Democrats need to moderate. They need to move to the center. They need to regain a connection to an America that they no longer know or understand.

And there’s not just a confusion but a sense of alienation. That’s, at least, how I would describe it. But let me ask you how you understood the 2004 election when it happened.

2004 felt more like a gut punch, really, to the solar plexus because everything else you could kind of explain away. 2002, the Republicans win in a midterm: first elections post-9/11. You could explain that. 2000, you can say the U.S. Supreme Court cheated the Florida Supreme Court from doing their responsibility and made a decision — quote, unquote — only for this one case. To me, that was illegitimate.

By 2004, winning an election outright, no more trying to explain away a problem. And in 2004, you can sit there and play out how John Kerry ran the idea that you could take a guy like President Bush, who skirted on his own responsibilities with the National Guard, and yet John Kerry serves in Vietnam, serves his country, puts on the uniform, etc. — part of his whole not just biography but his political legitimacy — and turns out to be seen as weak on national security. And you can argue President Bush illegitimately attacked his character and his service. I think when you look back at the campaign, then-Senator Kerry totally mismanaged his campaign. Talking about, like, on Iraq: “I was for it before I was against it.”

Just major things that become character references and character points to him. So the way I look at 2004 is my conversation with Nancy Pelosi when she calls to ask me, literally the first week afterward, to run the D.C.C.C. for ’06 elections. And I think that ’04, there was no more hiding and making excuses to ourselves what we had lost.

You couldn’t use the 2000, you know, 500 ballots in Florida, not legitimate, etc. We had lost three elections in a row, and there was a fundamental problem, both on the quality of the people we were putting forward and the message we were putting forward.

When you say we were it —

Democrats.

This is one of the questions I think is interesting about ’04, and maybe it’s an overly optimistic one for Democrats to look at, because Republicans then — Karl Rove said quite a lot in this direction — believed they were building a realignment. They believed they were building a permanent majority of some kind. They thought that 2004 foretold a reshaping of American politics. And two years later, and then four years later, it doesn’t look anything like that.

And the fear that Democrats have lost touch and need to become — I don’t exactly want to say Republican lite, but I do want to say Republican lite — is also not their path back to victory.

No, that’s not. I mean —

I’m not saying you’re saying that. I’m saying that was a very common piece of punditry.

Let me say this. There are issues in which you want to sand down the difference so there isn’t a difference. And the reason you want to is to move them to your favorable terrain. But there’s a reason I went out and recruited candidates on the national security front. If you’re going to flip a Republican district, you’re going to take all these cultural issues because the biography told a story.

They had a legitimacy based on their experience, and their story, their biography, their life’s work made that swing voter culturally comfortable. That created a space for then the rest of the story to get told. We both had an agenda that differed with President Bush, and I would — just, for the record, last time the minimum wage got raised was right after ’06 elections.

There was an actual strategic plan, both on the policy side and on the candidate recruitment side, and it was a hand in glove. And yes, I got — I mean, you can go back, I think you and I started to get to know each other — I was getting pummeled. I wasn’t recruiting “real” Democrats — football players, sheriffs, people that worked in the Air Force, armed forces of this country, fought overseas.

There were other people — small business owners — all types of people were recruited. Why? Because there was a connectivity between the voters in that district that was, and you got to go back. Those districts were created to be a firewall against Democrats. They were created — they were little gerrymandered, so you couldn’t pick the lock.

We picked the lock with candidates in districts that you were not supposed to be able to do it. Now it is the sixth year of president, very unpopular war, and we prosecuted the war. And the war was built on building blocks of deception, and it was a repudiation in the sixth year of President Bush’s presidency.

And then — we shouldn’t forget this — in ’04 they did think, Karl Rove and others, that they were building a lasting coalition realigning politics. And they overshot the runway on Social Security. He never mentions it, and then comes the first thing he’s going to do is: I have a mandate for Social Security.

Well, bring it on. Let’s go. Because it drew the contrast where you wanted the terrain to be on your side, and we minimized the terrain on their side. That’s how you develop a strategy. And not only did we win 30 seats in ’06; we went back and won more seats in ’08 in the presidential year and followed a similar playbook.

And in 2018, it was replicated again in the first midterm of President Trump’s first term. That can that candidate recruitment, the issues you focus on, how you, kind of, where you move to shift the campaign story line to the most favorable terrain. It’s not different than what President Clinton did by addressing the set of cultural issues.

It’s not different than what President Obama did in prosecuting both against Mitt Romney and then against John McCain in ’08. There are certain issues. You differentiate, and you have clear contrast in the certain issues in which you don’t. That’s how you run a campaign.

If you were thinking about that for right now — and we haven’t seen the second Trump administration begin. We haven’t seen it take shape. We don’t know if there will be an analog to Social Security privatization —

OK, I got this question, because I’ve been thinking. Yes.

What, as you sit up at night —

As Henry Kissinger used to say: Does anybody have questions for my answers? Yes, I have.

Here is what frustrates me. Donald Trump, I do agree, that President Trump — I keep doing that, I should, he’s President-elect Trump — is a threat to democracy. We have those voters on “Hello.” If they think, that the issue of threat to democracy, threat to the rule of law — if they’re not a yes by now, they’re never going to be a yes. We had them on “Hello.”

Donald Trump is going to turn the Oval Office into eBay. He is going to sell it to every special interest, and you’re going to be left paying that tab. And the Democratic Party is the thin blue line between the pharmaceutical industry getting everything they want or you paying everything you have.

The Democratic Party is a thin blue line that will protect your kids from TikTok. And the Oval Office will become eBay. And whoever pays the highest price will get what they want, and you’ll be left paying through the nose.

We should have turned what people think — this is what polling and focus groups are about. They do have a view of President Trump. Both his character and his strengths, his weaknesses. We never prosecuted the case of how his — not just character but how he’s going to run the Oval Office. And he did it. He used to say: Oh, they give me lots of money. I’m going to give them — like the oil and gas industry: They give me a billion dollars. I’m going to give them all the cuts and regulations.

He has a very funny line on this with Elon Musk. He says: I didn’t like electric vehicles, but now Elon Musk supports me, so I got to.

He was against TikTok before he was for it. And your kids are going to be controlled by the Chinese. We never prosecuted what the Oval Office is going to look like under Donald Trump and how much you’re going to pay for it.

We prosecute — to give you an example: Take what I think President Biden did successfully, which is get the ability to negotiate pharmaceutical prices down and negotiate with the pharmaceutical industry, and you got lower prices on insulin. We wanted to talk about the benefit we did.

No. It should have been: The first president who took the pharmaceutical industry and beat the living crap out of them. And if we’re not there, the thin blue line, you’re going to go back to paying right through the nose. And President Trump, as you, just by example, oil and gas industry, E.V.s with Elon Musk, TikTok, it was a target-rich environment, and we left it. We ran around democracy and the rule of law — which I agree with.

But guess what? We had those voters. It was the other ones we needed. We talked about what made us feel so good about ourselves. Like we’re all — this is the other thing. I mean, now I really do hope you take Blue Cross Blue Shield, because I got to get this off. It’s like, think about this, as a party — not just that we didn’t prosecute the case that was fully present and actually fits with what people are worried about about Donald Trump — we talked about what we cared about, not what they wanted to hear.

But also think about how we talk about any issue as a party. This is what drives me crazy. Take the caring economy. I have never met anybody who’s described themselves in the caring economy. I’ve met social workers. I’ve met day care workers. I’ve met nurses, R.N.s. I’ve never met anybody who says, “I’m in the caring economy,” but we talked about it.

When you attack people — and I say this, my uncle was a police officer, etc. — “defund the police,” and they said, “Well, it doesn’t mean that,” well, then don’t use the English language. If it doesn’t mean what you said it was, don’t use the English language. Start speaking in Japanese, French, but don’t say what you just said and then tell me it doesn’t mean that.

“Latinx" and people that it’s supposed to appeal to — it doesn’t represent them. We talk about people of color. Anybody who’s been a mayor in a big city knows that doesn’t exist. We use language to feel good about ourselves, not to communicate. We all think we’re applying to be adjunct professors at a small liberal arts college.

We come off exactly like who we are. It’s insane. And the case against Donald Trump — now, again, I want to be honest, I’ve been in Tokyo for three years — pretty clear, it wasn’t democracy and the rule of law. After the last eight years he’s been in the public life, that was apparent. And everything that was — all the gold that you could have gotten out of that, you had.

It was the other piece of the story that actually mattered to people’s pocketbooks. And he will — and you can see by the cabinet that President-elect Trump is putting together — he will turn the Oval Office not only to the special interests, who President Biden fought, whether it was on oil and gas, whether it was pharmaceutical prices, took on every one of those special interests who had had control of Washington. He broke their hold.

And Donald Trump is going to let them back in. And not only back in, you’re going to pay for it every day. And we never prosecuted the other piece of it. The American dream is unaffordable. The American dream is inaccessible, and it’s unacceptable to us. The idea that people can walk around with multiple homes and a family can’t get a home, can’t afford a retirement, can’t afford their kid’s education is unacceptable.

Well, there’s a whole case to be made.

Isn’t that a hard case to make when it’s worst in the places where Democrats govern?

No, not at all, because this — you’re thinking about it because — I don’t want to criticize you on your show.

I’m a fair target on my show, man.

No, no, no, no, because you’re thinking of it linear. This is about where your heart is. This is about where your sentiment is. It is, I mean, I want to go back to Bill Clinton, but as he said in the snows in New Hampshire, when his draft letter’s out: The hits on me are nothing compared to the hits your kids are going to take if we don’t turn this country around.

I didn’t say to you one policy right there. It’s a sentiment about where your heart and soul is.

Archived clip of Bill Clinton: Somebody’s got to stand up and fight for real change. Look, this is a contact sport. I knew all this would happen. Or I knew something like this would happen. This is not about me. I can handle this. What’s the worst that can happen to me? I go home to my family, my friends, my life, my job. This is not a big deal. For me, it is a very big deal for the political process, and that’s where I want to leave it. I want to see this election fought out on what we’re going to do to change the future of the people of this country. And most of the people do, too. And they are being robbed of the chance to do it. That’s the point I want to make.

I mean, I have my own criticism of what are tough things and how Democrats make things more difficult than they need to be to get things done, as a former mayor trying to get a train station opened up and how many multiple environmental studies you have to do at the city level, the state level, the federal level.

There is a need for reform, and we got to be honest about it. But the fact that it’s more what I’m talking about, whether it’s owning a home, saving for your kids, education, saving for your retirement, being able to afford a health care expense without going into Chapter 11. That is not only a sentiment but also where your heart and soul is.

People are — yes, you are right, linear, Ezra: What are the policies to do that? But they really just want to know: Do you get it? Do you know where they are? I used to, I mean, there was a whole thing we started, what I called Congress on Your Corner. And I used to meet people at grocery stores, not town halls but just where they lived their lives, where they’re shopping.

And if they wanted to come over and talk about Medicare, Medicaid, veterans’ benefits, immigration issues, schools, some of my best policies that I introduced came from those times when I met people at a grocery store, Congress on Your Corner. So when you say, “Oh, well, that’s the worst in cities,” I don’t agree with that. It’s just kind of broad brush.

That said, there’s enough problems that we could be the party that reforms government, makes it more and more responsive to people.

I want to pick up on that idea of reform and corruption. I was thinking this week and talking to people in politics who actually run in and win elections, and this kept coming up: That in 1994 one of the absolute best issues for Republicans in retaking Congress for the first time in 40 years was reform. They ran on term limits on balanced budget. They ran against Democrats as corrupt and out of touch. People really, I think, forget how much Barack Obama’s 2008 campaign was a reformist campaign.

Archived clip of Barack Obama: I’ll make our government open and transparent so that anyone can ensure that our business is the people’s business. Justice Louis Brandeis once said, “Sunlight is the greatest disinfectant.” And as president, I’m going to make it impossible for congressmen or lobbyists to slip pork barrel projects or corporate welfare into laws when no one’s looking. Because when I’m president, meetings where laws are written will be more open to the public. No more secrecy. That’s a commitment I make to you as president.

He ran against special interests, against cable news, against political consultants. He was somebody who ran as disgusted with the way Washington worked. In 2016, Donald Trump ran as a political reformer, a wrecking ball to drain the swamp.

2006, we ran against the House that Tom DeLay built.

Archived clip of Nancy Pelosi: Because this all comes back to the American people. They have to have confidence that Congress is here to work in the people’s interest, not the special interest. They have to know — and I honestly believe — that you cannot advance the people’s agenda unless you drain the swamp that is Washington, D.C.

And then in this election, one of the things that happened was Democrats became very much synonymous with the institutions. Joe Biden is both the president and has been in Washington for many decades. Kamala Harris is the vice president of that administration. And one thing that just did not exist in the Democratic campaign was any kind of reformist impulse. There was Donald Trump, who hates the way Washington works —

A hundred percent.

— and the Democrats, who were there to defend Washington from Donald Trump.

Reform and corruption aren’t the same thing, and yes, they also are heads and tails of the same coin. This is also why in Europe, you’re getting people running races against Brussels.

We don’t fully — I can say as a former mayor of big city — government is way too big and cumbersome, and it is too hard to do basic things, and we end up defending the rules rather than the results. We need to be the party that is for the results, and if the government is a problem or the rules and regulations have the right purpose but are becoming their own problem, we’re defending something that is indefensible.

Look, a classic example, if climate change, which I agree, is an existential crisis, you don’t leave it just to FERC. It’s either an existential crisis, or FERC is the greatest thing that ever existed.

FERC being the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, the group that does transmission, line regulations and permitting.

Thank you for explaining what I said.

Democrats seem a lot out of touch to me, Rahm. Too many acronyms.

I have a rule here as ambassador. One acronym per paragraph. OK, that’s it. No more.

Look, I agree climate change is an existential crisis, but you can’t tell me it’s an existential crisis and the way FERC operates to agree to get a transmission line in, which has a seven-year backlog, is perfect, never to be touched. We’re going to defend FERC. I understand the role it plays. Are you telling me there’s nothing we can do that guarantees an end result in two years so we can actually do what we said we were going to do? Get transmission lines that can handle solar, wind and other renewables?

It’s crazy. And on the face of it, it’s crazy. It’s an existential crisis that will wait seven years for a result to build a transmission line from one city to another. My grandfather said — the great political philosopher Herman Smulevitz — what are you, meshuga? This is crazy. I did an L stop near McCormick Place, a train stop in Chicago. We had to do an environmental study. After we were done, the state did an environmental study, another 18 months. After both of us were done, we sent it up to Washington. They did another environmental study. Really? And you’re telling me there’s nothing we can do? It took three years to put a train station on an empty lot. It’s crazy.

One reason this is a hard case for Democrats to make is there’s nothing they did, specifically here. This has been a frustration for me because I focus much too much, probably, on environmental permitting and siting. Look, the Biden administration, the administration you’re part of as ambassador, their signal accomplishment is the Inflation Reduction Act, which is primarily built around decarbonization investments and, alongside that, the infrastructure bill —

And health care.

I think that’s an important thing that was in there, but I’m going to say the climate investments were the big piece of that. And they did not ever put forward — even though they know, and they have said publicly, that a huge problem is getting this stuff built quickly — they did not ever put forward their own significant permitting reform plan, bill, anything.

They supported the Joe Manchin plan that eventually emerged, which was a mixed bag, to say the least, but because it would split their own coalition, because permitting reform is a difficult issue for Democrats because a lot of the environmental groups don’t like it, they never came out and said, “This is what we think we should do to truly speed this up.”

The party should have done what — and I’m not here to try to relive Bill Clinton — the Al Gore. It worked. The Al Gore commission that reformed government. It did actually cut bureaucrats in Washington, rules and regulations, and it funded adding 100,000 community police officers throughout the country, which, actually, is starting in ’94. If you take 10 years after ’94 versus 10 years before ’94, you can look at the difference between crime rates. It worked on reforming government. It also worked on funding public safety and other initiatives that Democrats cared about. We should be against government rules.

Now, side note. This is not the core of your question. People always say democracy is broken. It’s not. It’s very successful at the state and local level, where people have trust in their government and feel it touches their lives and they have a connection to it. It’s broken in Brussels and in Washington, the farther government gets away. We’re only — rules and regulations are what we care about, and processes. We never, ever talk about the results.

We defend a status quo that is broken. We’re insane doing it politically, and it’s not actually accurate about what it’s trying to accomplish. And then there’s a side piece. I laughed when — I was snickering here, you can’t tell — when President Obama becomes a senator, I’m a congressman of Illinois, and Chicago, Marty Meehan, my colleague in the House, and Senator Obama, Russ Feingold, John McCain, we worked on a lobbying and ethics reform legislation, and it passed it, and — I’m unfairly, I can’t, I think it was Chris Shays was the Republican in the House who worked with us on it. It was bipartisan, etc.

Yeah, fighting, and it was coming on the heels — we fought against all the corruption that — you used to talk about public corruption, but a lot of people also saw the war and the way it was prosecuted at that time as corruption. It wasn’t this distinct piece of government rules, regulations, money, lobbyists, access, etc. They also thought the way Washington worked, how we got ourselves deceptively into a war was corruption.

And so we worked on that together, and it was what President Obama ran on because we had worked on it when he was a senator and I was a congressman. It was the legislation we introduced and passed. And again, whether it’s the integrity of public service or whether it’s also knowing that the system and the rules and regulations are not producing the results we want, we, as part of the establishment, have adopted the voice of defending the establishment when it’s failing. It makes no sense policywise, and it’s absolutely a dead failure politically.

Why do you think Democrats have done that?

And you’re asking me: “Democrats,” and it’s, like, a lot of us, but —

Why do you think that has happened?

I think it’s happened because we’re comfortable in being the establishment. We’re comfortable with what we have built and defended.

Even Franklin Delano Roosevelt talked about constantly reforming, constantly changing. If it doesn’t succeed, throw it out; try something else. I want to tell a little anecdote to illustrate a point. In the balanced budget negotiations in 1997, when we get to kids’ health care, President Clinton had pediatric care, eye and dental care paid through Medicaid expansion, to take kids whose parents worked, made more money than Medicaid, but get them health care. The Republicans had only pediatric care, no eye and dental, but it had to be a new program outside Medicaid because they hated Medicaid.

Final blah, blah, blah, blah, we — Bruce Reed, Gene Sperling, myself — we negotiate, it would be the president’s health care plan, pediatric care, eye and dental, but it would not be in Medicaid. And a number of Democrats voted against it because we weren’t screaming about Medicaid.

I said, I’ve got to say this as a son of a pediatrician — and I know a lot of people think I’m a son of something else — but people never talked about how they got paid. They cared about whether the kids had eye and dental care. That’s what the priorities are. And we were a defender of how it was going to be funded rather than what the result was. The result of kids’ health care plan was to get kids health care, not to fight about which government program paid it or whether it was a new one.

I get the point. It’s very important. If you work at the Brookings Institution in Aspen, it is not important if you’re a working mother and you’re single and you’re trying to figure out how to get your children health care and make sure they have glasses so they can read the blackboard. That’s what matters.

And we were — we lost people because it wasn’t Medicaid expansion. And again, it’s legitimate. It’s just not more important than the end result. Which was health care for children.

I think this show is very good for my emotional health.

I’m happy to hear that. We try to provide many levels of service here at “The Ezra Klein Show.”

I don’t think you actually get the full benefit of what you’re doing.

The critique I hear is that the reason the Democratic Party does not want to change more or does not focus more on changing the way things work is that many of the people in it benefit from it, and they benefit from it in ways that are legitimate and straightforward. They work for programs that they want those programs to be funded. They use powers like the ability to sue under the environmental litigation. They may, they often use it for good reasons, but then they don’t want it foreclosed on them, even if it’s having bad effects elsewhere.

And there’s a view that there’s corruption in the Democratic Party, too. There’s views that Nancy Pelosi did not want to change the rules on insider trading of individual stocks among members of Congress. But there is a sense that Democrats are in this system, making money, having good jobs, being inside the revolving door and that you can’t trust them to change a system they benefit from, all the way from the staffers moving from place to place up to people like Rahm Emanuel and Nancy Pelosi, who have done pretty well in politics.

Well, look, I think the real problem is you’re conflating both reforming ethics and reforming the government, the way it works. So I would just say to you that the two, while they fit together, they’re separate issues.

The fact is, the Democrats have always been the party — not always, we have ups and downs on this — fighting corruption. I can say that is in my tenure as mayor, three different ethics packages, and I can continue to do that. And we have to be a party that is never satisfied, never the defenders of the status quo, always wanting to change something, make other people’s lives better.

And that’s been our voice, going back to whether it’s Kennedy, Roosevelt, Truman, whatever, Bill Clinton or Barack Obama, pick your president. The fact is being satisfied with the way things are is not where people are.

But I think the argument here is that people in the Democratic Party benefit from the way things are. And they raise money from the way things are.

And that’s a tough thing about the system. You need money to run these elections. I was reading a bunch of old pieces — New Yorker profiles of you, pieces about the ’06 campaign — about the just difficulty of raising money in that campaign, the decisions you all were making for this $100,000 or that $500,000. And the argument that has been made again and again — is it just in order to win in the system, you almost have to become a party that is a defender of the system and that that’s something, in the end, that in his own strange way, Trump, with his own money, Elon Musk, with his own money, were able to exploit because people thought they were outside the system and, as such, not corrupted by it.

True and not true. That’s why you prosecute a case that the Oval Office is going to become eBay and sell out. That’s why you prosecute that case, because if you’re telling me that we’re the only people, individuals that — quote, unquote — making money on the system, which I don’t accept that critique, then you make it about the other side, which actually, if you go look at the polling and the focus groups, was more believable.

One thing I wonder if Democrats are underestimating the danger of is the Vivek Ramaswamy-Elon Musk Department of Government Efficiency. And you’ve got Musk, who has an incredibly loud megaphone through X, which he owns and controls.

And it’s sitting outside the government. It’s not exactly clear what power it will have. They’re putting people like Marjorie Taylor Greene in charge of important dimensions of this, which suggests to me they may not approach this in the most strategic and careful way, but nevertheless, you have something that can have incredible levels of media attention and publicity around it, where Republicans are, in a very high-profile way, going at what they call government inefficiency.

What have you thought watching that thing stand up, and how do you think Democrats should respond to it?

I would say welcome it. And I would say 100 percent ready to meet with you, so let’s go and have a full agenda that puts them on their back foot. And they have to make a choice between what they say they’re for and what their actual interests are.

The part of a political strategy is you put people in, as Yogi Berra used to say, where you get to the fork in the road, take it. And so that’s what would be my approach. Not fight it. People want to reform something, change something. I’m 100 percent for it. Let’s go. Couldn’t be more excited. Ready to meet today.

And then I would put it down on the table, and I’d have a full agenda, 10 items, that is proactive, not waiting, not on the receiving. Don’t say, “Show me stuff.” Here’s what we want to get done, and then go right at the soft underbelly of the other side.

The flip side of that commission is that all of a sudden, you have Ramaswamy, who was on this show and has made the point that, in his view, Medicare and Medicaid are mistakes.

You have Musk, who is tweeting out Ron Paul clips. It reminds me a little bit of Bush and Social Security privatization, where you have Trump, a candidate who did not run on massive spending cuts to government, who has now appointed people who get attention on them in a way other people who are in his actual government will not, who seem very excited about cutting, ideally, trillions of dollars in government spending. The new person Trump is appointing Treasury secretary has also talked about the need for very significant spending cuts. Trump for a long time operated outside of the long-running Republican desire to slash deep into government operations, in ways that were often pretty unpopular. And in his first term, Republicans spent more money and didn’t pay for it and cut taxes and didn’t pay for it.

And now, all of a sudden, in the second term, it seems there is a return, but under a more Trumpist banner, of the hack-and-slash side of the Republican Party. Is that an opportunity for Democrats?

Yes, they have inherent contradiction. They have people who want to cut Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, and they have a president that doesn’t. That’s, like, “Go. Let’s go for it. Let’s go have this debate. Ready.” And if they want to go after poor kids and nutritional programs, let’s have it. They want to go after the subsidies we give single people who are small-business owners, getting access to health care and have premium support, let’s have that. I’m ready.

I will tell you this one anecdote: I’m named by President Obama as chief of staff. So one of the things I first do when we get to Washington is I ask Senator Mitch McConnell, then the minority leader, for a meeting, and he brings his leadership. And Senator McConnell says: I think we should work on Social Security.

And remember: This is ’08. The economy is literally going head first into a depression. And the idea that the first thing we’re going to work on is Social Security. So I said, well, why don’t we do this? There’s a lot of ideas kicking around. Why don’t you propose some legislation on Social Security, what your ideas are for reform.

And I will tell you, we’ll be open to hearing about them. But you’re a big leader. You have a big platform. Make your changes. We’re going to work right now on getting the economy away from a depression. And he kind of had this wry smile, knowing exactly what I was saying. So if others in the Republican Party and President Trump’s appointees want to propose cuts to Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, put it out there. Be my guest. I got some ideas of how to expand health care coverage for people. You have ideas about how you want to cut it. Fine, let’s have that debate.

You’ve been floated by David Axelrod, among others, for Democratic National Committee chair. Is that a job you want?

I think I want the Democrats to get back to being the majority party and fighting for the families and their children.

Whether I’m going to finish up my job in the next month here in Tokyo — I have three things I got to get done. Feel very good about the tenure here in the alliance, and when I get back to America and back to my home in Chicago, I’ll make my decision of what I’m going to do, the best way I think I can do that.

Whoever is D.N.C. chair next, what should the D.N.C. be? Political parties are something very different than they were three generations ago. Two generations ago. They go back and forth right now. Laura Trump is a co-chair of the Republican National Committee, so that’s become a much more personalist party.

When you look at the Democratic Party — and you’ve been a Democratic Party man for many, many years now and serving in many different dimensions of it — what do you think the party should do? What role should it play in people’s lives? What is a political party in the year 2024, and what should it be in the year 2030?

Well, you got to deal with the here and now, and then you got to plan for the long term. So one is within a year, you’re going to have a very important election for governor of New Jersey and governor of Virginia, and you’re going to have State House elections. Now, you got to make sure you have the resources for that and the ability to support the candidates who get the nomination and to make the most of what will be one year into President Trump’s tenure.

And one of the things I think Democrats have to do, if I was at D.N.C. and working with the party chairs — but I’m not that — is we are going to have every position, every county, somebody’s going to be, to have a name on the ballot, because if it’s a referendum election, you want to have people in poll position, and you got to have the infrastructure to do that.

Both the old shoe leather plus digital, not one or the other. But then there’s the ideas. We have spent eight years telling everybody what we’re against on Donald Trump. We’re very anti-Trump. We haven’t filled out the profile of what we’re pro-America. Now, I’m a product, like everybody else is, of my tenure.

You could go back to President Clinton’s “Three Covenant” speeches. He filled out that he was not just against 12 years of Reagan and Bush, but here’s what we got to do, as he would say, to build a bridge to the 21st century so everybody can get across that bridge. So you have to not just build an identity opposing Trump; you have to also build an identity of who you’re fighting for, why you’re fighting, who you’re fighting against and what you’re fighting for the end result to be.

And a party can help build that. Now, in past times, when Bill Clinton was head of the D.L.C., that was the intellectual energy — the Democratic Leadership Circle — for that kind of intellectual work. So a party has to do both of those: not only win elections, not only help [inaudible], not only fund them, not only have the infrastructure but then have the intellectual healthy debate about where we’re going to go as a party and how we’re going to do that.

You talked about finding candidates in 2006 that defied the stereotypes of the Democratic Party and helped pick the locks in Republican districts, candidates who had a different profile on national security or law enforcement. Given what this moment is, given the types of places in which Democrats are struggling — more rural districts, ***working-class*** voters — who are those candidates now? If you were either overseeing or advising a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chair working on candidate recruitment, who are you looking for?

You know, it’s interesting if you look at some of the front-runners in both the New Jersey governor’s race and the Virginia governor’s race.

I think Josh Gottheimer in New Jersey, Abigail Spanberger in Virginia — both have been independent enough that they’ve taken on their own party. It’s part of their character. It’s part of their profile. They’re not just a yes person. They have fought, whether it’s leadership or interest groups. There’s got to be a primary; they got to win it, but it’s interesting to me that those are some of the names battling around.

I think independence is a streak that I’m going to look for, that if I was sitting here and I could — like, give me somebody that ran against the grain, said publicly what people are thinking but then have the courage and they did, so their independence is a quality that gives them kind of the anti-establishment, the anti-elite tone that I would be — I’m sitting here at 10,000 feet, two years, you know, we’re about three weeks away from the last election, already talking about —

To me, independence, saying things that aren’t politically correct, willing to take on not just X interest group or whatever but even your own party’s interest group or leadership — to me, that’s the gold mine I want to go work in.

Democrats are watching with a lot of alarm at nominations like Hegseth for defense, nominations like Tulsi Gabbard for national intelligence. They were, very obviously, worried about the Matt Gaetz nomination. That has been since withdrawn or replaced by Pam Bondi. There are things Donald Trump is doing and will do that have more of the flavor of authoritarianism, more of the flavor of installing loyalists in key roles where the government could be weaponized.

And on the one hand, I think that is the most dangerous set of things I see him at least seeming to be interested in. And on the other hand, those may not be the things that most Americans care about or even really believe you on. Those are not pocketbook issues. Those are not necessarily corruption that will line his pockets.

And so there’s going to be, at least sometimes, this choice Democrats need to make between the things that scare them most and the things that, if you’re watching a focus group or thinking about what will help in a forthcoming election, you really want to make the center of your message over and over and over and over again.

How do you think about that trade-off when you are trying to oppose or block someone who does seem to have authoritarian at least pretenses?

President Trump and his team, it’s going to be a target-rich environment of things you’re going to oppose. But not everything has to be opposed. And you’re going to have to be disciplined about: You pick and choose where you’re going to have the fight.

If you fight everything, then part of his strategy is to so overwhelm the system, you’re going to drown in it. When it comes to a cabinet — this may be the old chief of staff in me — if you’re on the other side of this, you’re going to have to pick where you’re going to — you can’t do the whole cabinet, and you can’t do all of them. You can’t do — just you want to do national security. And so you have to, if you’re Democrats organizing this, you’re going to have to look at the whole field: What makes Republicans most uncomfortable? They’re not going to break from the president on all of them. What puts them in the weakest position not only vis-à-vis the White House, but what puts them in the weakest position vis-à-vis the American people?

And then that person and that fight become character-defining of the other side and character-defining for your side. So I look at this, and I look at Tulsi Gabbard as a place, when you look at all the information — and they’ll run a process that’s going to make the Republicans in the Senate very, very uncomfortable. Very uncomfortable.

There’s a tactical win there, and it will expose certain things. And so you have to think of it both tactically and strategically, and then which fights do I want to beat the more prominent — not just about the people but about other things? I happen to think that we want to be the party that positions that Donald Trump and the Republicans are now the establishment. They’re pulled into a whole set of special interests, and you are not going to be in their line of sight, except for your pocketbook.

Look, you’re going to have an attempt to politicize the Federal Reserve. You’re going to have a massive discussion — raising of tariffs — and you’re going to talk about another couple trillion dollars to the national debt.

I think at a certain point there’s a possibility that the credibility of the United States could get hit. Not only is inflation not going to go down; it’s going to continue to go up, and I think we can make an argument that you’re going to be paying the cost for these individuals and the special interests that they represent.

You talked about autocracy and threat to democracy. We have people on that. It’s what they’re going to do to your wallet and your children that I want to protect. And there’s going to be a set of events, when it comes to cost and affordability, that is going to be real, and you’re setting it up not just for that individual fight but from here all the way through the midterms up to 2028.

I could be wrong and maybe somebody else has a different view that it is about democracy. They can make that argument. I think we just have an election that proved that. I think this is about people’s pocketbooks, and I think it’s about who their opponents are fighting for and who we’re fighting for, not just the end result but who we’re going to fight for.

And then always our final question. What are three books you’d recommend to the audience?

Garry Wills’s “Lincoln at Gettysburg.” Daniel Mendelsohn’s “The Lost.” Julian Barnes’s “The Noise of Time.”

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**Body**

Gov. Josh Shapiro won’t be on the Democratic ticket, and nor, for that matter, will the Scranton-born President Biden. But party officials in the battleground state are cautiously hopeful.

To Josh Shapiro’s supporters, the case for him as Vice President Kamala Harris’s running mate was clear: He was the popular governor of Pennsylvania, and could help her lock down the most important battleground state on the map.

Ultimately, of course, she went with Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota instead, leaving Pennsylvania Democrats to confront a new reality.

After years of [*basking in attention*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) from the Scranton-born President Biden, and after roughly two weeks of furious speculation about Mr. Shapiro’s potential promotion, their state no longer stars on their party’s presidential ticket.

Democrats may reassess Ms. Harris’s choice of a running mate in hindsight if she narrowly loses Pennsylvania, the electoral-vote-rich state that [*decided the 2020 election for Mr. Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) and is universally seen as pivotal and highly competitive again this year.

But for now, interviews with even some of Mr. Shapiro’s strongest backers in Pennsylvania suggest that most Democrats, riding a wave of newfound momentum, have not only made peace with Ms. Harris’s choice — they have also embraced it fully.

“We like to have our favorite son there, naturally,” said former Representative Robert A. Brady, the chairman of the Philadelphia Democratic Party, who was a [*vocal Shapiro supporter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) during the vice-presidential search.

Yet Mr. Brady sounded more than mollified after watching [*the top two Democrats roll out their partnership*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) at a raucous rally in Philadelphia this week — after [*an effusive introduction by Mr. Shapiro*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html). Asked if he thought the race was harder for Democrats in his state without the governor, Mr. Brady replied, “Not according to what we saw on Tuesday.”

“It will be competitive,” he said. “But I think that there’s such an energy.”

In Pennsylvania and across the country, Democrats are invigorated after Mr. Biden bowed out of the presidential contest, ending a painful intraparty fight and what had seemed like a long slog toward a November defeat. Their sense of catharsis has given way to displays of enthusiasm for Ms. Harris that draw comparisons to then Senator Barack Obama’s campaign in 2008.

In key battleground states, however, party officials stress that the general election is still poised to be close and unpredictable, as voters worry about issues like the cost of living, the broader economy and a volatile global landscape. The presidential ticket shake-up put Democrats back in the game, the argument goes, but the road ahead is long and difficult.

Given that backdrop, some had argued that Mr. Shapiro was the obvious choice to be Ms. Harris’s running mate.

In a recent Fox News poll, his favorability rating was [*61 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html), strikingly high in such a closely divided state. In his past races for governor and state attorney general, he made inroads in more rural and conservative parts of the state that have drifted further from the national party, while running up the margins in the suburbs.

“If Josh was on the ticket, you couldn’t guarantee you were going to bring all those people over,” said Larry Ceisler, a Democratic public affairs executive in Pennsylvania. “But what you could guarantee is that he could open the door to them listening to a persuasive argument.”

But, he added, “Democrats, even though a lot of people are disappointed personally that Josh is not on the ticket, we believe that there’s a very, very good chance to win Pennsylvania. But I do think that Gov. Shapiro’s participation is very important.”

In his rousing address at the rally on Tuesday, Mr. Shapiro promised that “[*I’m going to be working my tail off” for the ticket*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html). Though known to be ambitious, he has also emphasized that [*he is happy as his state’s chief executive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html), a role he has held for less than two years. [*Privately, he had appeared more cautious*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) about the prospect of the vice presidency than others in the mix, asking about his role and responsibilities, according to multiple people familiar with the selection process.

A Shapiro adviser said that the governor planned to help Democrats up and down the ballot, noting that he frequently spends time in parts of the state where sightings of Democrats are rare (an approach [*partly inspired by Mr. Obama*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html), Mr. Shapiro told The New York Times last week).

“What I heard throughout that process was a combination of people saying, ‘He would be great,’ and people saying, ‘Oh, we don’t want to lose him here yet,’” said Representative Mary Gay Scanlon, a Democrat from Pennsylvania.

Historically, vice-presidential nominees have not always delivered their home states, and the Harris team’s polling [*did not suggest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) that Mr. Shapiro would bring a decisive advantage in Pennsylvania.

While [*exit polling showed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) that he won 16 percent of Republicans in his 2022 race against a far-right opponent, and 64 percent of independents, state races tend to be less partisan than federal ones that determine the balance of power in Washington. Democrats and Republicans running for governor, for example, have a greater ability to win on unfriendly political terrain than candidates for Senate or the presidency.

Jeff Bartos, a Republican from suburban Philadelphia who ran in Pennsylvania’s Senate primary in 2022, said he considered Mr. Shapiro a longtime friend. His wife, Sheryl Bartos, [*co-hosted a fund-raiser*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) for Mr. Shapiro in 2022.

But given the spate of challenges Mr. Bartos sees facing the country and the state — including [*concerns about energy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/08/us/politics/democrats-pennsylvania-biden.html) — he said he would have supported former President Donald J. Trump regardless of what the Democratic ticket looked like.

“No matter how you look at the election, Vice President Harris was always going to have to answer for the policies of the Biden-Harris administration,” Mr. Bartos said.

Many Democrats realize they will not convert most Republicans, or fully win back the white ***working-class*** voters who were once reliably Democratic but have trended hard against their party — but they also know they cannot afford to lose those voters by overwhelming margins.

Mr. Walz, a liberal governor who can speak the language of the more conservative heartland, is responsible for taking on that challenge.

A former high school teacher and football coach who represented a largely rural House district before becoming governor, he brings a plain-spoken and affable Midwestern sensibility to a ticket led by a former prosecutor from coastal California.

“Governor Walz will be a key messenger in these rural areas where we’re focused on limiting Republicans’ margins,” Dan Kanninen, the battleground states director for the Harris-Walz campaign, said in a memo released Wednesday.

He said the campaign was working “to make inroads in historically safe Republican areas” by establishing operations in Pennsylvania’s Union, Lancaster, Cumberland and York Counties, all places Mr. Trump won by double digits in 2020.

A campaign aide said the team was considering sending Mr. Walz to local football games, and Lt. Gov. Austin Davis of Pennsylvania said he thought the Minnesota governor would connect with ***working-class*** voters in the state, including in old steel towns, though he acknowledged that Pennsylvanians did not know much about him yet.

“This is going to be a close race,” Mr. Davis said. Emphasizing the importance of on-the-ground field organizing, he continued: “We have to own the ground. We have to be in communities all across Pennsylvania — in communities, sometimes, where it’s not easy to be a Democrat.”

PHOTO: Gov. Josh Shapiro gave Vice President Kamala Harris an energetic welcome at a rally in Philadelphia despite not being picked as her running mate. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** August 10, 2024

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[***Lessons From Abroad on How Biden Can Win; Nicholas Kristof***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BJ8-60N1-DXY4-X05F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 13, 2024 Wednesday 19:25 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1084 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Kristof Nicholas Kristof became a columnist for The Times Opinion desk in 2001. He has won two Pulitzer Prizes, for his coverage of China and of the genocide in Darfur.

**Highlight:** Incumbents are unpopular in all Western democracies, but there may be ways to allay the angst driving voter dissatisfaction.

**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*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) for global leaders, Biden polls better than leaders in Canada, Britain, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Ireland, Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands, Norway, [*France*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) 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*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval).

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 2008-9 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*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval), has surged to become the country’s second-largest party.

In Germany, the extreme nationalist Alternative for Germany party [*is leading*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) in eastern parts of the country. Italy is governed by Prime Minister [*Giorgia Meloni*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval), whose far-right party has links to neofascists.

Then there’s the Netherlands, where [*Geert Wilders*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) — 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*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) 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*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval). 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*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) 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*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) — 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*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) about human trafficking to try to hurt Democrats.

As someone who has been [*writing about human trafficking*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval) for [*three decades*](https://pro.morningconsult.com/trackers/global-leader-approval), 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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This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** March 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Trump Era Never Really Ended***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD6-JMM1-DXY4-X3J6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 12, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; THE CONVERSATION

**Length:** 1645 words

**Byline:** By Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Body**

Bret Stephens: Hi, Gail. How are you feeling -- despondent, energized, enraged, dumbstruck?

Gail Collins: Pretty much all of those, in 10-minute intervals. But I've got to add ''scared'' to your list. How about you?

Bret: Honestly?

Gail: No, Bret, in the spirit of the incoming administration, I want you to make up anything you feel like making up.

Bret: Hehehehe.

Gail: OK, honestly. Of course, I haven't forgotten that you were the one who predicted Donald Trump would win, while I thought women voters would rescue Kamala Harris. Instead, Trump seems to have reduced the gender gap, compared with his run against Joe Biden.

Bret: We got through one Trump administration. We'll get through another. What happened last week wasn't the end of democracy. It was its reaffirmation. We'll vote again in 2026, when the Senate map will be more favorable to Democrats. And we'll vote in 2028, when Trump will be ineligible to run for re-election. Gnashing one's teeth helps nobody, least of all the teeth. Life goes on.

Gail: Or at least staggers on.

Bret: Also, selfishly? I feel vindicated. I spent years warning that Biden should build the damn wall, that he wasn't mentally fit for a second term, that there was a credible case for Trump, that Harris would be a poor candidate and that it wasn't enough for her to run on being not Trump.

Gail: Pause for the sound of trumpets.

Bret: I'm nothing if not full of myself. One additional thought: Tuesday's election was a blessing in disguise for Democrats. It's the shock they needed to rethink how they conduct politics in a second Trump term.

Gail: Before we get to the cosmic question of Democratic rethinking, let's spend a minute on Biden. Beginning by mentioning -- just mentioning -- that we were on the same side when it came to urging the president to acknowledge he was too old to run for another term. If Biden had done that in good time, the Democrats would have run primaries to see who would take his place at the top of the ticket and either picked a better candidate or given Harris time to learn how to run a strong campaign.

Bret: Agree. At a minimum, it would have given the Democrats a chance to have an honest-to-goodness primary contest and weed the weaker candidates from the stronger ones. I don't think Harris would have emerged the winner, but if she had, she'd have been a more nimble candidate with a clearer articulation of what she meant to do with the presidency. Senior Democrats in Congress and the White House deserve a lot of blame for pretending that Biden's health was fine -- or fine enough. I'm looking forward to the tell-all memoirs when members of the president's inner circle fess up to covering up the extent of his maladies.

Gail: The tell-all-ers are probably already typing away. They'll certainly have a lot of time on their hands.

Bret: But I think it's a mistake to suppose that Biden overstaying his welcome was the only or even the main reason Democrats lost last week. The party just lost touch with too much of America, including its traditional base.

Gail: I agree, but I suspect we'll be coming up with very different solutions.

The Democrats devoted way too much time to attacking Trump and not nearly enough to acknowledging how many Americans are frustrated or scared by a rising cost of living for their families.

They should have focused on plans to raise taxes on the wealthy, increase spending on practical programs like preschool education and public building projects, like constructing new housing for low- and middle-income tenants.

Bret: I agree with the diagnosis part of your answer, though maybe not the prescription. The Biden team sold too many liberal pundits on the notion that times had never been so good, which, to ***working-class*** Americans struggling with the high cost of living, made the administration seem either hopelessly dishonest or completely out of touch. The problem for Harris, of course, is that she had no easy way to dissociate herself from the economy over which she and Biden had presided, which is yet another reason it was a mistake to anoint her as the nominee.

Gail: And so, what next?

Bret: A big part of the Democratic Party's problem is that it's become too associated with a type of cultural progressivism that rubs many people the wrong way. I mean things like the tedious and harmful D.E.I. pedagogical complex, bail reform, drug decriminalization, public encampments and so on. Democrats really need to jettison this part of the left, much in the way that Bill Clinton did in the early 1990s. Or do I have that all wrong?

Gail: Hey, I'd never call you all wrong. Mostly, sure.

The left is part of the Democratic Party, and the party is not gonna dump active members who want to prioritize issues like bail reform or L.G.B.T.Q. rights. But I think most Democrats, when they come out of shell shock, will realize that right now the central issue has got to be creating an economy that offers more people more ways to move up.

Bret: My view is that the next Democratic leader is going to have to have more than one Sister Souljah moment in order to regain lost trust. When will someone tell college students that it's appalling and unacceptable to call for Israel's destruction or be openly sympathetic to Hamas? Or that effectively decriminalizing shoplifting in some blue states is an outrage to public order and an insult to law-abiding people? Or that it is absolutely not OK to have a biological male like the trans swimmer Lia Thomas change in a women's locker room or for children to begin gender transitions without their parents being notified? Or that we can't have any kind of immigration reform until there is good control over the border? The Democrat who does these things first is the one who'll be able to defeat Trumpism.

Gail: But let's move on to the new House and Senate. Looks like Trump will, in theory, control both -- although a few of the House race counts aren't completely over. What's your prediction for 2025?

Bret: Wait, I have one more question for you before getting to that. What do you make of Trump improving his standing with ethnic minorities, particularly Latinos? Doesn't exactly square with the expectation among some liberal pundits that the comedian making an anti-Puerto Rico joke at Trump's Madison Square Garden rally would drive the Hispanic vote to Harris.

Gail: One more example of how the Democrats erred by stressing the awfulness of the opposition instead of the Harris agenda. I think the Latino vote was about dissatisfaction with the economy and not a rejection of the idea of a female president.

Bret: I think Latinos are no more enchanted by high inflation and uncontrolled immigration than anyone else struggling to make ends meet.

Gail: Sure hope it's the economy. Although it's hard to ignore the fact that the only two major-party female presidential nominees in history were both defeated by Donald Trump.

Bret: What does that say to you? Deep residual sexism in the American public? Or two really bad candidates who happened to be women?

Gail: The really-bad-candidate theory looks sort of shaky when their opposition is a felon with a long history of terrible sexual behavior.

If you want another sign of how tough it is for a woman to become a presidential nominee, consider the fact that the two women who've gotten the nod were both beneficiaries of ... something else. Hillary Clinton was the wife of a former president, and Harris was Biden's running mate.

Sigh. OK, Bret, give me one more thought on the subject, and then let's move on to Congress.

Bret: I'll refrain from opening my stupid man-mouth on this subject. Congress? I hope Democrats manage to at least hold the House, because it would provide a check on Trump and keep the Jim Jordans of the world from being even more unbearable. It's also an opportunity for Democrats to elevate some of their smarter members to leadership positions. I'm thinking of Ritchie Torres, Seth Moulton, Ro Khanna, Tom Suozzi and Marie Gluesenkamp Perez -- the House Reality Check Caucus. John Fetterman and Michael Bennet are their Senate companions.

Who do you favor as the next Democratic leaders?

Gail: Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, if he wants to keep chugging along, should keep his job as minority leader. He's experienced, smart and sensible and a manic hard worker.

Bret: And someone who completely misread the political moment.

Gail: In the House, Hakeem Jeffries, the minority leader, can be pretty electric when he's fighting and he wants to stay in charge. So I can't imagine an overthrow.

Overall, we'll just have to wait and see what happens, but I'm hoping that on crucial issues, sensible middle-of-the-road Republicans like Susan Collins and Lisa Murkowski will have the power to hold off the crazy right. They have the talent for it, even though they haven't always exercised it.

Bret: Final question, Gail. Say what you will about Trump, he just had the most incredible political comeback in American history. Anything, you know, nice to say about him?

Gail: Hmm. For many pols, this would be the point when I'd say something like, ''Well, he has a really nice pet spaniel.'' But Trump, of course, hates dogs.

Think I'll wait and see whether he rises above his destroy-all-enemies election night. What about you?

Bret: He's resilient, intuitive and imaginative and saw political opportunities that I, like so many other supposedly smart people, wouldn't or couldn't see. Criticism? Later and plenty of it. For this week, respect and good will.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

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[***The Political Crisis of Working-Class New York***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667G-27B1-DXY4-X3PW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1378 words

**Byline:** By Kim Phillips-Fein

**Body**

The results of the Democratic congressional primaries in New York City on Tuesday give us a hint of just how far the ***working-class*** liberalism once associated with city politics has declined. The winners of two races in particular, Jerrold Nadler and Daniel Goldman, who will almost surely represent much of Manhattan (and a bit of Brooklyn) in the House, emerged as the victors of complicated congressional primaries in districts that were redrawn to reflect national shifts in population.

They represent different kinds of New York City Democrats -- Mr. Nadler, a longtime congressman, has deep roots in the old grass-roots liberalism of the Upper West Side, while Mr. Goldman is a political newcomer whose star has risen through his association with opposition to Donald Trump -- but their shared success nonetheless highlights socioeconomic divisions in Manhattan that have a long history.

The primaries reflected the tensions and divisions within contemporary liberalism itself and raise the question of how (or whether) Democrats can effectively represent such radically different constituencies.

The changes in the city districts were a result of math -- subtraction, to be specific. New York State lost a seat in the House because its population came up short by 89 people in a census conducted in 2020, at the height of Covid in New York. Indeed, if so many New Yorkers had not died in the early months of the pandemic, these contests -- particularly the one that pitted Mr. Nadler against his House colleague Carolyn Maloney -- would almost certainly not have taken place.

Beyond the numbers, though, the primaries were part of a continuing story of class divisions in New York City. In the mid-1930s, the Columbia University sociologist Caroline Ware wrote a study of Greenwich Village that focused on the Irish and Italian immigrants who moved there in the late 19th century and whose Catholic churches still dot the neighborhood.

Some at the time saw the Village as a success story of immigrant assimilation. But Professor Ware had a different interpretation. The people of the Village, she suggested, lived side by side but had little contact with one another. They were left to navigate a complicated city as ''isolated individuals rather than as part of coherent social wholes.''

The national Democratic Party faces a similar class divide between highly educated urbanites and the ***working-class*** voters for whom it often claims to speak. It's no secret that the party has moved away from the fiercely pro-union New Deal politics of the mid-20th century. For much of the 20th century, New York State's congressional delegation included more than 40 representatives (compared with 27 today), a voting bloc that generally collaborated in support of an expansive social welfare state and ***working-class*** interests. New York representatives included many of the country's most left-leaning politicians (like the Upper West Side's Bella Abzug).

Mr. Nadler and Mr. Goldman come from different backgrounds, politically and economically. Mr. Nadler grew up in the city and got active in politics opposing the Vietnam War. Mr. Goldman is a Washington native who attended Sidwell Friends, Yale, Stanford; he served as assistant U.S. attorney with Preet Bharara in the Southern District of New York.

For Mr. Nadler, despite his victory on Tuesday night, the political world he emerged from no longer exists as a vital force. This is in part because of transformations within Democratic politics.

Mr. Nadler's political career was forged at a pivotal moment in the aftermath of New York's fiscal crisis of the 1970s. He was first elected to the State Assembly in 1976. In the following years, Democratic city officials were forced to increase subway fares, close public hospitals, charge tuition at CUNY and cease to embrace a politically ambitious role for local government. Mr. Nadler was elected to Congress in the early 1990s, when Democratic leaders like Bill Clinton proclaimed the end of the era of big government and were most optimistic about free trade and deregulation despite its impact on cities like New York.

He has supported many measures over his long career that would aid ***working-class*** people, but at the same time the Democrats have generally backed away from politics that would more forcefully address inequality and the economic divide.

Meanwhile, the economic fortunes of Manhattan were also changing -- as part of an effort to secure a steadier tax base in the aftermath of the collapse of manufacturing, the city under Ed Koch began to reorient its economy toward Wall Street and real estate development.

As Wall Street became an engine of the city's economy in the administration of Michael Bloomberg, Manhattan's demographics began moving in largely the opposite direction from the city as a whole. From 2010 to 2020, the white and Asian share of the borough's population grew, while the Black and Latino share fell.

Today, the institutions that had once helped to stitch together constituencies from different ethnic and racial backgrounds, like unions, are far weaker in the city and nationally than they once were. People confront the problems of living in New York through the lens of personal ambition -- as ''isolated individuals,'' as Professor Ware put it -- rather than through collective efforts to improve the city's life.

The narrow victory of Mr. Goldman illustrates even more sharply the political crisis of ***working-class*** New York. In addition to being an heir to the Levi-Strauss fortune, Mr. Goldman is a type well known to denizens of Lower Manhattan, a successful lawyer who was able to self-fund his campaign. He is clearly a candidate whose political appeal was strongest for the new leaders of the Village and Lower Manhattan, the professional upper classes who work in law firms and investment banks, who fund their children's schools' parent-teacher associations and the park conservancies.

This is a social world that has little meaningful overlap with the ***working-class*** population, often Asian and Latino, that still dwells here but lacks the confident political organization and alliances with the middle class that it once possessed.

Mr. Goldman's political fortunes rose with his role as lead counsel in the first impeachment suit against Mr. Trump; his path to the House was largely paved by this rather than any deep engagement with the kinds of material issues that affect the lives of working- or even middle-class New Yorkers.

Mr. Goldman's race was very close -- he won by roughly 1,300 votes. The runner-up, Yuh-Line Niou, a state assemblywoman, ran a campaign whose rhetoric focused on class appeals, but unions and progressive groups proved unable to act in a coordinated way to support any single candidate in a crowded field.

Despite their different backgrounds, both Mr. Goldman and Mr. Nadler embody a Manhattan that has shifted in ways that affect not only its own politics but those of the country at large. Their careers point to the divides that Professor Ware pointed out decades ago.

In her account, the Village -- and New York, and America as a whole -- faced the problem of how to respond to the collective problems of a modern industrial society through the lens of a political culture that had been shaped by ruthless individual acquisition. The particular problems have changed, and yet Lower Manhattan remains home to a population that, as dense as it is, is intensely divided by class and ethnicity, that is characterized (as Professor Ware put it) by ''an almost complete lack of community integration.''

The bitter politics of the August primaries, which reveal yet again the declining power of New York's liberalism, are the result.

Kim Phillips-Fein, a historian at Columbia University, is the author, most recently, of ''Fear City: New York's Fiscal Crisis and the Rise of Austerity Politics'' and ''Invisible Hands: The Businessmen's Crusade Against the New Deal.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DOLLY FAIBYSHEV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Wife in French Rape Case Testifies: ‘How Could You Betray Me Like This?’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7Y-P0N1-DXY4-X480-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 23, 2024 Wednesday 21:57 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1184 words

**Byline:** Ségolène Le Stradic and Catherine Porter

**Highlight:** Gisèle Pelicot’s ex-husband, Dominique Pelicot, is accused of inviting strangers to sexually assault her while she was drugged and unconscious. The trial has transformed how France discusses sexual violence.

**Body**

Gisèle Pelicot’s ex-husband, Dominique Pelicot, is accused of inviting strangers to sexually assault her while she was drugged and unconscious. The trial has transformed how France discusses sexual violence.

Like most days at the courthouse in Avignon, France, Gisèle Pelicot arrived to the cheers of a crowd of mostly female supporters on Wednesday.

“I express neither my anger nor my shame,” she told the court, taking the stand again in a trial that has gripped France and prompted deep discussions about sexual violence and the definition of rape in the criminal code. “I am expressing a desire to change society.”

For weeks, she remained silent as one defendant after another spoke before the judges. Some 51 men are on trial, most charged with aggravated rape against Ms. Pelicot, a 71-year-old grandmother who prosecutors say was drugged repeatedly by her husband of 50 years and then served up to the men. She was unconscious during the rapes and says she has suffered lapses in her memory and hair and weight loss as a result of being repeatedly drugged.

Speaking in a calm and steady voice, Ms. Pelicot told the court on Wednesday that listening to the testimony over the past weeks had made her feel violated again.

But she said she believed she had a higher purpose. “I want victims of rapes to tell themselves, ‘If Ms. Pelicot did it, so can we.’ I don’t want the victims to feel shame; they are the ones who should feel shame,” she said, referring to the defendants.

Dominique Pelicot, her ex-husband, [*told the court*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/europe/france-rape-trial-dominique-pelicot.html) last month that he had begun drugging his wife so he could have sex with her in ways that she would not agree to when lucid. He then met other men on a website and invited them to join him. Mr. Pelicot had been doing this for almost a decade until he was arrested in September 2020 for filming up the skirts of women shopping in a grocery store.

The police seized his electronic devices, including his laptop, before releasing him on bail. They found a trove of photographs and videos of Ms. Pelicot being sexually assaulted. Over the course of their investigation, the police identified more than 80 suspects but were able to track down and charge only 50 of them.

“I have been preparing for this trial for four years. I still don’t understand why, I cannot understand how my life crumbled, how you could betray me like this,” she said in court, addressing her ex-husband without looking at him as he sat to her left in a glass witness box. “How you could let these men into my room.”

Mr. Pelicot has pleaded guilty along with more than a dozen others. Since the trial began last month, the court has examined the cases of six to seven men each week. The defendants appear as a sample of small-town, middle- and ***working-class*** French society: truck drivers, tradesmen, soldiers, a nurse, a journalist and an IT specialist. They range in age from 26 to 74. The majority live close to [*Mazan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/europe/france-rape-trial-dominique-pelicot.html), the town in which Ms. Pelicot and her husband retired in 2013.

So far, 30 men, including Mr. Pelicot, have spoken before the court’s five-judge panel. Most of them have acknowledged going to the house and having intercourse with Ms. Pelicot but denied that it was a rape, saying they had no idea she had been drugged.

They have argued that Mr. Pelicot, described as an imposing and manipulative figure, tricked them by presenting the encounter as a sexual game in which Ms. Pelicot was pretending to be asleep. Some have also said they believe Mr. Pelicot drugged them, too, as they claim to have no memory of the encounter.

“He told me it was a scenario because she was shy; I didn’t doubt him, what with their age and all, it seemed like an agreed-upon scenario,” said Mahdi Daoudi, 36, one of the accused who took the stand last week.

“At the time I didn’t ask myself the right questions, but it seemed impossible that there were drugs involved,” he added.

On Wednesday, Ms. Pelicot said she had listened to wives, mothers and sisters of many of the accused describe them as “exceptional men” who did not seem capable of rape.

“Me, I had the same in my house,” she said of her husband, telling the court that she had considered him the “perfect man.”

The lesson, Ms. Pelicot said, was clear: “A rapist is not someone in a parking lot at night.”

Mr. Pelicot [*filmed most of the encounters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/europe/france-rape-trial-dominique-pelicot.html), storing and filing many of them in a digital folder titled “Abuse.” In the videos that have been shown in court, Mr. Pelicot and other men can be seen in a well-lit room performing sex acts on what looks like a lifeless Ms. Pelicot, who is lying on her side with her mouth half-open. The men are careful not to make any noise, and jerk back at her slightest movement. At times, she can be heard loudly snoring.

“For six minutes you are penetrating her; we can hear her snoring and see you place the sheet back over her body when it falls, yet, you are telling me that you did not rape her?” Ms. Pelicot’s lawyer, Stéphane Babonneau, asked Cyril Beaubis, one of the accused, in court last week.

“I don’t know what to tell you,” he replied.

Ms. Pelicot [*fought for the case*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/europe/france-rape-trial-dominique-pelicot.html) to be open to the public and [*then to have the videos shown in court*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/europe/france-rape-trial-dominique-pelicot.html) as incontrovertible evidence. To look at them, her lawyer argued, was “to look rape straight in the eyes.”

But when the videos play over the court’s three screens, Ms. Pelicot does not watch them. Instead, she sits behind her two lawyers against the wall of the courtroom and looks down. Throughout the trial, she has shown little expression as the sex acts she suffered are described in explicit detail.

“It was difficult for me to make the decision to broadcast these videos, but it was also a way of finding out the truth,” she told the court on Wednesday.

Mr. Pelicot, whom she divorced just as the trial began, has said that he had clearly informed all of the men that he had drugged his wife without her knowledge and that they were invited to have sex with her unconscious body.

“He finds it hard to say but, like I am a rapist, so is he,” he said of one of the accused last week.

Every day, dozens of people have lined up to watch the trial and support Ms. Pelicot, who has unwittingly become [*a feminist icon in France.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/europe/france-rape-trial-dominique-pelicot.html)

“I hear lots of women, and men, who say, ‘You’re very brave,’” Ms. Pelicot said in her testimony on Wednesday. “I say it’s not bravery — it’s will and determination to change society.”

Late last week, the head judge questioned Mr. Pelicot again.

“How do you manage to live with this woman you say you love more than anything, who was prepared, offered, who then woke up in your house and with whom you kept on living?” he asked.

“There is this dark side I have,” Mr. Pelicot started, hesitantly. “Nobody belongs to anybody — in fact, now I know this — but I stuck with that feeling of doing what I wanted to do when I wanted to do it,” he said. “The mornings after were difficult, because I could tell she was not in a good state.”

PHOTO: Gisele Pelicot on Wednesday at the criminal court in Avignon, France, where she took the stand in a trial that has gripped the country. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Guillaume Horcajuelo/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 23, 2024

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[***Debating Role Of Trans Rights In Harris's Loss***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG4-9CD1-JBG3-61X8-00000-00&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. 1

**Length:** 1920 words

**Byline:** By Adam Nagourney and Nicholas Nehamas

**Body**

Kamala Harris left Donald J. Trump's anti-transgender attack ads largely unanswered. Some Democrats call it political malpractice.

In the weeks before Election Day, aides to Kamala Harris could see in campaign polling that Donald J. Trump's attacks on Ms. Harris's support for transgender rights were driving away swing voters.

Struggling to put together a rebuttal, they produced a series of ads arguing that Mr. Trump was trying to distract from more important issues. Some of the spots noted that the policy Mr. Trump was seizing on, taxpayer-funded gender-transition surgery for inmates, was in place when he was president.

But none of the messages significantly swayed voters when the ads were tested with focus groups, according to four former Harris campaign aides who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

After a sharp, internal debate, the campaign shelved the ads. Instead, it settled on an anodyne television spot that showed the vice president condemning ''negative ads'' without mentioning Mr. Trump's transgender attacks.

Since Ms. Harris's defeat, her campaign's decision has landed in the center of a contentious debate over how large a role transgender issues played in her party's losses around the country. Several prominent Democrats said Ms. Harris's relative silence was a damaging concession to Mr. Trump -- and evidence that the campaign was so out of step with Americans' views that it did not appreciate the potency of the ads.

''Malpractice was committed by that campaign,'' said Ed Rendell, a Democratic former governor of Pennsylvania and former chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mr. Rendell said he was so alarmed by the Trump attacks that he called top Harris campaign advisers, pleading for them to respond directly.

''They saw the ad, they knew it was being bought in heavy quantities,'' he said. ''Where were they? What were they thinking?''

That view has faced vocal pushback from some Democrats, particularly on the left, who warn against pinning Ms. Harris's loss on her position on transgender rights. In a year when voters were so concerned about the economy and unhappy with President Biden, they argue, there is little hard evidence that transgender issues had a significant impact on the results.

''I never heard it anywhere on the campaign trail,'' said Representative Mark Pocan of Wisconsin, a Democrat. Mr. Pocan said that scapegoating a small and vulnerable group was ''the ultimate misdirection'' -- and that the party instead needed to address its failure to deliver on the economic concerns of ***working-class*** voters.

But for Democrats now turning to rebuild after a demoralizing and decisive loss, the question of how the party deals with transgender rights has emerged as a challenge for the years ahead. Democrats are divided as they watch what many see as a matter of basic human rights become part of the Republican arsenal.

What is taking place is both an autopsy of the Harris campaign strategy and a debate over key questions about the future. Does the party need to adjust its messaging before the 2026 midterm elections and the 2028 presidential race? Should transgender people's access to health care or sports teams be embraced as the kind of civil rights cause Democrats have championed for generations? Should the party allow for more dissent and open discussion, as Representative Seth Moulton, a Massachusetts Democrat, argued after the election?

Republicans clearly see a political opportunity. The Trump campaign spent more than $37 million on television ads that invoked transgender issues, nearly 20 percent of its overall ad budget, according to data provided by AdImpact, an organization that tracks political ad placement and spending.

Republicans also deployed advertisements on transgender issues in Senate races. In Ohio, Republicans attacked Senator Sherrod Brown by saying he supported ''allowing trans biological men in girls' locker rooms.'' Mr. Brown, unlike Ms. Harris, responded with his own ad, calling that claim ''a complete lie.'' (He lost his seat.)

Ms. Harris could not dismiss the Trump attacks so easily. Mr. Trump's most prominent ad used a 5-year-old video clip of Ms. Harris saying that ''every transgender inmate in the prison system would have access'' to taxpayer-funded gender transitions. ''Kamala is for they/them. President Trump is for you,'' an announcer said.

In an interview, Senator John Fetterman, a Pennsylvania Democrat, denounced political attacks on transgender people. But the Trump campaign ad, he acknowledged, amounted to a ''brilliant type of political messaging'' that cast Republicans as focused on ''you'' and the Democrats as overly attuned to issues that did not affect the lives of many Americans.

''How can you sum up 'woke' in one commercial?'' Mr. Fetterman said. ''Try and top that.''

Mr. Trump's attacks on transgender rights came from a familiar playbook. For nearly 50 years, Republicans have seized on divisive social issues that touch a nerve with the public but are often underestimated by Democrats. They typically focus on an issue that affects a small minority of Americans -- but can be used to cast a candidate as out of touch.

Mr. Trump's message tapped into some Americans' unease about changing gender norms, particularly as the issues were framed by the Republican presidential candidate. At his rallies, he mocked transgender female athletes, and, later in the campaign, claimed -- falsely -- that schools had conducted transition surgery on students without informing their parents.

It is difficult to know how effective these attacks were. The issue was far from the top concern mentioned by voters in polls before Election Day: It trailed well behind the economy and immigration. In a Gallup poll, voters ranked transgender rights as the least important of 22 issues in the 2024 election. Only about 1 percent of Americans identify as transgender, according to Gallup.

But pollsters said it might have played a less obvious and still significant role: For one thing, Mr. Trump used it to reach his core base of voters, who turned out for him in strong numbers on Election Day.

''That's what Republicans do very, very well,'' said Cornell Belcher, a Democratic pollster. ''They keep their vote energized and mobilized.''

The attacks might also have had an impact on swing voters in indirect and subtle ways. Part of the Trump campaign's aim was to portray Ms. Harris, whose election would have broken gender and racial barriers to the White House, as out of the mainstream, analysts from both parties said.

''That was the headline: That she is 'other,''' Mr. Belcher said. ''That entire ad says, 'She is not one of us. She doesn't share our values. She's scary.' It's not just transgender people: It's all Americans who are not quote-unquote, traditional Americans.''

Americans have nuanced and sometimes contradictory views in the debates over transgender rights. And the positions of many Democrats on critical issues -- such as support for minors using puberty-blocking medications and surgery to transition -- are not in line with many Americans.

Roughly 55 percent of voters said support for transgender rights in government and society has gone too far, according to AP VoteCast. More than 60 percent of adults say transgender women and girls should not be allowed to compete in sports with other women and girls, a Washington Post-KFF poll found. And strong majorities oppose minors' using medications or hormone treatments, according to the Post-KFF poll.

At the same time, more than 60 percent of Americans support protecting transgender people from discrimination, according to the Pew Research Center. Most also oppose the government banning gender-affirming care for minors, including medication and surgery, Gallup found.

For Democrats, a central question is how much these issues will be used by Republicans in future presidential campaigns -- as well as whether they will prove to be effective as the issue becomes more familiar to Americans.

Public attitudes on social debates have historically evolved with time. In 2004, the campaign of George W. Bush tapped into opposition to same-sex marriage as a way to rally conservative voters and turn independent voters against Democrats. Two decades later, gay marriage is almost a mainstream position.

Representative Sara Jacobs, a California Democrat, said that rather than ignoring the issue, she believes Democrats must make a proactive case to dispel the fears of voters, as they did in the fights against same-sex marriage bans.

And for all the attention on Mr. Trump's use of the issue, voters elected the first transgender member of Congress this year: Sarah McBride, a Democrat from Delaware. (Even before Ms. McBride was sworn in, Representative Nancy Mace, a South Carolina Republican, said she would introduce a measure to bar transgender women from using women's rooms and changing rooms in the Capitol complex.)

Democrats positioning themselves for the 2028 presidential race are looking for lessons from the Harris campaign.

The Trump ads on transgender surgeries for inmates were among the most damaging attacks on the vice president -- although not as potent as the messages about the economy, crime and immigration -- said the campaign officials, who asked for anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss internal deliberations. The campaign's research concluded that the ads made voters think that Ms. Harris was focusing on things they did not care about, instead of the economy, their top priority.

After testing several response ads with focus groups and online panels, the campaign ultimately resorted to smaller-scale direct rebuttals, including digital ads that focused on the Trump administration policy that also paid for transition surgeries. And it ran ads on search engines that would appear if people searched for more information about Mr. Trump's attacks.

The aides did not say whether Ms. Harris weighed in on the discussion.

But largely the campaign decided the best response was changing the subject. Meg Schwenzfeier, the chief analytics officer for the Harris campaign, said the vice president's team determined its economic message was the most effective answer.

''In all of our quantitative and qualitative research on this ad, our best-testing responses pivoted to the economy,'' Ms. Schwenzfeier said. ''These responses not only neutralized the attack but actually moved people towards us -- because they showed voters that the vice president did care about you.''

Exit polls show the vice president did not win the economic argument. More than half of voters said they trusted Mr. Trump, rather than Ms. Harris, to handle the economy.

In this charged post-election environment, the Trump attacks are outliving the campaign. Activists and others who work with transgender people, particularly transgender youths, say the political debate has resulted in a spike in reports of cyberbullying, online harassment and family tensions.

''I can talk about the harm caused as evidenced by a surge of calls to our crisis line,'' said Jaymes Black, the chief executive of the Trevor Project, which focuses on suicide prevention among L.G.B.T.Q. youths. ''This peddling of the negative stereotypes exacerbates the mental crisis of our young people.''

Katie Glueck and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research.Katie Glueck and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/20/us/politics/presidential-campaign-transgender-rights.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/20/us/politics/presidential-campaign-transgender-rights.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Representative Mark Pocan, left, said Democrats should instead address a failure to deliver on the economy

Senator John Fetterman acknowledged the Trump ad's ''brilliant'' messaging

and Representative Sara Jacobs said the party needed to proactively dispel voters' fears on transgender rights. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKALA COMPTON/AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

NARAYAN MAHON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

PAUL MORIGI/GETTY IMAGES FOR CARE) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2024

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[***Who Is David Lammy, Britain’s New Foreign Secretary?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CDH-MGJ1-JBG3-61GH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 5, 2024 Friday 11:37 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 347 words

**Byline:** Jenny Gross Jenny Gross is a reporter for The Times in London covering breaking news and other topics.

**Highlight:** Mr. Lammy has deep ties to the United States and campaigned for former President Barack Obama.

**Body**

Mr. Lammy has deep ties to the United States and campaigned for former President Barack Obama.

David Lammy, the son of [*Guyanese immigrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/04/opinion/coronation-king-charles.html) who grew up poor in ***working-class*** London, on Friday became Britain’s chief diplomat, taking the lead on British foreign policy at a time of significant challenges.

Mr. Lammy, 51, has [*deep ties to the United States*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/04/opinion/coronation-king-charles.html), having spent summers with relatives in Brooklyn and Queens and earning a master’s degree at Harvard Law School.

He met Barack Obama 20 years ago at a gathering of Black Harvard alumni, and this year he had dinner with the former U.S. president when Mr. Obama visited London. Mr. Lammy canvassed in Chicago for Mr. Obama during his first presidential campaign, and he has developed a deep network of contacts within the Democratic Party.

In [*an essay in Foreign Affairs magazine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/04/opinion/coronation-king-charles.html) published in April, Mr. Lammy wrote that he would focus on rebuilding [*ties with the European Union*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/04/opinion/coronation-king-charles.html), which have been strained by Britain’s decision to leave the bloc, and that his priority was backing Ukraine.

“Above all else, the United Kingdom must continue supporting Ukraine,” he wrote. “The future of European security depends on the outcome of the war there, and the British government must leave the Kremlin with no doubt that it will support Kyiv for as long as it takes to achieve victory.”

The Labour Party has said that its commitment to NATO is “unshakable” and has vowed to raise its military spending from 2.2 percent to 2.5 percent of gross domestic product “as soon as we can.” On the war in Gaza, the party has said it will push for an immediate cease-fire and for the release of Israeli hostages held there.

In an interview with The New York Times this year, Mr. Lammy said that, if he had the privilege of becoming foreign minister, he would be “very conscious that I’ll be the first — it almost makes me emotional as I say it — the first foreign secretary who is the descendant of enslaved people.”

PHOTO: David Lammy in the North London town of Tottenham in April. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrew Testa for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2024

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[***Democrats Who Won***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD1-6SW1-JBG3-64F7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2024 Monday 06:40 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1669 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 this year’s successful Democratic campaigns.

**Body**

We’re covering this year’s successful Democratic campaigns.

In a very bad year for their party, some Democrats still figured out how to win tough races.

Marcy Kaptur seems to have won a 22nd term in Congress despite representing an Ohio district that has voted for Donald Trump three straight times. Marie Gluesenkamp Perez of Washington State was re-elected in a House district where Trump thumped Kamala Harris. Jared Golden of Maine is leading in a similarly red district. In Senate races, Tammy Baldwin (Wisconsin), Ruben Gallego (Arizona), Jacky Rosen (Nevada) and Elissa Slotkin (Michigan) prevailed or are leading in states that Trump won.

How? These Democrats ran on strikingly similar themes — part progressive, part moderate, part conservative. Above all, they avoided talking down to voters and telling them they were wrong to be frustrated about the economy, immigration and post-pandemic disorder. “The fundamental mistake people make is condescension,” Gluesenkamp Perez told my colleague Annie Karni after the election.

In today’s newsletter, I’ll focus on three issues that helped these candidates win.

1. Immigration

Many Democrats have been in denial about immigration. Some initially argued that immigration didn’t soar under President Biden. Others claimed Biden’s policies weren’t the cause. Still others dismissed concerns about strained social services and crowded schools as Republican misinformation. (Many Republicans, to be clear, [*did tell lies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) about immigrants.)

But Biden [*did spark*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) a huge immigration wave. He encouraged more people to come to the U.S. and loosened entry rules. Sure enough, immigration surged to its highest levels in many decades.

If anyone doubted Biden’s role, more proof came this year when he tightened policy, [*and immigration plummeted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

The Democrats who won tough races recognized that their party had lost credibility on this issue. In one of Kaptur’s ads, she called out “the far left” for “ignoring millions illegally crossing the border.” In a Gallego ad, he said, “Arizonans know — on the border, there is no plan.”

Harris’s campaign emphasized border security, too, but she was Biden’s vice president and had spent the 2020 campaign calling for many of the changes he implemented. She never explained why she changed her mind. Biden hasn’t explained his reversal, either.

2. The economy

Democrats who won tough races ran to the left on economic issues. They sounded like blue-collar populists, fed up with high prices, slow wage growth, corporate greed and unfair Chinese competition. Harris, by contrast, sounded like an establishment centrist, even citing a Goldman Sachs report during her debate with Trump.

Slotkin, the senator-elect in Michigan, spoke of how her mother had been “gouged by the insurance companies.” In one of Golden’s ads, he cracked open a lobster with his hands while promising to lower health care costs. In two difficult upstate New York races, Josh Riley called for tariffs and blasted corporate greed, while Pat Ryan focused on high housing costs, my colleague Nicholas Fandos notes.

In Ohio, Kaptur said the following: “They’re ruining our country — the billionaires and corporations who send our jobs overseas. Their religion is greed, and their Bible is corporate profits.” Senator Sherrod Brown offered a similar message in Ohio and lost — yet ran 7 percentage points ahead of Harris.

This populism was not purely progressive, though. It also tried to address voters’ concerns about the Democratic Party’s fondness for big government. Golden, for example, criticized “Biden’s aggressive spending agenda.” Baldwin bragged about protecting a small Wisconsin cheesemaker against federal regulations. The common strand was opposition to concentrated power, be it from big businesses, foreign governments or Washington.

3. Culture wars

Democrats hoped that Republican extremism on abortion would swing millions of votes. That didn’t happen partly because many voters see each party as too extreme in its own ways.

Many voters do worry about the Republican Party’s opposition to abortion, its dismissal of climate change and its support for book bans. But the same voters worry that Democrats are hostile to policing, obsessed with race and gender and opposed to oil and gas.

The Democrats who won hard races portrayed themselves as occupying the reasonable middle — what Golden called “Maine common sense.”

They criticized Republicans as wrong on abortion, but only as a secondary campaign theme. They embraced the police and the military, running ads with people in uniform. On the environment, the candidates tried to claim the center; Kaptur called out corporations that “pollute our Great Lakes,” while Golden boasted that he had opposed electric-vehicle mandates. Gluesenkamp Perez voted against Biden’s cancellation of college debt, a policy that many ***working-class*** people find unfair.

And now?

I spent a lot of time this year tracking the Democratic campaigns in swing states and districts, and I was repeatedly struck by how similar their messages were. They were feisty, populist and patriotic. They distanced themselves from elite cultural liberalism. They largely ignored Trump.

[*At the end of her interview with Gluesenkamp Perez*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html), my colleague Annie asked whether the party could change. “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,” Gluesenkamp Perez replied. “So who knows?”

But if Democrats are looking for a successful playbook, they already have the beginnings of one.

Related: Republicans are getting closer to a trifecta — control of the House, Senate and presidency. [*See the latest House results*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

THE LATEST NEWS

Politics

* As Trump returns to power, his adversaries are [*bracing for his revenge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

1. The abortion rights movement won in many states — even some that voted for Trump. [*Where does it go from here?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html)
2. Palestinians are trying to [*win Trump’s support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) through links with his daughter’s extended family.

COP29

* World leaders gathering in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, for a global climate summit. [*Read why a petrostate is hosting this year’s talks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

1. Trump’s win [*is sapping momentum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) from the summit as diplomats prepare for his pro-fossil-fuel agenda.

International

* After a daring escape from China, a Uyghur man [*discovered how far Beijing’s power stretches*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

1. Videos of attacks on Israeli soccer fans in Amsterdam have been spreading. [*Read what we know*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) about what officials are calling antisemitic attacks — as well as incendiary chants and attacks by some Israelis.
2. Shigeru Ishiba, Japan’s prime minister, [*won a vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) to remain as the country’s leader.
3. Haiti’s ruling council [*fired its prime minister*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html), adding to the country’s turmoil.
4. Chinese students started biking between cities just for fun. [*The authorities shut it down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Other Big Stories

* Firefighters in New Jersey and New York are [*trying to contain wildfires*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html). One New York State parks worker died in the effort. [*He was 18*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

1. Twenty-five of 43 monkeys that escaped an enclosure at a South Carolina research center were captured. [*The rest remain at large*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html), officials said.

Opinions

To [*fulfill his mandate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html), Trump should change Biden’s failed policies (such as immigration) and keep what’s good (such as semiconductors), Oren Cass writes.

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens discuss [*the Trump era — and how it never really ended*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Here are columns by Ezra Klein on [*the seeds of Democrats’ defeat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) and David French on [*how politics is like curling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

MORNING READS

Lives Lived: For 60 years, Baltazar Ushca trekked up Ecuador’s tallest mountain twice a week to hack ice off a glacier with a pickax. He became known as the last Andean ice merchant. [*Ushca died at 80*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Best view: On and around some of New York City’s best known buildings, [*beehives are buzzing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Good news: A Colombian influencer [*made recycling cool*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Tolls: A dad took his RV on a toll road in Virginia. [*It cost him $569*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html), The Washington Post reports.

Floor people: Why [*lying on the ground*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) feels so good.

Metropolitan Diary: [*Meat on the seat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Tetris: The game’s inventor [*shares his other creations that didn’t work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Keepsake: Do you have a favorite memento from your wedding? [*The Times wants to see it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

SPORTS

Tennis: Saudi Arabia, an authoritarian, conservative kingdom where women’s rights are still in question, [*held the WTA Finals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html). Coco Gauff won.

N.F.L.: The Lions [*escaped Houston with a win*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) even though their quarterback, Jared Goff, threw five interceptions. It was a [*shocking Sunday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) of games.

Men’s college basketball: Florida’s coach, Todd Golden, [*will stay at work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) while the school investigates sexual harassment complaints against him.

N.B.A.: The Bucks superstar Giannis Antetokounmpo angered the Celtics’ Jaylen Brown by [*pretending to offer a handshake*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Leis have a long history. Native Hawaiians used them to honor gods, treat illness and protect surfers. But a new generation of florists is reimagining them.

Instead of importing flowers like orchids, local designers are using flowers native to the Hawaiian islands. Some are also making leis from sturdier stuff, such as ribbons and candy. [*See their work here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

More on culture

* Mattel’s latest dolls for the movie “Wicked” mistakenly [*listed a porn website*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) on its packaging instead of a similar URL promoting the film.

1. A book by a veterinary psychiatrist has become popular in France. [*The author put cats, not people, on the couch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).
2. Netflix and Lifetime are trying to [*make holiday movies sexy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Bake banana muffins for breakfast [*with a pinch of cinnamon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Buy a [*good housewarming gift*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Print [*pro-quality photos at home*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

Take [*our news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html). Yesterday’s pangram was acquaint.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.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/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/briefing/the-myth-of-migrant-crime.html).

PHOTO: Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a Democrat. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Holly Andres for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2024

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[***Latinos' Rightward Shift Poses Raft of Challenges For Civil Rights Group***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD6-HSF1-DXY4-X2WR-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. 18

**Length:** 1729 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

On a cold and rainy Sunday in February 1929, a group of Latino men in dapper suits and boater hats gathered in a convention hall in Corpus Christi, Texas, to forge a new Latino civil rights group.

Most of the men, about 175 in total, were Mexican American veterans of World War I. They had returned home a decade earlier to a small but thriving Hispanic middle class in South Texas, where they had helped form three of the most prominent civil rights organizations in the region.

Now the men were merging their groups to form the League of United Latin American Citizens, or LULAC, in hopes of better leveraging their resources to combat racism and to elect political leaders who represented their families and interests.

These were radical notions. At the time, Jim Crow laws were in effect, poll taxes kept many Black and Mexican American voters from the ballot box and some restaurants hung signs outside their doors barring the entrance of dogs and Mexicans.

Nearly a century later, as President-elect Donald J. Trump is set to return to the White House, LULAC is preparing to stand on the front lines of clashes with the incoming administration over proposed mass deportations, voting access and issues involving education and the social safety net.

The group's chief executive, Juan Proaño, said in an interview that its mission -- protecting the rights of Latinos -- was more critical than ever. But he said LULAC was also contending with election results in which many Latino voters, especially Latino men, gravitated toward Mr. Trump, suggesting they might no longer see themselves as part of the group's fight.

''We're going to have to decide where to build bridges,'' Mr. Proaño said, calling Republicans' potential capture of all three branches of government ''worse than my worst-case scenario.'' He acknowledged that Mr. Trump had outperformed past Republican presidents with Latino voters: ''I will give Trump credit where credit is due,'' he said.

Over the coming weeks, Mr. Proaño said, his group will sift through voter data to understand what led ***working-class*** Latinos to shift to the right. Their march toward Mr. Trump came despite his organization's political action committee throwing its support behind Vice President Kamala Harris in August, the first formal endorsement of a presidential ticket it had ever made.

Although the PAC's leadership voted unanimously to endorse Ms. Harris, the group's broader membership of nearly 325,000 people across 535 councils runs the spectrum of party affiliations and ideological beliefs. One of the councils, in the Houston area, objected to the endorsement. Now, the group's bipartisan board will need to weigh how to engage the next administration in a way that reflects not only the broader Latino electorate, but also its own diverse membership.

Mr. Proaño said the stakes were higher than ever: Mr. Trump and his allies have drawn more support from Latino voters, while at the same time, he said, Republicans have tried to restrain Latino voting power in recent years, in part by spreading conspiracy theories about noncitizens illegally casting ballots. Those falsehoods, Mr. Proaño said, laid the groundwork for an investigation into voter fraud by the Texas attorney general, Ken Paxton, that led to raids of some LULAC volunteers' homes in the state over the summer.

Seeing the sweeps as part of far-reaching efforts by Republicans to limit activities of voting rights activists across the country, Mr. Proaño began cultivating relationships with leaders of Black and Latino civil rights organizations months before the election. LULAC said this month that it was teaming up with a pro-democracy group to challenge the conspiracy theories about voter fraud and Mr. Paxton's inquiry.

''LULAC cannot go at this alone,'' Mr. Proaño said.

Founded on an American promise

Mr. Proaño's forceful stance in the face of conflicting dynamics is in keeping with his organization's nearly century-long history. It has often been cast as one of the most conservative Latino civil rights groups, even as it has been part of some of the fiercest legal battles waged by liberals to desegregate schools and expand voting rights for Mexican Americans and other Latinos.

Some of its former presidents and lifetime members said they could not help but note the irony of the position it now finds itself in.

Ruben Bonilla, 78, who led the organization as president from 1979 to 1981, lamented that the raids in August were meant to attack the group as ''being un-American,'' though it was founded on the ideal of American virtue. ''It is absolutely hideous and demonstrates the ignorance of public officials who do not understand our history,'' he said of the voter fraud investigation.

When the three civil rights groups -- the Order of the Sons of America, the Knights of America and the League of Latin American Citizens -- united to form LULAC in 1929, the migration of hundreds of thousands of Mexicans after the Mexican Revolution was stirring fears among the Anglo American population of South Texas. To build political power and counter racism, the group encouraged Texans of Mexican descent to adopt an American way of life, become naturalized citizens and learn English.

With time, its members came to be seen as more interested in reforming rather than remaking American society, according to interviews with historians and some of its former leaders.

In those early decades, members tended to be doctors, lawyers and small business owners; pragmatists and capitalists. They expressed unwavering loyalty to the United States, though some hailed from families that had been in the region long before the southern border was drawn through their land. Some had endured years of racist terror. Through the 1910s, Texas Rangers raided the homes of Mexican Americans with impunity and lynch mobs killed Latinos across the West.

LULAC still marks its reverence for the United States in its emblem, a three-point crest with red and white stripes and 13 stars representing each of the original colonies. Its councils recite a prayer by George Washington to open all of their meetings, asking God to protect the United States and bless it ''with honorable industry, sound learning and pure manners.''

Benjamin Márquez, a political science professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison who wrote a book tracing the group's history, said that while its members had never rejected their Mexican or Latino heritage, they had remained consistent in their American loyalty, regardless of whether the group's president was a Republican or a Democrat.

''They were out to remove racist bias in American society, and beyond that to get out the vote, serve in the military, participate in elections and run for election themselves,'' he said.

An unwritten past

Some historians argue that the group's work has been incorrectly characterized as conservative as it has been compared to that of Chicano organizations that emerged during the civil rights movements decades later and were more left-wing and confrontational. ''The history of LULAC is mostly unwritten, and people are not familiar with its liberal strengths,'' said Cynthia E. Orozco, a historian and author of ''No Mexicans, Women or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement.''

Mr. Bonilla and his brothers, William and Tony, recalled that the group became more aggressively political as Mexican Americans joined ''Viva Kennedy'' clubs to boost John F. Kennedy in 1960, and as the civil rights movement heated up. William Bonilla, 94, who served as president in 1964, remembers the earliest registration efforts focused on persuading Latino voters to pay their poll taxes. LULAC members drove through neighborhoods with loudspeakers to remind people to vote and to take them to the polls.

''It was from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., all day long during Election Day,'' said William Bonilla, who drove a blue Lincoln convertible for such missions.

Mr. Proaño is now looking to draw from LULAC's grass-roots strengths and confront the uglier parts of its past. Through the 1950s, fierce wage competition and divisions between Mexican migrants and Mexican American laborers initially led the group to support President Dwight D. Eisenhower's mass deportations. (That stance was reversed after Mexican American neighborhoods and border regions were devastated.) Tensions sometimes arose between Black and Latino civil rights groups as they competed for limited resources.

Ruben Bonilla said in an interview that the 2024 election left him with mixed emotions as he recalled the group's past struggles. He understood Republicans made a persuasive argument on the economy, but he said he was disappointed that so many people had voted for Mr. Trump, who made bigotry a central feature of his campaign and promised to revive Eisenhower's mass deportations.

Mr. Bonilla also saw the reflection of another flaw in LULAC's history: its failure to integrate women into its ranks from the start.

''Hispanic men were reluctant to vote for a woman -- it is almost a throwback,'' he said.

The next battle

Still, Mr. Proaño said he did see a slow awakening. In the five days after Mr. Trump held a rally at Madison Square Garden in New York at which a comedian described Puerto Rico as a ''floating island of garbage,'' LULAC's membership increased by more than 53,000 people.

Mr. Proaño said he remained focused on the Texas voter fraud investigation that targeted LULAC members, and on conspiracy theories that he said Republican-led states were using to keep not only Latinos from voter rolls, but Black and Asian voters as well.

The inquiry is taking place under a restrictive voting law that Mr. Paxton helped pass in 2021, as Mr. Trump and his allies spread false claims that noncitizens were wrongfully voting in massive numbers. Republicans pushing similar restrictions across the country have said they are trying to ensure that the voting rights of citizens are not diluted.

Mr. Proaño cast the efforts as the latest volley in a yearslong conflict in Texas -- where the Latino population has helped transform the state's demographics -- between Republicans, who dominate state government, and Democrats, who control most of the largest urban areas.

''We are still fighting the same fight, and that is tough,'' Mr. Proaño said.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Tony, William and Ruben Bonilla at the brothers' law office in Corpus Christi, Texas. Below left, Juan Proaño, chief executive of the League of United Latin American Citizens, or LULAC.

Below right, many of the earliest members of LULAC were Mexican American veterans of World War I. (PHOTOGRAPHs BY MEREDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

LULAC) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2024

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[***Karl Marx, Weirder Than Ever; Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0P-BJ61-JBG3-63R8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2024 Thursday 23:10 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1325 words

**Byline:** James Miller

**Highlight:** What good is one of the communist thinker’s most important texts to 21st-century readers?

**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.

This article appeared in print on page BR17.

**Load-Date:** October 2, 2024

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[***Harris Loss Has Democrats Fighting Over How to Talk About Transgender Rights***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFX-PK81-JBG3-61DP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 20, 2024 Wednesday 08:06 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1989 words

**Byline:** Adam Nagourney and Nicholas NehamasAdam Nagourney is a national political reporter for The Times, covering the 2024 campaign.

**Highlight:** Kamala Harris left Donald J. Trump’s anti-transgender attack ads largely unanswered. Some Democrats call it political malpractice.

**Body**

Kamala Harris left Donald J. Trump’s anti-transgender attack ads largely unanswered. Some Democrats call it political malpractice.

In the weeks before Election Day, aides to Kamala Harris could see in campaign polling that Donald J. Trump’s attacks on Ms. Harris’s support for transgender rights were driving away swing voters.

Struggling to put together a rebuttal, they produced a series of ads arguing that Mr. Trump was trying to distract from more important issues. Some of the spots noted that the policy Mr. Trump was seizing on, taxpayer-funded gender-transition surgery for inmates, was in place when he was president.

But none of the messages significantly swayed voters when the ads were tested with focus groups, according to four former Harris campaign aides who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

After a sharp, internal debate, the campaign shelved the ads. Instead, it settled on an [*anodyne television spot*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk) that showed the vice president condemning “negative ads” without mentioning Mr. Trump’s transgender attacks.

Since Ms. Harris’s defeat, her campaign’s decision has landed in the center of a contentious debate over how large a role transgender issues played in her party’s losses around the country. Several prominent Democrats said Ms. Harris’s relative silence was a damaging concession to Mr. Trump — and evidence that the campaign was so out of step with Americans’ views that it did not appreciate the potency of the ads.

“Malpractice was committed by that campaign,” said Ed Rendell, a Democratic former governor of Pennsylvania and former chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mr. Rendell said he was so alarmed by the Trump attacks that he called top Harris campaign advisers, pleading for them to respond directly.

“They saw the ad, they knew it was being bought in heavy quantities,” he said. “Where were they? What were they thinking?”

That view has faced vocal pushback from some Democrats, particularly on the left, who warn against pinning Ms. Harris’s loss on her position on transgender rights. In a year when voters were so concerned about the economy and unhappy with President Biden, they argue, there is little hard evidence that transgender issues had a significant impact on the results.

“I never heard it anywhere on the campaign trail,” said Representative Mark Pocan of Wisconsin, a Democrat. Mr. Pocan said that scapegoating a small and vulnerable group was “the ultimate misdirection” — and that the party instead needed to address its failure to deliver on the economic concerns of ***working-class*** voters.

But for Democrats now turning to rebuild after a demoralizing and decisive loss, the question of how the party deals with transgender rights has emerged as a challenge for the years ahead. Democrats are divided as they watch what many see as a matter of basic human rights become part of the Republican arsenal.

What is taking place is both an autopsy of the Harris campaign strategy and a debate over key questions about the future. Does the party need to adjust its messaging before the 2026 midterm elections and the 2028 presidential race? Should transgender people’s access to health care or sports teams be embraced as the kind of civil rights cause Democrats have championed for generations? Should the party allow for more dissent and open discussion, as Representative Seth Moulton, a Massachusetts Democrat, [*argued after the election*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk)

Republicans clearly see a political opportunity. The Trump campaign spent more than $37 million on television ads that invoked transgender issues, nearly 20 percent of its overall ad budget, according to data provided by AdImpact, an organization that tracks political ad placement and spending.

Republicans also deployed advertisements on transgender issues in Senate races. In Ohio, Republicans attacked Senator Sherrod Brown by saying he supported “allowing trans biological men in girls’ locker rooms.” Mr. Brown, unlike Ms. Harris, responded with his own ad, calling that claim “a complete lie.” (He lost his seat.)

Ms. Harris could not dismiss the Trump attacks so easily. Mr. Trump’s most prominent ad used [*a 5-year-old video clip of Ms. Harris saying that*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk) “every transgender inmate in the prison system would have access” to taxpayer-funded gender transitions. “Kamala is for they/them. President Trump is for you,” [*an announcer said*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk).

In an interview, Senator John Fetterman, a Pennsylvania Democrat, denounced political attacks on transgender people. But the Trump campaign ad, he acknowledged, amounted to a “brilliant type of political messaging” that cast Republicans as focused on “you” and the Democrats as overly attuned to issues that did not affect the lives of many Americans.

“How can you sum up ‘woke’ in one commercial?” Mr. Fetterman said. “Try and top that.”

Mr. Trump’s attacks on transgender rights came from a familiar playbook. For nearly 50 years, Republicans have seized on divisive social issues that touch a nerve with the public but are often underestimated by Democrats. They typically focus on an issue that affects a small minority of Americans — but can be used to cast a candidate as out of touch.

Mr. Trump’s message tapped into some Americans’ unease about changing gender norms, particularly as the issues were framed by the Republican presidential candidate. At his rallies, he mocked transgender female athletes, and, later in the campaign, claimed — falsely — that schools had conducted transition surgery on students without informing their parents.

It is difficult to know how effective these attacks were. The issue was far from the top concern mentioned by voters in polls before Election Day: It trailed well behind the economy and immigration. In a Gallup poll, voters [*ranked*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk) transgender rights as the least important of 22 issues in the 2024 election. Only about 1 percent of Americans identify as transgender, according to Gallup.

But pollsters said it might have played a less obvious and still significant role: For one thing, Mr. Trump used it to reach his core base of voters, who turned out for him in strong numbers on Election Day.

“That’s what Republicans do very, very well,” said Cornell Belcher, a Democratic pollster. “They keep their vote energized and mobilized.”

The attacks might also have had an impact on swing voters in indirect and subtle ways. Part of the Trump campaign’s aim was to portray Ms. Harris, whose election would have broken gender and racial barriers to the White House, as out of the mainstream, analysts from both parties said.

“That was the headline: That she is ‘other,’” Mr. Belcher said. “That entire ad says, ‘She is not one of us. She doesn’t share our values. She’s scary.’ It’s not just transgender people: It’s all Americans who are not quote-unquote, traditional Americans.”

Americans have nuanced and sometimes contradictory views in the debates over transgender rights. And the positions of many Democrats on critical issues — such as support for minors using puberty-blocking medications and surgery to transition — are not in line with many Americans.

Roughly 55 percent of voters said support for transgender rights in government and society has gone too far, according to [*AP VoteCast*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk). More than 60 percent of adults say transgender women and girls should not be allowed to compete in sports with other women and girls, [*a Washington Post-KFF poll found*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk). And strong majorities oppose minors’ using medications or hormone treatments, according to the Post-KFF poll.

At the same time, more than 60 percent of Americans support protecting transgender people from discrimination, [*according to the Pew Research Center*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk). Most also oppose the government banning gender-affirming care for minors, including medication and surgery, [*Gallup found*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk).

For Democrats, a central question is how much these issues will be used by Republicans in future presidential campaigns — as well as whether they will prove to be effective as the issue becomes more familiar to Americans.

Public attitudes on social debates have historically evolved with time. In 2004, the campaign of George W. Bush tapped into opposition to same-sex marriage as a way to rally conservative voters and turn independent voters against Democrats. Two decades later, gay marriage is almost a mainstream position.

Representative Sara Jacobs, a California Democrat, said that rather than ignoring the issue, she believes Democrats must make a proactive case to dispel the fears of voters, as they did in the fights against same-sex marriage bans.

And for all the attention on Mr. Trump’s use of the issue, voters elected the first transgender member of Congress this year: Sarah McBride, a Democrat from Delaware. (Even before Ms. McBride was sworn in, Representative Nancy Mace, a South Carolina Republican, [*said she would introduce*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk) a measure to bar transgender women from using women’s rooms and changing rooms in the Capitol complex.)

Democrats positioning themselves for the 2028 presidential race are looking for lessons from the Harris campaign.

The Trump ads on transgender surgeries for inmates were among the most damaging attacks on the vice president — although not as potent as the messages about the economy, crime and immigration — said the campaign officials, who asked for anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss internal deliberations. The campaign’s research concluded that the ads made voters think that Ms. Harris was focusing on things they did not care about, instead of the economy, their top priority.

After testing several response ads with focus groups and online panels, the campaign ultimately resorted to smaller-scale direct rebuttals, including digital ads that [*focused on*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zC8MvqfY-Nk) the Trump administration policy that also paid for transition surgeries. And it ran ads on search engines that would appear if people searched for more information about Mr. Trump’s attacks.

The aides did not say whether Ms. Harris weighed in on the discussion.

But largely the campaign decided the best response was changing the subject. Meg Schwenzfeier, the chief analytics officer for the Harris campaign, said the vice president’s team determined its economic message was the most effective answer.

“In all of our quantitative and qualitative research on this ad, our best-testing responses pivoted to the economy,” Ms. Schwenzfeier said. “These responses not only neutralized the attack but actually moved people towards us — because they showed voters that the vice president did care about you.”

Exit polls show the vice president did not win the economic argument. More than half of voters said they trusted Mr. Trump, rather than Ms. Harris, to handle the economy.

In this charged post-election environment, the Trump attacks are outliving the campaign. Activists and others who work with transgender people, particularly transgender youths, say the political debate has resulted in a spike in reports of cyberbullying, online harassment and family tensions.

“I can talk about the harm caused as evidenced by a surge of calls to our crisis line,” said Jaymes Black, the chief executive of the Trevor Project, which focuses on suicide prevention among L.G.B.T.Q. youths. “This peddling of the negative stereotypes exacerbates the mental crisis of our young people.”

Katie Glueck and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research.

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PHOTOS: Representative Mark Pocan, left, said Democrats should instead address a failure to deliver on the economy; Senator John Fetterman acknowledged the Trump ad’s “brilliant” messaging; and Representative Sara Jacobs said the party needed to proactively dispel voters’ fears on transgender rights. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKALA COMPTON/AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS; NARAYAN MAHON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES; PAUL MORIGI/GETTY IMAGES FOR CARE) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

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[***The Enduring Symbolism of McDonald's***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7R-2DN1-JBG3-64WG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1315 words

**Byline:** By Marcia Chatelain

**Body**

In presidential politics, you have to meet potential voters where they are. So every four years, churches, college campuses and even barbershops become the mainstays of the presidential campaign circuit. But, this year, the contenders have added the McDonald's fry station. On Sunday, Donald Trump walked into a Bucks County, Pa., McDonald's and told the store owner that he was looking for a job, explaining that ''I've always wanted to work at McDonald's.''

The public's image of the typical McDonald's employee has overlapped with the elusive voter both parties are hoping to secure in the last days of the race. The Trump and Harris campaigns have relied on the American dream of industry and unbridled capitalism to tell a story about social mobility and who can deliver it to more Americans. The story of who owns and who works at McDonald's is part of that story.

Ever since Vice President Kamala Harris mentioned in campaign ads and interviews her experience working at McDonald's as a student, the Trump campaign has accused her of lying about her Big Mac bona fides. Even the second gentleman Doug Emhoff's revelation that he was a McDonald's Employee of the Month has not lessened the accusation that Democrats do not know or understand the Golden Arches like Mr. Trump does. In Bucks County, Mr. Trump repeated his unfounded claim that Ms. Harris never worked at McDonald's.

When Ms. Harris and Mr. Emhoff worked at McDonald's in the early 1980s, the minimum wage never ticked higher than $3.35 per hour. This is the period that solidified the impression that a majority of its employees were like Ms. Harris and Mr. Emhoff, young people who temporarily worked to enhance allowances or put money toward tuition payments. The average age of a fast-food worker in 2021 was 26. In the '80s, Mr. Trump -- an aficionado and frequent customer of McDonald's -- was being interviewed by news programs about his ambitious pursuit of real estate in New York City. It's a long way from real estate developer to making fries and working the drive-through.

When Ms. Harris talks about McDonald's, ***working-class*** voters may see a future president who knows the fatigue of low-wage, service sector jobs. According to McDonald's most recent diversity snapshot, 20 percent of its restaurant staff is Black and 35 percent of their co-workers are Hispanic, two groups that can deliver a victory for Ms. Harris. When Mr. Trump shares what is reportedly his favorite order of two Filet-o-Fish sandwiches, two Big Macs and a shake, his fans may applaud a rich guy who doesn't turn his nose up at fast food. Much of Mr. Trump's base may not relate to working at McDonald's as much as dreaming of gaining Mr. Trump's wealth and owning one.

In the early days of McDonald's franchising in the 1950s, an array of public policies fueled a booming economy and made possible the franchising system that ushered middle-class people into business. These opportunities were often made available to white men, who had more access to capital to enter the franchise business than their Black counterparts. Additionally, McDonald's head Ray Kroc focused his early leadership on suburbs, many of which were racially exclusionary and provided a captive consumer base for McDonald's fare.

In the late 1960s, prompted by calls for racial justice after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, McDonald's began to offer franchises to African American men, in collaboration with President Richard Nixon's Black capitalism efforts. Mr. Nixon christened an Office of Minority Business Enterprise to connect private companies with public resources that could diversify business and establish small businesses in communities that provided few options for retail and commerce.

McDonald's was an early participant in these programs. Over the course of a few years, Black diners in Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Kansas City, Mo., feted the opening of the first Black McDonald's franchises with great pride. Although these operators, as they are called, struggled to get strong finance terms, maintain their business operations in economically depressed areas and have their voices heard in the predominantly white McDonald's organization, many of them persevered and expanded their holdings to other locations.

Mr. Nixon pointed to these businesses as signs of his commitment to economic justice and enlisted a new generation of Black business owners to articulate what he had made possible for them. In communities that had been calling for federal action on Black unemployment, police brutality and discrimination across all sectors, Mr. Nixon suggested those problems could be resolved with shiny new businesses, many of them fast-food restaurants. He reasoned that if he seeded economic initiatives in Black communities and grew Black prosperity that way, he would not have to confront the more vexing problems of residential and school segregation.

Mr. Nixon's approach to generating pathways to Black wealth was a way to attract Black voters. The Republican Party used its pro-business appeals more broadly to co-opt Black Power supporters who saw Black-owned businesses as a goal for building Black political and economic strength.

By the early 1980s, when Ms. Harris was donning her McDonald's uniform, the restaurant was a beacon of hope for minority entrepreneurship, but also a symbol of economic marginalization of workers of all colors. In the following decades, alarms would be sounded about the negative impact of fast-food on health, especially on African Americans. Black franchisees would allege racial discrimination within the system and organizations would create campaigns to unionize fast-food workers. Despite all of these critiques and conflicts, the government's early relationship to McDonald's growth in Black America and the larger sense that business would lead the way out of inequality has framed what Black voters are offered by both parties.

As the 2024 election nears, both Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris have demonstrated that the McDonaldization of our politics continues. Last week, the Harris campaign unveiled a platform for Black men that placed a promise to create a million ''forgivable loans up to $20,000 to Black entrepreneurs'' at the top of the list and included greater protection for ''cryptocurrency and other digital assets.'' The inclusion of these items will not make a sizable difference in steadying the economic precarity felt by millions of Black families who have been vulnerable not only to the historical legacies of racial discrimination, but also to the current challenges of rising housing costs and inflation.

The Democrats' business-driven approach mirrors some of Mr. Trump's 2020 Platinum Plan for Black voters, which promised ''500,000 new Black-owned businesses'' and ''access to capital in Black communities by almost $500 billion.'' There is little evidence that the Republican Party took measures to make any of those promises real, even without Mr. Trump in the White House.

Although there are many things that Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris disagree on, their view of the role of McDonald's in economic mobility is something they share. Both candidates appear to be running on the idea that Black voters are enamored of promises of the free market more so than guarantees for fair wages and labor protections, something fast-food workers are all too often denied.

Marcia Chatelain is a professor of Africana studies at the University of Pennsylvania and the author of ''Franchise: The Golden Arches in Black America.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY LUKE SHARRETT/BLOOMBERG) This article appeared in print on page A22.

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[***Nebraska and Texas Senate Races Lean Toward G.O.P.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D96-TM11-DXY4-X00T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1470 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman and Camille Baker

**Body**

In Nebraska, Dan Osborn, an independent, is in a tight race with Senator Deb Fischer, and in Texas, Representative Colin Allred is four percentage points behind Senator Ted Cruz.

Dan Osborn, a union leader and political independent, is within striking distance of Senator Deb Fischer, Republican of Nebraska, while in Texas, Representative Colin Allred, a Democrat, has more ground to make up against Senator Ted Cruz, according to new polls from The New York Times and Siena College.

The results offer more evidence that the election remains excruciatingly tight up and down the ticket with little more than a week until ballots are tallied. They also show that in several Republican states, non-Republican candidates are running ahead of Vice President Kamala Harris, who trails former President Donald J. Trump by wider margins in Nebraska and Texas.

The Nebraska poll has found that Mr. Osborn, an industrial mechanic who is running as an independent voice for the ***working class***, is trailing Ms. Fischer, a Republican who has kept a relatively low profile since taking office in 2013, by two percentage points, 46 percent to 48 percent, with 5 percent of likely voters in Nebraska either undecided or refusing to answer.

In Texas, Mr. Allred, a former professional football player from Dallas, trails Mr. Cruz, once a rival of Mr. Trump's but now a loyal ally, 46 percent to 50 percent. In a contest this close, a small polling error could tilt the race in either direction. But the current margin is about the same as Mr. Cruz's margin of victory against his last well-funded Democratic challenger, Beto O'Rourke, in 2018. That year, Mr. Cruz beat Mr. O'Rourke, 51 percent to 48 percent.

Mr. Trump is running ahead of the Republican Senate candidates in both states.

He leads Ms. Harris in Nebraska, 55 percent to 40 percent. But the state parcels out its five electoral votes in part by congressional district, and Ms. Harris leads comfortably in the so-called blue dot around Omaha, 54 percent to 42 percent, putting her on track to secure a single -- and potentially critical -- electoral vote. If Ms. Harris won the ''blue wall'' states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin but lost the Sun Belt swing states, that single Nebraska electoral vote could be the difference between a Harris victory and an electoral tie, which almost certainly would lead to her defeat in the House of Representatives.

The surprisingly close Senate contest in Nebraska could decide which party controls the Senate next year. For Democrats to retain their majority, they would have to defend tightly contested Democratic seats in the tossup states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Nevada and Arizona, while staving off Republican challengers in the conservative-leaning states of Ohio and Montana. The Montana race, between Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat, and Tim Sheehy, a Republican newcomer, has appeared to be trending away from the Democrats.

Mr. Osborn, diligently refusing to compromise his independent status, has not said which party he would side with to secure committee assignments in the Senate. But if Mr. Osborn beats Ms. Fischer and joins the Democrats, he may provide an increasingly important insurance seat for Ms. Harris's party.

Mr. Osborn's steadfast independence appears to be keeping the race close. In Republican-dominated Nebraska, Ms. Harris is actually leading among independent voters by 10 percentage points. Mr. Osborn is leading Ms. Fischer among independents by a much wider margin: 31 percentage points.

Mr. Osborn ''is so much more relatable to us everyday folk in Nebraska,'' said April Baker, 42, an independent voter in Omaha who is an anti-human trafficking consultant and undecided on the presidential race. ''Like, he seems to have more of his finger on the pulse of what's going on. He's not someone who's out of touch with reality.''

A special election for Nebraska's other Senate seat is not close. Senator Pete Ricketts, a powerful Nebraska Republican, is favored to hold on to the seat he was appointed to in 2023 after Senator Ben Sasse resigned. Preston Love, a civil-rights leader who is a traditional Democrat, is trailing Mr. Ricketts, 38 percent to 56 percent.

In Texas, Mr. Allred is outpacing Ms. Harris. Mr. Trump leads the vice president by 10 percentage points, 52 percent to 42 percent, in a head-to-head contest. Mr. Allred, who is backed by 46 percent of likely voters in Texas -- four percentage points better than Ms. Harris's tally -- is buoyed by his success with Black and Hispanic voters. Mr. Allred has the support of 76 percent of Black voters, compared with Ms. Harris's 71 percent, and is backed by 56 percent of Hispanic voters, versus Ms. Harris's 50 percent.

Mr. Allred is also winning 9 percent of likely Texas voters identifying themselves as Republican. Ms. Harris is capturing about 6 percent.

Democrats had been bullish on their chances with a former football player in football-crazy Texas running against Mr. Cruz, who is from the state's dominant political party but has never been beloved by voters.

Katherine McDonald, 45, a field supervisor for a local security company in Dallas, has not forgotten Mr. Cruz's decision to join his family in Cancun, Mexico, while his state suffered through power outages driven by a brutal winter storm in 2021.

''I don't see Allred doing that,'' she said. ''I see him struggling right alongside us.''

She said she would vote for Mr. Allred and for Mr. Trump.

But even as Texas has grown more diverse and urban, it has remained elusive to Democrats, in part because its Hispanic population has been drifting toward the Republicans.

In the new poll, 31 percent of Hispanic voters in Texas identified the economy as their top issue, by far the biggest category of concern. For Hispanic voters, the economy loomed larger than it did for white voters, Black voters and those of other races and ethnicities. By the slimmest of margins, 48 percent to 47 percent, likely Hispanic voters in Texas said that Mr. Trump would do a better job at handling their top issue than Ms. Harris would.

Democrats eyeing the big prize of Texas' 40 electoral votes in future elections can take solace in one factor: The growing urban centers are increasingly Democratic. Ms. Harris still trails Mr. Trump in the region around Texas' largest city, Houston, 45 percent to 50 percent, but she leads the former president in Greater Dallas-Fort Worth, the state's largest metropolitan area, by six points, San Antonio by seven points and Austin by 15 points.

Mr. Trump's lead largely rests in the smaller cities, towns and rural areas, where he dominates, 67 percent to 28 percent.

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

How These Polls Were Conducted

Here are the key things to know about these polls from The New York Times and Siena College:

Interviewers spoke with 1,194 voters in Nebraska, including 500 voters in Nebraska's Second Congressional District, and 1,180 voters in Texas from Oct. 23 to 26, 2024.

Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, more than 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 about 210,000 calls to about 75,000 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 our respondents and the weighted sample at the bottom of the page, under ''Composition of the Sample.''

The margin of sampling error among likely voters for each state poll is about plus or minus three percentage points, and about five percentage points in Nebraska's Second Congressional District. 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.Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/nebraska-texas-senate-races.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/nebraska-texas-senate-races.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A15.

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[***How Trump Exploits Divisions Among Black and Latino Voters; news analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D98-W301-DXY4-X0XH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1392 words

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

**Highlight:** Donald J. Trump’s anti-immigrant message is exposing longstanding tensions and challenging Democrats’ hopes for solidarity.

**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*](https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM58857).

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*](https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM58857). 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 reporting

Jazmine Ulloa contributed reporting

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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[***Paradox***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5V-5RX1-DXY4-X4YR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 13, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Doug Bock Clark

**Body**

On an unseasonably hot day in April 2017, a caravan of vehicles full of white supremacists rolled into Pikeville, Ky. The neo-Nazis, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and other self-described racists were emboldened by the election of Donald Trump and dressed to the hilt with jackboots, shields, sunglasses and firearms. They had come to recruit from America's whitest congressional district, which is also one of its poorest and most conservative.

In ''Stolen Pride,'' the Berkeley professor emerita Arlie Russell Hochschild uses reactions to the white supremacist march as a window into the political and sociological shifts that have transformed the United States. As she writes, ''It occurred to me that a close look at this vulnerable patch of red America -- Kentucky's Fifth Congressional District -- might offer clues to red America as a whole, and indeed to the winds of white nationalism blowing around the world.''

''Stolen Pride'' is a sequel to Hochschild's lauded ''Strangers in Their Own Land,'' which focused on ***working-class*** Louisiana supporters of the Tea Party during the Obama administration. That earlier book arrived in the months before Trump's 2016 presidential win and was held up as key to understanding the constituency that had sent him to the White House. In her new book, Hochschild delves into Appalachia, the American region featured by Trump's vice-presidential pick JD Vance in his memoir, ''Hillbilly Elegy.''

This means that ''Stolen Pride'' will almost certainly be used by commentators to decode the sentiments of conservatives in this election, too. (Indeed, Hochschild herself began this process with a recent essay in The Wall Street Journal.) What differentiates ''Stolen Pride'' from the glut of other commentary on Trump voters is Hochschild's sustained attention to the economic and cultural factors influencing their emotions -- especially their pride and shame. As Hochschild sees it, the residents of Pikeville are trapped in a ''pride paradox.''

''On one hand, rural KY-5 Republicans felt fierce pride in hard work and personal responsibility,'' she writes. ''On the other hand, their beleaguered economy'' -- hollowed out by the decline of the coal industry, globalization and other economic shifts that favor urban Democratic America -- ''greatly lowered their chance of success and vulnerability to shame.'' Trump, Hochschild theorizes, offered these voters a way out by telling them to be proud of themselves and blame others -- liberals, immigrants, the federal government -- for their failures.

In ''Stolen Pride,'' Hochschild updates the core of her previous book, what she calls her subjects' ''deep story'' -- the emotional narrative that they use to explain their lives. In this story, Hochschild explains, white, blue-collar conservatives feel that they had been waiting in line for the American dream only to have Democratic constituencies -- educated women and minorities, for example -- cut ahead of them. In ''Stolen Pride,'' Hochschild elaborates that those voters saw Barack Obama as a bully helping the line-cutters advance. Trump then emerged as the ''good bully'' who was strong enough to fight back.

Hochschild argues that Trump swindled the people of Pikeville by tapping into their frustrations as Democratic urban areas became more prosperous. Their losses created ''a sense of plausibility'' that things -- Hochschild lists Appalachian land, good jobs, community and, finally, their pride -- had been taken from them. The president's rhetoric, she writes, tilted their ''emotional needle from 'loss' to 'stolen,' '' and wove their indignation ''into a master narrative.''

At its best, ''Stolen Pride'' has an authority earned through seven years of research. Hochschild knows the class difference between living on a ridgeline and at the bottom of a holler. She cites the lyrics of the subgenre hillbilly rap, academic studies, extensive political polling data and local historical plaques. In profiling subjects from Pikeville's many social strata -- from a white nationalist to a recovering opioid addict to the local imam -- Hochschild achieves a kaleidoscopic effect, in which the viewpoints of residents do merge, as she intended, to effectively represent the whole.

Her compassion is tangible. The most effective of her myriad tools is simply listening to those whose life stories are seldom heard in the national conversation. Letting them work through their complicated circumstances and feelings in interviews that run for pages results in the opposite of sound bites and allows the people of Pikeville to come alive rather than flattening into political tropes.

Ironically, I have to reduce such long passages to a single quote to fit this review, but it's worth highlighting the shading and nuance her interviews convey even briefly. ''If you're white and poor, people think, 'What's wrong with you that you're stuck at the bottom?' '' one financially struggling white man told Hochschild as he grappled with the ''pride paradox.'' ''If I just look at my own life, I came from nothing and I got to nothing and I'm not a victim of racism because I'm white. So, to most Americans, I'm less than nothing. If it's such a privilege to be born a white male, what could explain me except my own personal failure?''

Hochschild gets a lot right. Still, as an investigative journalist who covers the MAGA movement, I sometimes felt her portrayal of Trump's America was incomplete. She mentions how a pastor was radicalized by the QAnon conspiracy theory on the Telegram app, but such online worlds, which can become realer for their believers than the physical world, aren't captured here with the same concrete specificity as what's happening on the dusty back roads of small-town Kentucky. And her portrayals of the wounded masculine pride and white nationalism that she suggests drive some Trump voters can feel chilly, distanced by sociological and psychological analysis; in person, such emotions are palpably volcanic.

I finished ''Stolen Pride'' nagged by the sense that she wasn't giving us the full picture -- most of all, of her own place in it as a retired professor from the University of California, Berkeley embedding in Pikeville to explain its residents to themselves and the nation. It's a position that I suspect triggered at least some stereotypes that conservatives have about liberals thinking they know better. And yet her ethnography is frictionless. There is none of the grinding of opposing viewpoints so common during this contentious political time. There is little sense of what they thought of her and her project.

Instead, Hochschild has produced a seamless election-season-ready explanation of conservatism that might be just a little too neat. What, I kept wondering, would her subjects say was her ''deep story''? And would including that viewpoint in her book have destabilized its carefully engineered explanations? If America is increasingly divided into two countries, one liberal and one conservative, what would it have meant to compare their two deep stories in one narrative rather than have one side tell the other how it is?Doug Bock Clark is a reporter for ProPublica, where he covers politics in the American South. He is also the author of ''The Last Whalers: Three Years in the Far Pacific With a Courageous Tribe and a Vanishing Way of Life.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/11/books/review/stolen-pride-arlie-russell-hochschild.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/11/books/review/stolen-pride-arlie-russell-hochschild.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: White supremacists in Pikeville, Ky., in 2017. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL SHULAR) This article appeared in print on page BR16.

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris Maintains Edge In Pennsylvania Poll; Trump Leads Arizona***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5V-5RX1-DXY4-X4YG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 13, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 27

**Length:** 1222 words

**Byline:** By Michael C. Bender and Ruth Igielnik

**Body**

The latest Times/Inquirer/Siena polls found Donald Trump with a six-point advantage in Arizona, and Kamala Harris with a four-point lead in Pennsylvania.

Two of the nation's most-contested battleground states -- Pennsylvania and Arizona -- illustrate the difficulties each campaign faces in gaining a clear advantage in the final stretch of the 2024 race, with Kamala Harris maintaining a narrow lead in Pennsylvania but Donald J. Trump continuing to hold an advantage in Arizona, according to a new pair of New York Times/Philadelphia Inquirer/Siena College polls.

The polls, from two states separated by more than 2,000 miles, show the challenge confronting both campaigns as they try to make their closing pitches to a diverse set of voters who have, at times, competing priorities.

In both Arizona and Pennsylvania, Ms. Harris has consolidated support among Democrats since replacing President Biden as the party's nominee. But Mr. Trump's strength remains the economy, the issue primarily responsible for his political potency across Arizona and other battleground states this year.

In Pennsylvania, Ms. Harris's polling lead has been steady, though the state remains tight. Her advantage, 50 percent to 47 percent, falls inside the margin of error. But this was the third Times/Siena survey in two months showing support for Ms. Harris from at least half of the state. (Her lead in the poll was four percentage points when calculated using unrounded figures.)

Fueling Ms. Harris in the state is her commanding lead of nearly 20 percentage points when it comes to handling abortion, her single best issue across battleground states and the second most important concern for Pennsylvania voters.

Both campaigns see Pennsylvania as the most pivotal battleground in this election, and are putting more money, time and energy there than anywhere else, including $350 million in television ads from Ms. Harris, Mr. Trump and their allies.

One recent shift was visible in the education gap, which the polls showed has narrowed for both candidates. Ms. Harris made up ground in the past month among Pennsylvanians without a college degree, while Mr. Trump cut into her advantage with more educated voters.

Mr. Trump's strength in Pennsylvania remains the economy. He had an 11-point advantage over Ms. Harris on the issue, up from a 4-point gap in September.

In Arizona, Mr. Trump was ahead, 51 percent to 46 percent, or six percentage points when calculated using unrounded figures, nearly unchanged from September, when the poll showed the former president leading, 50 percent to 45 percent.

Victory is far from secured for either candidate in either state. Other surveys from high-quality pollsters have shown tighter races in both states. According to New York Times polling averages, Mr. Trump is ahead by just two percentage points in Arizona, and Ms. Harris is ahead by just one point in Pennsylvania.

Bolstering Mr. Trump's advantage in Arizona was, once again, the economy. More Arizonans said they preferred him over Ms. Harris on that issue, 56 percent to 41 percent. More Arizonans expect Mr. Trump to be better at helping people like themselves, and he has a slight edge on the question of who would be better at helping the ***working class***. That was a contrast from Pennsylvania, where voters give Ms. Harris similarly narrow advantages on the same questions.

Voters in Arizona were also more inclined than their counterparts in Pennsylvania to say more broadly that Mr. Trump would be better at handling whatever issue they viewed as most important. He has a nine-point advantage on that question in Arizona, even as he and Ms. Harris run even on it in Pennsylvania.

Both Arizona and Pennsylvania also feature hotly contested Senate contests. The Democratic candidate in each holds a clear advantage, according to the new polling.

Republicans need to flip two Senate seats to win back power if Democrats maintain control of the White House, but just one if Mr. Trump wins the presidency. Republicans are already expected to gain one seat in West Virginia with the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III, an independent from West Virginia who caucuses with the Democrats.

In Pennsylvania, Senator Bob Casey, a Democrat, is holding a slim lead against David McCormick, a Republican businessman, 48 percent to 44 percent. Mr. McCormick's four-point deficit is down from nine points last month, and 8 percent of voters said they remained undecided.

In the Senate contest in Arizona, Representative Ruben Gallego, the Democratic candidate, maintained his lead over Kari Lake, a former television anchor and outspoken Trump ally, 48 percent to 41 percent. But a fairly large share of voters, 10 percent, said they remained undecided.

The most conflicted voters in the Arizona Senate race appear to be Trump supporters. Less than 80 percent of the former president's voters said they planned to back Ms. Lake, whom Mr. Trump endorsed in this race and in her failed bid for governor in 2022.

The ticket-splitters in Arizona appeared to be primarily younger voters and disproportionally Latino, and they included more women than men.

An Arizona ballot measure that would codify ''the fundamental right to an abortion'' continued to draw support from more than half of voters, although support has shrunk since last month.

Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

Here are the key things to know about these polls from The New York Times, The Philadelphia Inquirer and Siena College

Interviewers spoke with 808 voters in Arizona from Oct. 7 to 10 and 857 voters in Pennsylvania from Oct. 7 to 10.

Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, more than 95 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 more than 180,000 calls to nearly 60,000 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. 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 we conduct our polls, you can see answers to frequently asked questions and submit your own questions here.Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/times-siena-arizona-pennsylvania-polls.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/times-siena-arizona-pennsylvania-polls.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Vice President Kamala Harris in Chandler, Ariz. She has consolidated support among Democrats since becoming their nominee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ADRIANA ZEHBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Former President Donald J. Trump in Butler, Pa. His strength in polling remains the economy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***What James Ensor Knew About the Masks We Wear***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3P-WHV1-DXY4-X02G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 1050 words

**Byline:** Nina Siegal

**Highlight:** Seventy-five years after the artist’s death, the grotesque masquerades he painted aren’t so far from the manipulated faces of the present day.

**Body**

Seventy-five years after the artist’s death, the grotesque masquerades he painted aren’t so far from the manipulated faces of the present day.

In our age of cheek fillers, makeup contouring and Snapchat filters, the face we show the world is often not our own. When it is this simple to manipulate how we look through cosmetics and digital media, have our masks become our selves?

As unlikely as it may seem, James Ensor, a Belgian painter born in 1860, may have understood our lust for masking long before these face manipulation tools came along. Ensor painted figures whose real faces are grotesquely covered, and their new guises reveal their ugliest traits. His works offer us a society full of clowns, who know little about themselves.

The case for Ensor’s prescience is being made this month in Antwerp, Belgium, where several simultaneous exhibitions are exploring the artist’s fascination with masks and masquerade as part of the 75th anniversary commemorations of Ensor’s death. Although he isn’t an international household name like his contemporaries Claude Monet, Edward Munch or Vincent van Gogh, at home in Belgium, Ensor is revered as a national treasure.

Antwerp’s Royal Museum of Fine Arts, or K.M.S.K.A., which owns the largest collection of Ensor’s paintings, is presenting the lead exhibition of the commemorations, “[*In Your Wildest Dreams: Ensor Beyond Impressionism*](https://kmska.be/en/evenement/inyourwildestdreams),” which runs through Jan. 19, 2025.

Herwig Todts, a modern art curator at K.M.S.K.A., said he wanted to show that Ensor was a “game changer,” who used Impressionist brushwork techniques and colors, but then pushed them into new realms of avant-garde expressionism.

One of Ensor’s most famous works, his 1890 picture “The Intrigue,” on display at K.M.S.K.A., hovers somewhere between the realistic and the Expressionist: It might be a group-portrait of carnival merrymakers, or a congregation of ghouls.

K.M.S.K.A. also loaned a dozen paintings to the Fashion Museum Antwerp, known as MoMu, for “[*Masquerade, Makeup &amp; Ensor,*](https://kmska.be/en/evenement/inyourwildestdreams)” (through Feb. 2, 2025). They are displayed alongside the work of contemporary designers and makeup artists to ask: “Why do we wear masks?”

Antwerp’s photography museum, FoMu, [*is considering Ensor’s love of masquerades*](https://kmska.be/en/evenement/inyourwildestdreams) from a different, more oblique angle, by focusing on a contemporary artist who has spent nearly a half century working with masks and disguises: Cindy Sherman. Although it is part of the anniversary program, the show never mentions Ensor, except in its catalog, but its curators say the link is obvious: Sherman’s characters, created using elaborate makeup, masks and costumes, often turn absurd and disturbing.

“Ensor uses the masquerade to hide the real faces of people — but for him, the mask is actually showing the true face,” said Rein Deslé, one of the FoMu curators. “He’s trying to show the decadence that he sees all around him, and how he’s repulsed by what he sees. We saw all these parallels with Cindy Sherman, and we wanted to translate that imagery of Ensor into contemporary issues today.”

Ensor grew up in the seaside town of Ostend, Belgium, among the puppets and masks that his mother sold in her souvenir store. As the K.M.S.K.A. show reveals, Ensor relished in the popular entertainments of his era, like magic lantern shows and wild cabaret performances.

Once a year, the streets of Flemish towns like Ostend were flooded with revelers for the Carnival festival, parading in grotesque masks with bestial faces. From the beginning of his career, Ensor sketched live shows at cafes in Brussels where ***working-class*** performers used puppets to caricature the wealthy and powerful. Romy Cockx, a co-curator of the MoMu fashion exhibition, explained that those performances featured plenty of “zwanze” humor, a distinctly Belgian a form of ridicule that expresses resistance through jokes.

“From 1885 onward, he starts to use this theatrical staging in his works,” she said. “He moves away from purely realistic depictions and begins to incorporate fantasy.”

Masks began appearing a few years later, Todts said from the K.M.S.K.A.

“He discovered what a beautiful, efficient thing a mask can be if you don’t use it as an instrument to disguise, but as an instrument for démasquer,” said Todts, using a French word for unmasking, or exposure. “The moment that he recognized the possibilities, he thought, ‘This is my thing.’”

Ensor’s subsequent paintings of masquerades include his famous 1888 “Masks Mocking Death” (on loan to the K.M.S.K.A. from the Museum of Modern Art in New York) and his grotesque 1898 “The Great Judge.”

These were often understood satirically, as a critique of moneyed class’s mores, explained Elisa De Wyngaert, another MoMu co-curator. “He was a very critical observer of the world and of the bourgeoisie,” she said, adding that Ensor painted to show “their hypocrisy, their deceitful nature, their prejudice.”

The MoMu show includes Ensor paintings such as his 1890 “Old Lady with Masks” and “Fashionable Women,” from 1928, as well as displays showcasing the work of contemporary makeup artists who favor facial manipulation or mask-like looks. A recent example is Pat McGrath’s makeup design for Maison Margiela’s 2024 Spring/Summer [*collection*](https://kmska.be/en/evenement/inyourwildestdreams), in which the models’ faces look like porcelain dolls.

As Todts pointed out, Ensor rarely painted the face behind his mask; the mask becomes the face, and the wearer disappears behind it.

This is true for many of the faces we see in MoMu’s fashion exhibition, and throughout the Cindy Sherman retrospective. After observing so many versions of Sherman portraying other people, one can’t help but wonder: What does she really look like? The answer never comes.

Ensor occasionally showed us his true likeness, sometimes as a face in a crowd, sometimes as Christ in a biblical scene. In his “Self-Portrait with Flowered Hat,” from 1883, he glares at us with utmost seriousness, but the foppish, plumed women’s hat on his head suggests either a challenge or a jest.

“Here he is playing with identity, maybe even with gender,” Todts said. “What could be more contemporary?”

PHOTO: James Ensor’s “The Skeleton Painter” (1896), which is on display in “In Your “Wildest Dreams: Ensor Beyond Impressionism” at the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, in Antwerp, Belgium. (PHOTOGRAPH BY K.M.S.K.A. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Biden in Tow, Harris Courts Union Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW8-F8R1-DXY4-X332-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 3, 2024 Tuesday

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

**Length:** 1581 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman and Nicholas Nehamas

**Body**

The president introduced his No. 2, Kamala Harris, at a Labor Day event in Pittsburgh as the Democrats campaigned in crucial Midwestern ''blue wall'' states.

President Biden gave a demonstration on Monday that the Democratic Party now belongs to Vice President Kamala Harris, stepping to the microphone at a campaign event in Pittsburgh to introduce his No. 2 rather than taking the speaking slot of honor for himself.

''Folks, we've made a lot of progress, and Kamala and I are going to build on that progress, and she's going to build on it,'' Mr. Biden said at a local union hall as he rallied the labor movement in support of Ms. Harris, who stood behind him leading the crowd in applause. ''I'll be on the sidelines, but I'll do everything I can to help.''

But while the atmosphere between Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden was warm at their first joint campaign appearance, the president hardly seemed eager to take the supporting role. He spoke for more than 24 minutes, roughly eight minutes longer than the vice president's remarks. And he talked far more about the accomplishments of his administration than Ms. Harris's role in them or an upcoming election against former President Donald J. Trump that is expected to be razor thin.

When Mr. Biden finally invited the Democratic nominee up to speak, the crowd chanted ''Kamala'' as they clasped hands before he planted a kiss on her forehead.

''Can we please give it up again for our president, Joe Biden,'' Ms. Harris said before delivering a speech that served as a paean both to organized labor and to the Biden administration's support of unions.

''We are so proud to be the most pro-union administration in America's history,'' she said.

Ms. Harris's stop in Pittsburgh capped a Labor Day spent seeking to press her advantage with union voters. Earlier in the day, she held an event in Detroit while her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, appeared in Milwaukee.

All told, Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz managed to visit each of the so-called blue wall states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, appealing to union voters as the ground troops of a campaign that has barely two months left. Still, the events were far smaller than the rallies Ms. Harris has held in recent weeks that have filled up basketball arenas with thousands of supporters.

At Northwestern High School in Detroit, the vice president was greeted onstage by the presidents of unions representing autoworkers, laborers, utility workers and teachers.

''I tell people, you may not be a union member, but you better thank a union member,'' Ms. Harris told a crowd of nearly 450 people, attributing union action for paid leave, vacation time, higher wages and safer work conditions.

The question hanging over the flurry of campaign events, however, was just how important unions remain in an American labor force where they represent 1 in 10 workers, half the percentage they once represented in the 1980s. It is also not clear whether union members, especially in the old-line industrial and laborer unions, will side with the Democratic ticket as overwhelmingly as they once did, as Mr. Trump continues his courtship of the ***working class***.`

In Detroit, Michigan's Democratic luminaries -- Gov. Gretchen Whitmer and Senator Debbie Stabenow, and hopefuls like Representative Elissa Slotkin, who is running for Ms. Stabenow's Senate seat -- shared the stage with Shawn Fain, president of the United Automobile Workers; Brent Booker, general president of the Laborers' International Union of North America; and Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, among others.

In Pittsburgh, Ms. Harris was joined by Gov. Josh Shapiro and Senator Bob Casey, both Democrats of Pennsylvania, as well as Liz Shuler of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and Kenny Cooper of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In Milwaukee, Mr. Walz appeared alongside Gov. Tony Evers and Senator Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin.

All three Democratic governors of the blue wall states are popular with voters and are expected to play key roles in whipping up enthusiasm for Ms. Harris. Mr. Casey and Ms. Baldwin are both seeking re-election.

''This is when you labor leaders, y'all got to go knock on your colleagues' doors,'' Mr. Shapiro said in Pittsburgh. ''You got to text them. You got to call them.''

In contrast to the busy day for Democrats, Mr. Trump appeared at least publicly to take the day off. He released a statement praising American workers without mentioning unions.

''We were an Economic Powerhouse, all because of the American Worker!'' Mr. Trump wrote. ''But Kamala and Biden have undone all of that.''

Even as she moves out of the president's shadow, Ms. Harris is still following Mr. Biden carefully on policy.

During her remarks in Pittsburgh, the vice president announced that she would oppose the takeover of U.S. Steel by a Japanese company, prompting cheers from a crowd of roughly 600 people. Mr. Biden had taken the same position in March, shortly before he was endorsed by the United Steelworkers, an influential union based in Pittsburgh. (Mr. Trump has also said he opposes the deal.)

''I couldn't agree more with President Biden: U.S. Steel should remain American-owned and American-operated,'' Ms. Harris said.

And their first joint campaign appearance seemed to reinforce why the vice president is now leading the Democratic ticket. It was hard not to notice the difference between their clarity as orators. Mr. Biden told war stories of political campaigns and union leaders from decades ago, his voice fluctuating from a nearly inaudible whisper to a shout as he emphasized his points. Ms. Harris stuck to a cleaner and more streamlined message, arguing that she would fight for workers while Mr. Trump offered a return to a past of union-busting.

The president had suggested that he speak first, volunteering himself for an auxiliary performance, according to three people briefed on the event.

Ms. Harris's day of travel also underscored a major division still fracturing the Democratic coalition: the war in Gaza. Unions have been some of the loudest voices calling for an immediate cease-fire and the halting of military aid to Israel.

In Detroit, an area where many Arab and Muslim Americans live, Ms. Harris was greeted by about 30 protesters with bullhorns outside her event. In Milwaukee, some attendees silently held up kaffiyehs as Mr. Walz spoke. Several were asked to leave by security.

The busy day did suffer one notable hiccup: In Wisconsin, several cars in Mr. Walz's motorcade crashed en route to his event in Milwaukee, with staff members and members of the press suffering minor injuries.

The dynamics of union support have been shifting. Mr. Biden won over union voters by 22 percentage points in 2020, according to a Harvard University study, considerably better than Hillary Clinton had done in 2016, when she narrowly lost the presidential election. But even Mr. Biden's performance was an erosion from when Bill Clinton won union voters by 31 points in 1992.

Union leaders have promised on-the-ground muscle to get out the vote for Ms. Harris, rally their members and pull in groups that have slid toward Mr. Trump, especially white, male workers in and out of organized labor. Counting family members and retirees, one in five voters in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin are affiliated with unions, said Steve Smith, a spokesman for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

But even union officials were not all that certain their ground efforts were breaking through. Terrell Garner, a training instructor for the laborers union's 5,000-strong local in Detroit, spoke at length of the education efforts the union is making with members and their families and friends, the phone banking and door knocking on weekends in pivotal Michigan.

But when asked how it's looking for Ms. Harris, he held out a hand and rocked it back and forth: ''Eh, 50-50,'' he said with a sigh.

''As they become more educated, they do find themselves on our side of the fence,'' he added, but time is running short for that effort. Mail-in voting in Michigan begins in just over three weeks.

Union leaders were far more positive. In an interview, Ms. Weingarten said her union's footprint in Michigan was growing as the A.F.T. unionizes higher-education employees, health care workers, librarians and even some doctors.

''What we've learned is that people really trust teachers and nurses,'' she said.

But Mr. Trump's appeal to ***working-class*** voters is undeniable. The one union leader not aboard Ms. Harris's campaign, Sean O'Brien, president of the Teamsters, has continued his dalliance with the former president, resisting pressure from the main Black teamsters organization and some large locals that have shattered precedent by endorsing Ms. Harris on their own.

Appearing on CBS's ''Face the Nation'' on Sunday, Mr. O'Brien continued to move the goal posts on an endorsement. He had once said it would come after both parties held their conventions. Now he said the Teamsters cannot endorse until their leadership sits down for an interview with the vice president.

''We represent 1.3 million members,'' he said. ''Half of our members are Republicans, half of our members are Democrats. So we have to serve all of our membership equally.''

Jazmine Ulloa contributed reporting from Milwaukee and Simon J. Levien from Minneapolis.Jazmine Ulloa contributed reporting from Milwaukee and Simon J. Levien from Minneapolis.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/us/politics/harris-walz-michigan-pennsylvania.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/us/politics/harris-walz-michigan-pennsylvania.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: President Biden introduced Vice President Kamala Harris at a campaign appearance in Pittsburgh. ''I'll be on the sidelines, but I'll do everything I can to help,'' he said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIERNEY L. CROSS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Ms. Harris is in a tight contest in Michigan, which also features open House seats and a Senate race. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** September 3, 2024

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[***Republicans May Snatch Senate Should a Few Races Fall in Line***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBG-T461-DXY4-X0WC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1484 words

**Byline:** By Carl Hulse

**Body**

After two years and a multibillion-dollar barrage of political attack ads, the fight for Senate control is down to a handful of races, with Republicans holding a clear edge but Democrats maintaining a narrow path to retaining their majority if events break their way.

As the final days of an intensely polarizing campaign season play out, the Senate focus is on seats held by Democrats in Montana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan, and on Republican seats in Texas and Nebraska.

The outcome will help determine how much power the next president can wield, given the Senate's crucial role in approving cabinet and judicial nominations and in setting -- or thwarting -- the legislative agenda.

Republicans have already all but claimed West Virginia, where the popular governor, Jim Justice, is their candidate for a seat left open by the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III, a onetime Democrat who changed his affiliation to independent this year. That means the G.O.P. needs a net gain of just one more to flip the current 51 to 49 Democratic majority.

The top Republican target has been in Montana, a state that former President Donald J. Trump is expected to carry easily. Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat who has served three terms there, has trailed consistently in most polls against Tim Sheehy, a Republican and wealthy businessman. But other embattled Democrats have maintained slim polling leads that have tightened in the latest surveys.

If the party fails to retake the chamber, it would mark the third consecutive election cycle that Senate Republicans have come up short. They are confident they will get over the hump this time.

''I believe we will take the majority,'' said Senator John Barrasso of Wyoming, a member of the Republican leadership who is on the ballot himself and has campaigned in 11 states with G.O.P. hopefuls. ''The next president's agenda runs through the United States Senate, and Republicans will control the Senate.''

Democrats note that all of their endangered Senate candidates have been outperforming the party's presidential ticket in their states, making them optimistic that they can offset Mr. Trump's strength in red states such as Ohio and Montana and sweep the swing states of Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan. They also have long-shot hopes of defeating the Republican firebrand Ted Cruz in Texas, and of benefiting from an upset defeat of Senator Deb Fischer of Nebraska, who is facing an unexpectedly steep challenge from an independent opponent.

''A year and a half ago, no one thought we would have a shot,'' Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, said in a statement. ''Now the race to keep the majority in the Senate is neck and neck and we're cautiously optimistic about our chances.''

While all the races have had their distinctive issues, they have also been run along the contours of the broader national debate. Democrats have emphasized abortion rights, their legislative accomplishments such as a major infrastructure bill and a relatively drama-free approach to governing, while portraying Republicans as extreme enablers of a right-wing power grab. Republicans have hit Democrats on inflation, the flood of unauthorized migrants entering the country through the southern border and cultural hot-button issues such as transgender rights, accusing them of being in thrall to an ultraliberal agenda.

It has added up to a series of very close contests, with Mr. Tester and Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, both originally elected in the Senate class of 2006, in the most jeopardy given that Mr. Trump has carried their states twice. Republicans point to a proven record of their Senate candidates winning in states carried by Mr. Trump in 2016 and 2020 as ticket splitting has diminished.

In Montana, Mr. Tester is trying to beat those odds by relying on a strong get-out-the-vote effort, his long history in the state and the federal dollars he has delivered. He characterizes Mr. Sheehy, who moved to Montana in 2014, as one of the rich newcomers who have driven up housing prices, making homes unaffordable for average Montanans.

''It shouldn't be a very close race, but it is going to be a very close race,'' Mr. Tester told supporters at one of his campaign-ending rallies as he urged them to get supporters to the polls.

Mr. Sheehy, a former Navy SEAL and political neophyte whose honesty has been questioned because of conflicting accounts of how he got a gunshot wound in his right forearm, has hit Mr. Tester for being a crucial vote in Washington for the Democratic agenda. He has been outspent by Mr. Tester but Democratic strategists worry that Mr. Tester's time has run out.

In Ohio, Mr. Brown faces similar headwinds but appears to be faring better against Bernie Moreno, a wealthy former car dealer who won a contested Republican primary. Mr. Brown has a long populist record and strong ties to labor. A group backing him ran ads showing that he was able to work with Mr. Trump, who signed an anti-fentanyl measure Mr. Brown wrote. Mr. Moreno faltered with a comment questioning why women over age 50 would care about abortion rights. Like other Republican Senate candidates, Mr. Moreno has also focused on transgender issues, arguing that Mr. Brown and fellow Democrats are pressing to allow men to compete in women's sports.

In Wisconsin, Senator Tammy Baldwin, a two-term Democrat, is looking to fend off what has become an increasingly competitive challenge from Eric Hovde, a Republican banking executive. Ms. Baldwin, a soft-spoken progressive, won re-election in 2018 in part by carrying reliably conservative-leaning, rural swaths of Wisconsin by double digits. She is counting on those same voters rallying to her side again this year, but she has not previously run with Mr. Trump on the ballot.

Pennsylvania's race pits Senator Bob Casey, another Democrat first elected in 2006, against the former hedge fund executive David McCormick in a state that is also ground zero for the presidential race. Mr. Casey, whose father was the state's governor, has sought to emphasize his independence by noting that he had broken with the Biden administration on oil and gas drilling. He also ran ads saying his opponent actually resides in Connecticut. Mr. McCormick, who owns a home in Pittsburgh, has portrayed his opponent as someone who would vote in lock step with Democrats.

In Michigan, two candidates with national security credentials have squared off for the open seat being vacated by Senator Debbie Stabenow, a Democrat. Representative Elissa Slotkin, a Democrat and former C.I.A. analyst, is facing former Representative Mike Rogers, a Republican who was the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee. The two have battled over the economy and abortion rights in a race that polls indicate slightly favors Ms. Slotkin.

Democrats say they are also optimistic about their Senate chances in Nevada and Arizona, where Senator Jacky Rosen and Representative Ruben Gallego, respectively, have led in polls. Republicans had been bullish about picking up a Senate seat in deep-blue Maryland after Larry Hogan, a popular former two-term Republican governor, jumped into the race. But Angela Alsobrooks, a Democrat and the Prince George's County executive, now appears poised to win and become Maryland's first Black senator.

''Our strength is driven from the fact that we have better candidates, ran more effective campaigns, and are on the right side of the issues voters care most about,'' said David Bergstein, a spokesman for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Democrats also see a chance of picking off Mr. Cruz in Texas, with Representative Colin Allred, a former professional football player, and Mr. Cruz fighting over abortion rights and border policies. But Republicans say they expect Mr. Cruz to survive another election scare.

Perhaps the most surprising race of the cycle has been in Nebraska, where Ms. Fischer is in a race for her political life against independent Dan Osborn, a former mechanic and labor leader with ***working-class*** appeal.

In his closing argument, Mr. Osborn has pitched himself as the candidate of change and said he is more closely aligned with Mr. Trump than Ms. Fischer is. He has said he would not caucus with either party. Republicans say that Ms. Fischer was slow in responding to the threat but that she has now effectively fought back and should prevail.

''Republicans are confident we are going to retake the Senate majority,'' said Mike Berg, communications director for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. ''Right now we are competitive in battlegrounds across the country and will run through the tape as we try to win as many races as possible.''

Luke Broadwater, Catie Edmondson and Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.Luke Broadwater, Catie Edmondson and Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/02/us/elections/senate-battlegrounds.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/02/us/elections/senate-battlegrounds.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

Jim Justice The governor of West Virginia is the Republican candidate for a seat left open. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Jon Tester The Democrat of Montana has served three terms but has trailed in polls. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JANIE OSBORNE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Dan Osborn An independent aligned with Donald J. Trump, he vies to take Nebraska. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL CIAGLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

David McCormick A Republican, he is challenging Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES) (A20) This article appeared in print on page A1, A20.

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump, Harris and the Enduring Symbolism of McDonald’s; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7H-DF41-DXY4-X2TK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 21, 2024 Monday 11:49 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1322 words

**Byline:** Marcia Chatelain

**Highlight:** McDonald’s tells a story about what both candidates think is possible for working people.

**Body**

In presidential politics, you have to meet potential voters where they are. So every four years, [*churches*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045), college campuses and even barbershops become the mainstays of the presidential campaign circuit. But, this year, the contenders have added the McDonald’s fry station. On Sunday, Donald Trump walked into a Bucks County, Pa., McDonald’s and told the store owner that he was looking for a job, explaining that “I’ve always wanted to work at McDonald’s.”

The public’s image of the typical McDonald’s employee has overlapped with the elusive voter both parties are hoping to secure in the last days of the race. The Trump and Harris campaigns have relied on the American dream of industry and unbridled capitalism to tell a story about social mobility and who can deliver it to more Americans. The story of who owns and who works at McDonald’s is part of that story.

Ever since Vice President Kamala Harris mentioned in campaign ads and interviews her experience working at McDonald’s as a student, the Trump campaign has accused her of lying about her Big Mac bona fides. Even the second gentleman Doug Emhoff’s revelation that he was a [*McDonald’s Employee of the Month*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045) has not lessened the accusation that Democrats do not know or understand the Golden Arches like Mr. Trump does. In Bucks County, Mr. Trump repeated his unfounded claim that Ms. Harris never worked at McDonald’s.

When Ms. Harris and Mr. Emhoff worked at McDonald’s in the early 1980s, [*the minimum wage never ticked higher than $3.35 per hour*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045). This is the period that solidified the impression that a majority of its employees were like Ms. Harris and Mr. Emhoff, young people who temporarily worked to enhance allowances or put money toward tuition payments. The average age of a fast-food worker in 2021 was 26. In the ’80s, Mr. Trump — an aficionado and frequent customer of McDonald’s — [*was being interviewed by news programs*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045) about his ambitious pursuit of real estate in New York City. It’s a long way from real estate developer to making fries and working the drive-through.

When Ms. Harris talks about McDonald’s, ***working-class*** voters may see a future president who knows the fatigue of low-wage, service sector jobs. [*According to McDonald’s most recent diversity snapshot*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045), 20 percent of its restaurant staff is Black and 35 percent of their co-workers are Hispanic, two groups that can deliver a victory for Ms. Harris. When Mr. Trump shares what is reportedly his favorite order of two Filet-o-Fish sandwiches, two Big Macs and a shake, his fans may applaud a rich guy who doesn’t turn his nose up at fast food. Much of Mr. Trump’s base may not relate to working at McDonald’s as much as dreaming of gaining Mr. Trump’s wealth and owning one.

In the early days of McDonald’s franchising in the 1950s, an array of public policies fueled a booming economy and made possible the franchising system that ushered middle-class people into business. These opportunities were often made available to white men, who had more access to capital to enter the franchise business than their Black counterparts. Additionally, McDonald’s head Ray Kroc focused his early leadership on suburbs, many of which were racially exclusionary and provided a captive consumer base for McDonald’s fare.

In the late 1960s, prompted by calls for racial justice after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, McDonald’s began to offer franchises to African American men, in collaboration with President [*Richard Nixon’s Black capitalism efforts*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045). Mr. Nixon christened an Office of Minority Business Enterprise to connect private companies with public resources that could diversify business and establish small businesses in communities that provided few options for retail and commerce.

McDonald’s was an early participant in these programs. Over the course of a few years, Black diners in Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Kansas City, Mo., feted the opening of the first Black McDonald’s franchises with great pride. Although these operators, as they are called, struggled to get strong finance terms, maintain their business operations in economically depressed areas and have their voices heard in the predominantly white McDonald’s organization, many of them persevered and expanded their holdings to other locations.

Mr. Nixon pointed to these businesses as signs of his commitment to economic justice and enlisted a new generation of Black business owners to articulate what he had made possible for them. In communities that had been calling for federal action on Black unemployment, police brutality and discrimination across all sectors, Mr. Nixon suggested those problems could be resolved with shiny new businesses, many of them fast-food restaurants. He reasoned that if he seeded economic initiatives in Black communities and grew Black prosperity that way, he would not have to confront the more vexing problems of residential and school segregation.

[*Mr. Nixon’s approach*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045) to generating pathways to Black wealth was a way to attract Black voters. The Republican Party used its pro-business appeals more broadly to co-opt Black Power supporters who saw Black-owned businesses as a goal for building Black political and economic strength.

By the early 1980s, when Ms. Harris was donning her McDonald’s uniform, the restaurant was a beacon of hope for minority entrepreneurship, but also a symbol of economic marginalization of workers of all colors. In the following decades, alarms would be sounded about the negative impact of fast-food on health, especially on African Americans. [*Black franchisees would allege racial discrimination within the system*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045) and organizations would create campaigns to unionize fast-food workers. Despite all of these critiques and conflicts, the government’s early relationship to McDonald’s growth in Black America and the larger sense that business would lead the way out of inequality has framed what Black voters are offered by both parties.

As the 2024 election nears, both Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris have demonstrated that the McDonaldization of our politics continues. Last week, the Harris campaign unveiled a [*platform for Black men*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045) that placed a promise to create a million “forgivable loans up to $20,000 to Black entrepreneurs” at the top of the list and included greater protection for “cryptocurrency and other digital assets.” The inclusion of these items will not make a sizable difference in steadying the economic precarity felt by millions of Black families who have been vulnerable not only to the historical legacies of racial discrimination, but also to the current challenges of rising housing costs and inflation.

The Democrats’ business-driven approach mirrors some of Mr. [*Trump’s 2020 Platinum Plan*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045) for Black voters, which promised “500,000 new Black-owned businesses” and “access to capital in Black communities by almost $500 billion.” There is little evidence that the Republican Party took measures to make any of those promises real, even without Mr. Trump in the White House.

Although there are many things that Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris disagree on, their view of the role of McDonald’s in economic mobility is something they share. Both candidates appear to be running on the idea that Black voters are enamored of promises of the free market more so than guarantees for fair wages and labor protections, something fast-food workers are all too often denied.

Marcia Chatelain is a professor of Africana studies at the University of Pennsylvania and the author of “Franchise: The Golden Arches in Black America.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/rcna176045).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY LUKE SHARRETT/BLOOMBERG) This article appeared in print on page A22.

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**End of Document**



[***American Dreams Get a Reality Check***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CN3-8WT1-DXY4-X07W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1268 words

**Byline:** By Laura Collins-Hughes

**Body**

Kristin Chenoweth stars in ''The Queen of Versailles'' in Boston, while a new ''Gatsby'' musical in Cambridge takes Myrtle seriously.

''It may surprise you,'' Jackie Siegel says, ''but we are not old money.''

Surprise us? Probably not, but there were some context clues. Such as that she utters these words while dressed to the pink and sparkly nines, holding a tiny, fluffy dog and perched in the lap of her decades-older husband, David, whose capacious, ornately gilded chair suggests delusions of royalty.

So does their home construction project: a 90,000-square-foot house modeled on the Palace of Versailles (because, you know how it is, their current 26,000 square feet are feeling cramped) and built, Jackie tells us, ''in the most beautiful place in the entire world -- Orlando, Florida.''

The audience at the Emerson Colonial Theater in Boston got a good guffaw out of that on Thursday's opening night of ''The Queen of Versailles,'' the surprising and frequently excellent new musical starring an utterly disarming Kristin Chenoweth and co-written by her ''Wicked'' composer-lyricist, Stephen Schwartz.

Then again, it may be a sort of genius to stage the world premiere of this show, which has already announced a Broadway run next season, in a city that is fundamentally identified with the origins of this nation and constitutionally disposed to adore old money but turn its nose up at vulgar flash.

Because ''The Queen of Versailles,'' based largely on Lauren Greenfield's 2012 documentary of the same name, is as much an exploration of the seamy underbelly of the American Dream as is the very different new musical ''Gatsby,'' wrapping up its own world premiere across the river in Cambridge. (More on that momentarily.) Like F. Scott Fitzgerald's Jay Gatsby, Jackie Siegel came from not much at all, left her humble roots behind and -- with a husband (F. Murray Abraham, in terrific form) whose beginnings were similar -- reinvented herself on a scale so over the top that strangers can't help gawking.

Mind you, fans of reality television -- which the real Jackie Siegel has embraced since the documentary -- will be more versed in her life and persona than those who shy from that genre. But the ''Versailles'' musical, which has a book by Lindsey Ferrentino and direction by Michael Arden, stands on its own, no previous familiarity required.

It is a story of excess and fame, of a fortune vanished in the 2008 economic crash and then regained. It is also (this may be a spoiler) a story about the death of a teenager: Victoria (Nina White, poignant and appealing), Jackie's firstborn, a compelling adolescent presence in the documentary and the only one of her seven children seen in the musical. The show is still finding its way toward telling that essential strand of Jackie's biography without throwing off the dramatic equilibrium.

Act I fizzes entertainingly along, striking just the right tone, Chenoweth's playfulness and charm endearing Jackie to us. And the show, which starts with and occasionally returns to the original Versailles, looks great. (Set and video are by Dane Laffrey, costumes by Christian Cowan, lighting by Natasha Katz.)

But in Act II, the tone flails, even descending briefly into sentimentality with a song called ''Little Houses.'' The cast is rock solid, and Chenoweth gives a fiercely intelligent performance, emotionally nuanced and deep. The narrative ground beneath the actors is unsteady, though. The darkness has -- for now, at least -- thrown the show's creators off.

Readers of ''The Great Gatsby'' know to expect darkness in any serious adaptation. That's part of the reason the frothy musical of the same name currently on Broadway feels so hollow. But the new ''Gatsby,'' at the American Repertory Theater in Cambridge, is another creature altogether.

With a book by Martyna Majok and a score by Florence Welch (music and lyrics) and Thomas Bartlett (music), this show is smart, inquiring and fluent in the subtleties of class. Its arty chic lets you know it's a Rachel Chavkin production, the ambience flickeringly reminiscent of her work on ''Hadestown'' and ''Natasha, Pierre & the Great Comet of 1812.''

Majok, who won a Pulitzer Prize for ''Cost of Living,'' has said that she sees Gatsby as a ***working-class*** character. What's astonishing is how clearly she and her collaborators draw parallels between Gatsby (Isaac Powell) -- enmeshed in an affair with Daisy Buchanan (Charlotte MacInnes), the wealthy love of his life -- and Myrtle Wilson (Solea Pfeiffer), the ***working-class*** woman risking her own marriage for an affair with Daisy's spoiled creep of a husband, Tom (Cory Jeacoma).

In this telling, Gatsby and Myrtle want the same thing: for their illicit liaisons to turn legit, granting them a kind of stability and acceptance that they have never known. When Gatsby gazes across the bay at Daisy's house, that's the beacon that beckons him.

On Mimi Lien's thrilling sculptural set -- a silvery wreckage of cars in a mountain of industry and ruin -- the cast is almost uniformly strong. But Pfeiffer received the biggest applause the night I saw the show, and in what version of this tale has Myrtle ever gotten to be more than a shrill and tacky tart? She does here.

Admirers of Majok's work might have expected her to pay close attention to Myrtle, but this layered, sympathetic take on her is powerfully transformative. One of the show's most stunning moments is when Tom doesn't hit Myrtle as he does in the novel, doesn't break her nose, but instead does something at least as violent to her soul. He says to her, in front of a room full of people, ''Marry you? You're dreaming,'' and uses an expletive to amp up the viciousness.

Daisy, too, here has more than the customary agency, even if she sometimes makes her decisions -- like her choice to marry Tom, in the arrestingly fraught wedding-day song ''I've Changed My Mind'' -- from a position of vulnerability and self-destruction. And George (Matthew Amira), Myrtle's sweet and disappointing mechanic husband, often almost a background character, is thoughtfully and effectively fleshed out.

The score is frequently lovely, propulsive both musically and narratively, and there are some real standout numbers. Gatsby's gambler mentor, Meyer Wolfsheim (Adam Grupper), gets one, delightfully.

Gatsby's part of the story, though, is out of whack, partly because of the lack of sexual chemistry between Gatsby and Daisy. Powell has a gorgeous voice, but he errs on the side of recessiveness, not exuding the magnetism Gatsby needs. Why Daisy and her mensch of a cousin, Nick (Ben Levi Ross), are so drawn to him remains a mystery.

The show has yet to figure some things out, like how to balance innovation with faithfulness to the novel's bones, and how to populate the set to make the party scenes at Gatsby's house look sufficiently crowded. (The ensemble, cleverly clad by Sandy Powell, has a definite netherworld vibe.)

With the grace of Sonya Tayeh's choreography, this production absolutely nails the final line of the novel and the final moment of the show. And Fitzgerald's phrase ''vast carelessness'' is, perfectly, a lyric now.

He used it to describe the behavior of Daisy and Tom. But it's indelible because the habits of the obscenely rich tend that way in any age.

Gatsby

Through Aug. 3 at American Repertory Theater, Cambridge, Mass.; americanrepertorytheater.org. Running time: 2 hours 40 minutes.

The Queen of Versailles

Through Aug. 25 at the Emerson Colonial Theater, Boston; queenofversaillesmusical.com. Running time: 2 hours 45 minutes.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/03/theater/gatsby-queen-of-versailles-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/03/theater/gatsby-queen-of-versailles-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Charlotte MacInnes as Daisy and Isaac Powell in the title role of ''Gatsby.'' Above, Kristin Chenoweth as Jackie and F. Murray Abraham as David in ''The Queen of Versailles.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JULIETA CERVANTES

MATTHEW MURPHY) This article appeared in print on page C3.

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**End of Document**



[***Republicans Cling to Slim Leads in Nebraska and Texas Senate Races***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D91-6SF1-DXY4-X4PV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1466 words

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

**Highlight:** In Nebraska, Dan Osborn, an independent, is in a tight race with Senator Deb Fischer, and in Texas, Representative Colin Allred is four percentage points behind Senator Ted Cruz.

**Body**

In Nebraska, Dan Osborn, an independent, is in a tight race with Senator Deb Fischer, and in Texas, Representative Colin Allred is four percentage points behind Senator Ted Cruz.

Dan Osborn, a union leader and political independent, is within striking distance of Senator Deb Fischer, Republican of Nebraska, while in Texas, Representative Colin Allred, a Democrat, has more ground to make up against Senator Ted Cruz, [*according to new polls from The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html).

The results offer more evidence that the election remains excruciatingly tight up and down the ticket with little more than a week until ballots are tallied. They also show that in several Republican states, non-Republican candidates are running ahead of Vice President Kamala Harris, who trails former President Donald J. Trump by wider margins in Nebraska and Texas.

The Nebraska poll has found that Mr. Osborn, an industrial mechanic who is running as an independent voice for the ***working class***, is trailing Ms. Fischer, a Republican who has kept a relatively low profile since taking office in 2013, by two percentage points, 46 percent to 48 percent, with 5 percent of likely voters in Nebraska either undecided or refusing to answer.

In Texas, Mr. Allred, a former professional football player from Dallas, trails Mr. Cruz, once a rival of Mr. Trump’s but now a loyal ally, 46 percent to 50 percent. In a contest this close, a small polling error could tilt the race in either direction. But the current margin is about the same as [*Mr. Cruz’s margin of victory against his last well-funded Democratic challenger*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html), Beto O’Rourke, in 2018. That year, Mr. Cruz beat Mr. O’Rourke, 51 percent to 48 percent.

Mr. Trump is running ahead of the Republican Senate candidates in both states.

He leads Ms. Harris in Nebraska, 55 percent to 40 percent. But the state parcels out its five electoral votes in part by congressional district, and Ms. Harris leads comfortably in [*the so-called blue dot around Omaha*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html), 54 percent to 42 percent, putting her on track to secure a single — and potentially critical — electoral vote. If Ms. Harris won the “blue wall” states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin but lost the Sun Belt swing states, [*that single Nebraska electoral vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html) could be the difference between a Harris victory and an electoral tie, which almost certainly would lead to her defeat in the House of Representatives.

The surprisingly close Senate contest in Nebraska could decide which party controls the Senate next year. For Democrats to retain their majority, they would have to defend tightly contested Democratic seats in the tossup states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Nevada and Arizona, while staving off Republican challengers in the conservative-leaning states of Ohio and Montana. The [*Montana race*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html), between Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat, and Tim Sheehy, a Republican newcomer, has appeared to be trending away from the Democrats.

Mr. Osborn, [*diligently refusing to compromise his independent status*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html), has not said which party he would side with to secure committee assignments in the Senate. But if Mr. Osborn beats Ms. Fischer and joins the Democrats, he may provide an increasingly important insurance seat for Ms. Harris’s party.

Mr. [*Osborn’s steadfast independence*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html) appears to be keeping the race close. In Republican-dominated Nebraska, Ms. Harris is actually leading among independent voters by 10 percentage points. Mr. Osborn is leading Ms. Fischer among independents by a much wider margin: 31 percentage points.

Mr. Osborn “is so much more relatable to us everyday folk in Nebraska,” said April Baker, 42, an independent voter in Omaha who is an anti-human trafficking consultant and undecided on the presidential race. “Like, he seems to have more of his finger on the pulse of what’s going on. He’s not someone who’s out of touch with reality.”

A special election for Nebraska’s other Senate seat is not close. Senator Pete Ricketts, a powerful Nebraska Republican, is favored to hold on to the seat he was appointed to in 2023 after [*Senator Ben Sasse resigned*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html). Preston Love, a civil-rights leader who is a traditional Democrat, is trailing Mr. Ricketts, 38 percent to 56 percent.

In Texas, Mr. Allred is outpacing Ms. Harris. Mr. Trump leads the vice president by 10 percentage points, 52 percent to 42 percent, in a head-to-head contest. Mr. Allred, who is backed by 46 percent of likely voters in Texas — four percentage points better than Ms. Harris’s tally — is buoyed by his success with Black and Hispanic voters. Mr. Allred has the support of 76 percent of Black voters, compared with Ms. Harris’s 71 percent, and is backed by 56 percent of Hispanic voters, versus Ms. Harris’s 50 percent.

Mr. Allred is also winning 9 percent of likely Texas voters identifying themselves as Republican. Ms. Harris is capturing about 6 percent.

Democrats had been bullish on their chances with a former football player in football-crazy Texas running against Mr. Cruz, who is from the state’s dominant political party but has never been beloved by voters.

Katherine McDonald, 45, a field supervisor for a local security company in Dallas, has not forgotten [*Mr. Cruz’s decision to join his family in Cancun, Mexico*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html), while his state suffered through power outages driven by a brutal winter storm in 2021.

“I don’t see Allred doing that,” she said. “I see him struggling right alongside us.”

She said she would vote for Mr. Allred and for Mr. Trump.

But even as Texas has grown more diverse and urban, it has remained elusive to Democrats, in part because its Hispanic population has been drifting toward the Republicans.

In the new poll, 31 percent of Hispanic voters in Texas identified the economy as their top issue, by far the biggest category of concern. For Hispanic voters, the economy loomed larger than it did for white voters, Black voters and those of other races and ethnicities. By the slimmest of margins, 48 percent to 47 percent, likely Hispanic voters in Texas said that Mr. Trump would do a better job at handling their top issue than Ms. Harris would.

Democrats eyeing the big prize of Texas’ 40 electoral votes in future elections can take solace in one factor: The growing urban centers are increasingly Democratic. Ms. Harris still trails Mr. Trump in the region around Texas’ largest city, Houston, 45 percent to 50 percent, but she leads the former president in Greater Dallas-Fort Worth, the state’s largest metropolitan area, by six points, San Antonio by seven points and Austin by 15 points.

Mr. Trump’s lead largely rests in the smaller cities, towns and rural areas, where he dominates, 67 percent to 28 percent.

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

How These Polls Were Conducted

Here are the key things to know about these polls from The New York Times and Siena College:

* Interviewers spoke with 1,194 voters in Nebraska, including 500 voters in Nebraska’s Second Congressional District, and 1,180 voters in Texas from Oct. 23 to 26, 2024.
* Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, more than 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/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-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 about 210,000 calls to about 75,000 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 our respondents and the weighted sample [*at the bottom of the page, under “Composition of the Sample.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html)
* The margin of sampling error among likely voters for each state poll is about plus or minus three percentage points, and about five percentage points in Nebraska’s Second Congressional District. 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/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-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/2024/10/28/us/elections/times-siena-texas-poll-crosstabs.html).

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

This article appeared in print on page A15.

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[***'An Earthquake': Trump Flips South Texas***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCJ-K2K1-JBG3-61HP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 9, 2024 Saturday

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**Length:** 1609 words

**Byline:** By J. David Goodman, Edgar Sandoval and Robert Gebeloff

**Body**

Donald J. Trump's biggest gains were along the Texas border, a Democratic stronghold where most voters are Hispanic. He won 12 of the region's 14 counties, up from five in 2016.

Nowhere in the United States have historically Democratic counties shifted so far and so fast in the direction of former President Donald J. Trump as they have in the Texas communities along the Rio Grande, where Hispanic residents make up an overwhelming majority.

In recent elections, the region's mix of sprawling urban centers and rural ranch lands that had been reliable Democratic strongholds for generations were beginning to turn red.

Then on Tuesday, Mr. Trump brought South Texas and the border region firmly into his column, taking 12 of the 14 counties along the border with Mexico, and making significant inroads even in El Paso, the border's biggest city. In 2016, Mr. Trump carried only five of the counties.

The support for Mr. Trump along the Texas border provided the starkest example of what has been a broad national embrace of the Republican candidate among Hispanic and ***working-class*** voters. That shift has taken place in rural communities as well as in large cities, like Miami, and in parts of New York and New Jersey.

But Texas stood out. Eight of the top 10 Democratic counties that most swung toward Mr. Trump on Tuesday were on the Texas border or within a short drive.

One of the biggest swings came in Starr County, a rural area of 65,000 people dotted with small towns where sections of border wall have been rising, incomes are low and many travel long distances to jobs in the West Texas oil fields. The county flipped Republican on Tuesday, backing Mr. Trump by about 16 percentage points. He lost the county to Hillary Clinton by 60 points in 2016.

Concerns about inflation and the large number of unauthorized border crossings in recent years dominated the campaign in the county. On a sweltering Thursday in the border city of Roma, voters who supported Trump said they had done so mostly for practical reasons, and out of a concern over uncontrolled immigration.

Fabiola Rodriguez, 28, a single mother of two children, said just going to the grocery store had become a painful experience. When Mr. Trump was president, she said, she was able to fill her shopping cart for about $250. Now, she spends $300 for a cart that is less than half full.

''I don't take my children to the grocery store because I know I won't be able to afford what they want,'' she said.

She also feared that Vice President Kamala Harris would be unfriendly to the oil and gas industry, which draws many workers from places like Roma. She blamed the Biden administration's policies in support of renewable energy for cuts to her father's and her brother's working hours in the oil fields.

The county's top official, Eloy Vera, a Democrat, said there was a broad sense among residents that Democrats did not support the oil and gas industry.

''Our young people thought, hell, they're going to do away with our jobs,'' Mr. Vera said.

At the same time, Mr. Vera was quick to point out, Democrats still have sway in the county: Local Democratic officials like the sheriff won handily on Tuesday. That pattern held in other border communities, where voters split their tickets, choosing Mr. Trump while still in many cases favoring local Democratic candidates.

Rodrigo Burberg, a 32-year-old software engineer from Brownsville, backed Democrats in local contests but remained undecided about the presidential race as recently as a few weeks ago. He ended up voting for Mr. Trump, and also for Senator Ted Cruz, a Republican who was facing a tough re-election fight.

''Honestly, I never heard Kamala say any definitive response to anything,'' Mr. Burberg said. ''Democrats are saying the economy is really strong. But really, the metrics are not there to reflect what people are feeling. Who cares about G.D.P. if everything is spent on Ukraine?''

Mr. Trump flipped seven counties south of San Antonio.

He won by 19 points in Maverick County, where the city of Eagle Pass had become a flashpoint for unauthorized border crossings during the Biden administration, after losing the county by 56 points in 2016 and by about nine points in 2020. He won in urban areas like Cameron County, home to Brownsville, and Webb County, home to Laredo.

''I'm in awe,'' said Adrienne Peña-Garza, a former Democrat turned Republican activist in the border city of McAllen. ''A lot of those people who used to attack us now say, 'Y'all were right.' The price of eggs, border security,'' she said. ''Hispanics, they're at their heart conservative.''

The strong rightward turn among Hispanic voters had surprised many Democrats four years ago, when Mr. Trump began attracting major support in South Texas.

Democrats, who did not campaign hard in the region in 2020, vowed not to let the region slip away. This election cycle, there were on-the-ground efforts to rally Democratic voters and increase turnout. Party activists and paid canvassers fanned out across the region, particularly in the cities of the Rio Grande Valley.

But that effort didn't hold back the tide; the dam burst. Many Democrats were left in shock.

''Republicans built a brand around folks who work at the oil rigs, households that were struggling to pay for groceries,'' said Michael Mireles of LUPE Votes, a progressive South Texas political organization that worked in Hidalgo County to elect Democrats. ''It's silly, but consistently talking about the price of eggs -- it's something that people can remember.''

A longtime Republican who lives in McAllen, Gary Groves, said he had felt the political momentum shifting his way as he started getting Trump supporters together after the 2020 election in caravans of cars and trucks festooned with flags. The gatherings, known as the Hidalgo County Trump Train, began with a few cars; this year, as Election Day approached, he said, some events had as many as 150 or 200.

''What happened was an earthquake,'' Mr. Groves, 69, said of Tuesday's election. And, he added, the party still has room to grow locally. ''The majority of the Republicans down here do not have Republican'' on their campaign signs, he said. ''Hopefully that will change.''

He shared a video from one of his gatherings in which a woman complained that her husband, a Latino immigrant who had recently become a citizen, could no longer get a construction job because local contractors were hiring only unauthorized migrants, who generally worked at lower wages.

For years, Republicans have been working in state and federal races to convince socially and religiously conservative Hispanic voters that their values are better aligned with the Republican Party. Gov. Greg Abbott started his 2022 re-election campaign in the Rio Grande Valley and made frequent trips to the border for political events, cutting into Democratic margins significantly.

''We were talking about prosperity and hope while the Democrat Party was talking about pronouns,'' said Representative Monica De La Cruz, who in 2022 became the first Republican member of Congress elected to a district that stretches from the border to the suburbs of San Antonio. She was re-elected on Tuesday. ''The Republican Party has become the party of the blue-collar voter,'' she said.

This year, the Cruz campaign invested heavily in courting Hispanic voters, running Spanish-language ads beginning in June on streaming services. Some of the campaign's ads focused on Democratic support for transgender participation in youth sports and gender transition surgeries for prisoners and those in the military.

''Their party has left them on a lot of these key social issues,'' said Sam Cooper, a Republican campaign consultant who worked on the Cruz campaign.

Mr. Cruz, who won by nearly nine points over his Democratic opponent, Colin Allred, spent the final days of the campaign in El Paso and then in McAllen, where, Mr. Cooper said, hundreds of people packed into an event with the conservative commentator Ben Shapiro.

But while Mr. Cruz made significant gains in South Texas, he did not win the region as decisively as Mr. Trump, who drew more Democrats to his side.

''It's Donald Trump, not the Republican Party,'' said Representative Vicente Gonzalez, a conservative Democrat who held onto his South Texas seat in a close race. ''Donald Trump won every county in my district.''

Mr. Gonzalez said Democrats had done a poor job reaching Hispanic workers, particularly men who work in the oil industry and have come to distrust the party. And, he added, the anti-trans messaging by Republicans appeared to resonate with many voters.

''Democrats need to get away from some of those social issues,'' he said. ''What works in Massachusetts certainly doesn't work in South Texas.''

On Thursday in the historic downtown of Roma, perched above a winding portion of the Rio Grande, Josie Falcon, 50, reflected on what a second Trump presidency might bring.

Ms. Falcon described herself as ''not very political'' but said she had felt the need to vote for Mr. Trump over Ms. Harris for pragmatic reasons. ''It's like everyone is saying -- the economy,'' Ms. Falcon said. ''It wasn't because I didn't like Kamala or because of race or gender.''

She worried about migrants arriving without authorization from Mexico, still an occasional sight despite a sharp reduction in crossings, and said she was frustrated over paying ''a lot of taxes.''

''I'm not sure if Trump will be able to lower the taxes, but that's what he said, and we have to be optimistic,'' she said. ''The Democrats didn't talk about that at all.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/texas-border-latinos-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/texas-border-latinos-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Along the Rio Grande, where Hispanic residents are an overwhelming majority, support swung for President-elect Donald J. Trump.

FABIOLA RODRIGUEZ, above, voted for Mr. Trump in part because she said groceries were cheaper when he was president.

JOSIE FALCON, above, says she voted for Mr. Trump because of the economy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GABRIEL V. CÁRDENAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Bold Moves by Walz Left Minnesota G.O.P. Reeling***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3F-KHT1-DXY4-X1J9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 2, 2024 Wednesday

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**Byline:** By Ernesto LondoÃ±o

**Body**

Mr. Walz was willing to move the state swiftly to the left as soon as Democrats had an opening. He supported all but one bill that fellow Democrats approved, issuing a single veto last year.

After Democrats won full control of Minnesota's statehouse two years ago, they quickly pressed for change, enshrining a right to abortion under state law, legalizing recreational marijuana, requiring that employers provide paid medical and family leave, and funding free meals for most school students.

Tim Walz, the governor, signed it all, along with practically everything else his fellow Democrats passed in 2023. He issued only one veto that year.

As Mr. Walz, now a vice-presidential candidate, prepares to debate Senator JD Vance on Tuesday, that single year in St. Paul could shed light on how Mr. Walz may govern, and the kinds of policies he might champion in the White House.

Mr. Walz's supporters view 2023 as a time that revealed him to be a decisive leader who put an end to gridlock and pursued bold policies to help ***working class*** Minnesotans. His critics also point to the period as the clearest look at Mr. Walz's liberal views. On his watch, they argue, Minnesota vastly expanded state programs in a manner that might have been politically popular in the short term, but could prove to be fiscally untenable.

Here's a look at Mr. Walz's most notable year as governor, and how he got there.

Running as a Unifier

After representing a largely rural district in Congress for 12 years, earning a reputation as a moderate who found common ground with Republicans on issues related to veterans and agriculture, Mr. Walz ran for governor in 2018.

Drawing attention to his experience as a public school geography teacher and football coach, Mr. Walz presented himself as a unifying leader in a polarizing time. His campaign motto was ''One Minnesota.'' His running mate, Lt. Gov. Peggy Flanagan, made history as the highest-ranking Native American elected official in the state. They won by more than 11 percentage points.

During Mr. Walz's first term as governor, Republicans controlled the Minnesota Senate and Democrats struggled to pass major pieces of legislation. Mr. Walz also found himself in crisis mode, grappling with the Covid-19 pandemic and upheaval that followed the murder of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer in 2020.

In 2022, Minnesotans re-elected Mr. Walz by a slightly narrower margin -- just under eight percentage points -- but Democrats flipped the Senate, giving the party full control in St. Paul for the first time since 2014.

'Burning Political Capital'

After Democrats won their trifecta, Mr. Walz met with the the party's leaders, House Speaker Melissa Hortman and State Senator Kari Dziedzic, to talk about all of their priorities for the 2023 session, including bills that Republicans had blocked for years.

''Our lists were virtually identical,'' Ms. Hortman said. The two legislators said they had heard the same complaint from voters repeatedly: They were sick of gridlock. Mr. Walz, Ms. Hortman and Ms. Dziedzic agreed to act swiftly and decisively.

Mr. Walz and his team kept close watch as major pieces of legislation advanced in the months that followed, Ms. Hortman and Ms. Dziedzic said in interviews, but he largely left the details of bill drafting and political lobbying to them.

Mostly, there was easy agreement among top Democrats, they said. Mr. Walz issued his only veto to block a measure that sought more generous compensation for ride-share drivers.

He took center stage during carefully choreographed bill signing ceremonies, often standing alongside Ms Flanagan. Such ceremonies celebrated a measure that enshrined a right to abortion in the state, a law that gave undocumented immigrants the right to obtain drivers licenses and a bill that protected transition-related medical care for transgender youths.

After the 2023 legislative session came to an end, Mr. Walz shared a campaign-style video shot with a drone that flew from inside the State Capitol to a bill-signing ceremony for the budget on the Capitol's steps.

''It's not about banking political capital for the next election,'' Mr. Walz said in the video. ''It's about burning political capital to improve lives.''

'Runaway Train'

Minnesota Republicans said the 2023 session left them reeling.

''As we looked at what the Democrats were pushing with their one-party control, wanting to spend, spend, spend, we kept raising the alarm and saying that this is not going to be sustainable,'' said Representative Lisa Demuth, the Republican leader.

It is partly spending, conservatives in Minnesota say, that worries them, and leaves them scoffing at the notion that Mr. Walz could be portrayed as a centrist.

In 2023, Democrats assumed control with a $17 billion surplus in the state budget.

Despite the surplus, some critics said they feared that the rise in state spending on Mr. Walz's watch -- to $38 billion from $27 billion over the past year -- could tip Minnesota into a deficit in the years ahead.

The free school meals initiative, which was projected to cost $400 million in 2024 and 2025, proved so popular that state officials had to revise that figure upward by an additional $80 million.

''I hope Republicans regain control of the Legislature and restore some political balance in Minnesota,'' Tim Pawlenty, a former Republican governor, said in an email. ''Otherwise, the progressive runaway train will continue to roll down the tracks with no brakes.''

Top Democrats call those fears overblown. They say the state under Mr. Walz's watch has a balanced budget, low debt, a healthy labor market, an estimated $3.7 billion surplus and high marks from credit-rating agencies.

''The things that we have put in place are things that we've been working toward for a long time and that Minnesotans, clearly, at the ballot box, told us that they wanted us to deliver on,'' Ms. Flanagan said in an interview.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/01/us/tim-walz-minnesota-administration.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/01/us/tim-walz-minnesota-administration.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: As governor, Tim Walz cleared a path for the top priorities of Democrats in Minnesota. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

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**End of Document**



[***Some Black Voters Ask, What Have Democrats Done for Us Lately?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDM-H9J1-DXY4-X20T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Troy Closson, Clyde McGrady and Rick Rojas

**Body**

In interviews, these voters, especially men, questioned what dividends have come from their loyalty: ''I'm just kind of over it all.''

Jamaal Stokes's quality of life in Milwaukee has declined over the past decade, just as it has for many other Black residents.

He lost his well-paying factory job in the mid-2010s, when his company left town. He spent the next several years toiling in temporary jobs as he searched for stable employment. Mr. Stokes, 44, now works as a security guard at a local supermarket, even as he struggles to afford groceries himself.

This presidential election, he paid little attention to Donald J. Trump or Vice President Kamala Harris, because national politics are ''not the answer.''

''So what's the point?'' he asked. ''I'm just kind of over it all.''

In the final weeks of the campaign, many Democrats hoped that signs of crumbling support among Black voters would not materialize at the polls.

The historic nature of the campaign, with the possibility of the country electing a Black and Indian American woman as its leader, inspired some confidence.

There was also an expectation that Mr. Trump's baggage would be poisonous, as he was heavily criticized for trying to discredit Ms. Harris's racial identity, spreading vicious disinformation about Haitians eating pets and accusing immigrants of taking ''Black jobs.''

And for an overwhelming majority of Black Americans, those reasons were more than enough to justify supporting Ms. Harris. But her loss has illuminated a percolating sense of dissatisfaction and an increasingly conspicuous divide within the Black community, as a segment of Black voters rejected her campaign and the message of the Democratic Party more broadly.

Some of those voters, namely ***working-class*** Black men, said they doubted their circumstances would fundamentally change, regardless of who won. The dissatisfaction -- evident in urban centers in swing states, like Milwaukee and Philadelphia, as well as remote reaches in the Mississippi Delta -- was potent enough to depress turnout in some Democratic strongholds and even flip some majority-Black counties to Mr. Trump.

The outcome was less of a reflection of enthusiasm for Mr. Trump and more of an indication that some Black voters were questioning what dividends, if any, have come from their loyalty to the Democratic Party.

''I think the Democrats have abused us for years,'' said Vincent Genous, 50, who lives in Yazoo City, Miss., and followed the guidance he grew up hearing -- that the party was his only realistic choice -- before he was swayed by Mr. Trump in recent elections.

Even some Harris voters were not enthused. In Philadelphia, David Childs, a 40-year-old vendor in the city's downtown shopping district, said he would reluctantly vote for her, but that neither candidate really spoke to his concerns, and that he mostly heard about abortion and the southern border.

''Neither one of them is going to affect us down here directly,'' he said.

Mr. Childs said he has not seen any money or direct assistance for small businesses like his and that the Biden administration did not do enough to help people like him.

For many Black Americans, the election was ''not really a question of a choice between Harris and Trump,'' said Christopher Towler, an associate professor of political science at Sacramento State and the director of the Black Voter Project, which studies political attitudes and engagement.

''It was a choice between participating at all or staying home,'' Mr. Towler said.

For example, in Milwaukee, the heart of the Black population in Wisconsin, the city's crucial base of Democratic voters seems to have steadily lost enthusiasm for the party.

The city's majority Black wards saw a minor partisan shift away from Democrats in recent election cycles, said John D. Johnson, a researcher at Marquette University Law School. But those wards have seen a precipitous drop in turnout, which fell to 58 percent when President Biden ran in 2020 from 77 percent during Mr. Obama's 2012 re-election.

Turnout for Ms. Harris did not appear to plunge even further, according to an initial analysis of election data from Mr. Johnson. But she also did not appear to make up much lost ground.

Mr. Stokes, the security guard, chose to stay home. ''I said 'Let the chips fall where they may,''' he said. ''Nothing changes for Black folks, really.''

Some Black voters also voted -- or considered voting -- for Mr. Trump. In Nash County, N.C., a largely rural county east of Raleigh where roughly 40 percent of residents are Black, voters have sided with the winner of the last four presidential elections -- including with Mr. Trump this month.

Linwood Yarborough, 43, who works part time fixing cars, said he thought Ms. Harris was ''more for the people.'' And he had a boss and others who lobbied for her.

But an uncle, a truck driver in the same county, revealed that he planned to vote Republican. Mr. Yarborough said that his uncle told him that life for Black people had been far better under Mr. Trump's leadership than it was under President Biden's.

''Gas prices were down when he was in office; groceries were cheaper,'' Mr. Yarborough recalled his uncle saying.

''And I agree with that,'' Mr. Yarborough acknowledged.

Mr. Yarborough ended up not voting.

In red states, voters also yearned for change.

Yazoo County, Miss., where Mr. Genous lives, is 60 percent Black. It's in the poorest stretch of one of the country's poorest states. Health outcomes have been dire. Yazoo City's public school system was in such awful condition that it was taken over by the state. Only 12 percent of residents hold a college degree.

And Yazoo County flipped to Mr. Trump in 2024 from Mr. Biden in 2020. In this part of the world, where an inescapable history of slavery, segregation and disenfranchisement has taught many that the promise of America was more an ideal to chase than a reality to safeguard, the arguments that Mr. Trump posed grave peril to democratic institutions could only gain so much traction.

And to Mr. Genous, those arguments were overblown. Mr. Trump said he was not a politician, and he did not sound like one. He said things that were offensive or simply unbelievable -- Mr. Genous never thought for a second that Mexico would pay for a border wall. But he was blunt, raw. And more and more, Mr. Genous agreed with his message.

''I just feel like some things need to be said and Trump is going to say it,'' said Mr. Genous, who works as a supervisor for a discount retail chain.

Younger generations of Black voters lack the same loyalty to the Democratic Party as baby boomers and Gen Xers, said Alvin B. Tillery Jr., a political science professor at Northwestern who founded a political action committee to focus on Black swing state voters. The allegiance of older voters was often forged through the Civil Rights Movement and from witnessing race relations in the 20th century.

Younger voters, however, need to be sold on their vote for Democrats, Mr. Tillery said, ''but the campaign and the party did not do a good job of that. And that's a big part of why they lost.''

Bobby Jackson, 28, an assistant director at a small private school in Yazoo City, Miss., was skeptical of Mr. Trump. But he was just as unsure about Ms. Harris. He did not know much about her when she entered the race in late July, and still felt as if he didn't know her by Election Day.

He was put off by the celebrities -- Beyoncé, Megan Thee Stallion, Bruce Springsteen and Oprah Winfrey -- who endorsed her campaign.

He voted for Ms. Harris, but his enthusiasm for the Democratic Party has waned. He said the party was offering ''a lot of promises, but not following through.''

Some younger Black men said that they were also frustrated by Ms. Harris's emphasis on her law enforcement experience as a prosecutor -- part of her appeal to moderate Democrats and disenchanted Republicans.

Ronnell Shaw, 36, lives in a section of Milwaukee's north side, where incarceration rates are among the highest in the nation.

He said that he has cousins and friends who have faced harassment by the police. Mr. Shaw said that the focus of elected leaders should be on ''making up for that history,'' rather than ''bragging about all the people they locked up.''

At the same time, Mr. Shaw was turned off by Mr. Trump's brash demeanor and record. So Mr. Shaw, who said that he voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016, opted to sit out of this election.

''Why should I vote for someone who doesn't care about people who look like me?'' Mr. Shaw asked about both candidates.

In a crowded shopping center in Rocky Mount, N.C., the main city in Nash County, Carson Criswell, 35, said that while he voted for Ms. Harris, he was not entirely surprised that she did not receive more support among some Black men.

Voting for a woman of color was exciting, he said. ''But the world ain't always ready for that.''

That sexism has enraged some Black women voters, who are the backbone of the Democratic Party.

Linda Arrington, 59, a longtime resident of Nash County, said that as a Black woman, she never once considered anything other than voting for Ms. Harris.

As a substitute teacher, she said, the Republican goal of eliminating the Department of Education did not sit well with her. And she was anxious about the stability of Social Security under a Trump administration.

Ms. Arrington worried, though, that some younger Black men were too laser focused on the economy. ''They don't understand what will happen with everything else: Education, health care, taxes,'' she said. ''They're in for a rude awakening.''

Donna Madden, 52, who identifies as a Black Latina, said she was ''terrified'' of the fallout.

''It's like a betrayal,'' she said. ''It just makes me so mad. Are you really doing your research? Do you understand the type of person you're actually voting for? What in the world is going on?''

Robert Gebeloff contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett and Susan C. Beachy contributed research.Robert Gebeloff contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett and Susan C. Beachy contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/12/us/politics/black-voters-democrats-results.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/12/us/politics/black-voters-democrats-results.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: In the election's final weeks, Democrats hoped that signs of crumbling support among Black voters would not materialize at the polls. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EMILY ELCONIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Linwood Yarborough, 43, said he thought Vice President Kamala Harris was ''more for the people,'' but ultimately declined to vote. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CORNELL WATSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Bobby Jackson, 28, voted for Ms. Harris, but said the Democrats were offering ''a lot of promises, but not following through.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY RORY DOYLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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[***Mike Tyson, Marlon Brando, G.I. Joe: The Old-World Art of Pigeon Racing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB9-R021-JBG3-60KT-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Tracey Tully

**Body**

At the Lyndhurst Homing Pigeon Club, it is said that all members are friends until race day. That's when bragging rights and the potential for thousands of dollars in prize money unleash a fierce competitive streak.

And on a recent Saturday night, the first race of a new season was hours away.

Joe Esteves, the club's president, toted a crate holding 25 pigeons into the clubhouse on the outskirts of the ***working-class*** township of Lyndhurst, N.J., 11 miles west of Manhattan.

Each of the birds had been raised from birth for the obscure yet centuries-old pastime of pigeon racing. And while the first race of the pigeons' lives would be a 100-mile sprint, the margin of victory could be a matter of seconds.

Mr. Esteves, a 42-year-old father of four, was late. The room had already filled with the easy chatter of longtime club members and an undercurrent of unspoken, competitive grudges.

Similar scenes were playing out that night in the more than two dozen homing pigeon clubs that still operate in New Jersey.

Mike Tyson, who traces his career as a champion heavyweight boxer to a childhood incident involving a pigeon killed by a bully in Brooklyn, keeps pigeons behind a bar in Jersey City, N.J., making him the state's most prominent fan of the bird. Most other racers are far less famous but no less passionate.

''Tonight me, you, somebody else, goes to the club,'' explained Mario Costa, 70, who owns the bar, the Ringside. ''You bring your best birds. Whoever comes home first wins.''

It is rarely that simple. In recent years, dwindling open spaces and fast-fading traditions have winnowed the field of participants, threatening a pursuit that can trace its roots to ancient Egypt.

Animal rights activists, who consider the races abusive and unethical, say good riddance.

The liberator

In the Northeast, the racing season for pigeons born this year -- a.k.a. young birds -- begins in August and runs through late October. Birds more than 1 year old race in the spring and fly farther, sometimes 500 miles or more.

The sport is more prominent in warm-weather states like Florida and Texas. But the Central Jersey Combine, which coordinates the local competitions, has clung to its standing as one of the country's largest pigeon-racing organizations, said Gene Yoes, a retired lawyer who trains pigeons in Montana and publishes Racing Pigeon Digest, a national magazine.

The start of the competition -- the so-called liberation -- can be as tense as it is spectacular.

The birds soar and hook, undulating across the sky before orienting east toward home. On a good day, they will fly about 60 miles per hour, although champions with the benefit of a strong tailwind have reached speeds of nearly 100 m.p.h.

This year, Daniel Quinn is Central Jersey's designated liberator, a title he said can draw quizzical looks.

''It sort of has its moments,'' Mr. Quinn said of the $425 overnight gig, which he took on last year and which supplements his income hanging drywall. ''I started out just emptying the old crates out of the trailer. The liberator that was there quit, so they asked me if I could go.''

On race-day Sundays, Mr. Quinn, 61, sleeps overnight in the cab of a truck that can hold crates for more than 4,000 birds. Soon after dawn, he and the driver use levers to release the contestants more or less at once during the roughly 20 races held each year.

The first race of the 10-week young bird season began at the Flying J truck stop in Frystown, Pa. From there, the pigeons traveled different routes and distances to reach their home coops.

An average flight speed is calculated with the individual distance traveled by a bird and the time it took. Birds with the fastest pace are crowned the winner.

''When they come home, it's just a beautiful thing,'' said Vinnie Torre, whose coop in Wayne, N.J., Hillside Loft, is named for his father's old barbershop in Hoboken. ''It's therapy, actually.''

G.I. Joe's legacy

Organized pigeon competitions began in Belgium in the early 1800s, and the first races in the United States were held decades later, in New Jersey and New York, where by 1883, pigeon racing news would appear as prominently as Page 3 in The New York Times.

During World War I, the U.S. Army began training pigeons at Fort Monmouth, on the Jersey Shore, to deliver battlefield messages. In the Second World War, a pigeon trained at the base, G.I. Joe, saved the lives of 1,000 Allied troops by carrying an order to cancel a scheduled bombing.

The birds use a well-researched yet still mysterious set of skills to find their way home. In unfamiliar territory, scientists have found that the birds are guided by smell, the earth's magnetic field and the angle of the sun; over familiar turf, they rely on the landscape.

The sport remains most vibrant in Europe, where in 2020 a 2-year-old hen, New Kim, sold for $1.9 million and premier races in Barcelona draw more than 17,000 birds. In the United States, so-called one-loft races -- where birds compete only against pigeons housed in the same professionally managed coop -- advertise winning pots as high as $1.2 million.

At the Lyndhurst club, prizes are drawn from entry fees, and a premier long-distance race can net a first-place winner about $6,500, said Mr. Torre, who sold his salvage shop and used-car lot and retired years ago, giving him the flexibility to train his 80 birds most mornings at sunup.

He drives the birds a little farther away each week, building strength and navigational prowess during training runs known as tosses.

Immigrants from countries including Portugal, Poland and the Philippines have infused the sport with new energy. But modernity has taken a toll.

At 56, Wesley Wilczewski is the youngest member of the Queen City Pigeon Club in Piscataway, N.J.

''It's shrinking like crazy, year by year,'' said Mr. Wilczewski, a plumber who learned the sport from his father in Poland. ''Nobody wants to spend any time in the coop cleaning. They want to play on the phones.''

Hoboken, a mile-square commuter city across the Hudson River from Manhattan, was once home to hundreds of rooftop coops, a tradition memorialized in the classic 1954 movie ''On the Waterfront,'' starring Marlon Brando. But many communities in New Jersey, including Hoboken, have outlawed coops, bowing to concerns about rodents, the demand for luxury apartment buildings with rooftop decks and pressure from animal rights organizations.

The birds are exposed during races and training tosses to the elements and to predators like hawks. Not all of them come home. Groups that include People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals have condemned the pastime as cruel, saying it exploits animals for prize money and encourages illegal gambling.

''They don't want to think of themselves as monsters,'' Hannah Schein, vice president of investigations and research at PETA, said of pigeon racers, some of whom cull slow birds and separate mates to incentivize them to fly home quickly. ''But to us it's monstrous.''

''You're using emotional manipulation to get them to come home faster,'' she added, ''so you can have a winning moment with your friends.''

New Jersey pigeon racers say they take pride in treating their animals well.

''They come home,'' said Steven Costa, 34, a member of a racing club in Perth Amboy, N.J. ''That means I'm making them happy.''

'Tyson's Corner'

Mr. Tyson's birds live behind the Ringside, across a busy truck route from Mr. Costa's diner, the White Mana, which was built for the 1939 New York World's Fair but found fame in Jersey.

After the death of Camille Ward, Mr. Tyson's surrogate mother, Mr. Costa brought the pigeons living at the boxer's childhood home in Catskill, N.Y., to Jersey City. Generations of their offspring have thrived on rooftops near the Ringside.

Birds that fly for ''Tyson's Corner'' compete at the Lyndhurst club.

Mr. Esteves, the club's president, said a love of animals first drew him to the hobby as a child after he found an injured pigeon and nursed it back to health.

''It kind of just takes you away,'' he said, ''from the rest of the world.''

He now works in medical equipment sales and with his wife buys and sells real estate and owns frozen dessert franchises, leaving little time for pigeon training.

Still, he fared well this season. The day of the first race, the fastest of Mr. Esteves's pigeons flew home in two hours, 32 minutes and 47 seconds. That was good enough for second place at the Lyndhurst club, though a far more distant 116th-place finish among the combine entrants.

Mr. Torre's fastest bird clocked an average flight speed about four seconds slower, earning him third place in the day's club rankings.

Mr. Esteves said his club payout was about $50, less than the $80 entry fee for 25 pigeons.

''If you are looking to make money to support your hobby,'' he said, ''this is not the hobby for you.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/31/nyregion/pigeon-racing-nj.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/31/nyregion/pigeon-racing-nj.html)

**Graphic**

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

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[***Biden Plays Second Fiddle to Harris as They Rally for Union Support***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW4-N3N1-DXY4-X28N-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman and Nicholas Nehamas Jonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago. Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris. More about Nicholas Nehamas

**Highlight:** The president introduced his No. 2, Kamala Harris, at a Labor Day event in Pittsburgh as the Democrats campaigned in crucial Midwestern “blue wall” states.

**Body**

The president introduced his No. 2, Kamala Harris, at a Labor Day event in Pittsburgh as the Democrats campaigned in crucial Midwestern “blue wall” states.

President Biden gave a demonstration on Monday that the Democratic Party now belongs to Vice President Kamala Harris, stepping to the microphone at a campaign event in Pittsburgh to introduce his No. 2 rather than taking the speaking slot of honor for himself.

“Folks, we’ve made a lot of progress, and Kamala and I are going to build on that progress, and she’s going to build on it,” Mr. Biden said at a local union hall as he rallied the labor movement in support of Ms. Harris, who stood behind him leading the crowd in applause. “I’ll be on the sidelines, but I’ll do everything I can to help.”

But while the atmosphere between Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden was warm at their first joint campaign appearance, the president hardly seemed eager to take the supporting role. He spoke for more than 24 minutes, roughly eight minutes longer than the vice president’s remarks. And he talked far more about the accomplishments of his administration than Ms. Harris’s role in them or an upcoming election against former President Donald J. Trump that is expected to be razor thin.

When Mr. Biden finally invited the Democratic nominee up to speak, the crowd chanted “Kamala” as they clasped hands before he planted a kiss on her forehead.

“Can we please give it up again for our president, Joe Biden,” Ms. Harris said before delivering a speech that served as a paean both to organized labor and to the Biden administration’s support of unions.

“We are so proud to be the most pro-union administration in America’s history,” she said.

Ms. Harris’s stop in Pittsburgh capped a Labor Day spent seeking to press her advantage with union voters. Earlier in the day, she held an event in Detroit while her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, appeared in Milwaukee.

All told, Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz managed to visit each of the so-called blue wall states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, appealing to union voters as the ground troops of a campaign that has barely two months left. Still, the events were far smaller than the rallies Ms. Harris has held in recent weeks that have filled up basketball arenas with thousands of supporters.

At Northwestern High School in Detroit, the vice president was greeted onstage by the presidents of unions representing autoworkers, laborers, utility workers and teachers.

“I tell people, you may not be a union member, but you better thank a union member,” Ms. Harris told a crowd of nearly 450 people, attributing union action for paid leave, vacation time, higher wages and safer work conditions.

The question hanging over the flurry of campaign events, however, was just how important unions remain in an American labor force where they represent 1 in 10 workers, half the percentage they once represented in the 1980s. It is also not clear whether union members, especially in the old-line industrial and laborer unions, will side with the Democratic ticket as overwhelmingly as they once did, as Mr. Trump continues his courtship of the ***working class***.`

In Detroit, Michigan’s Democratic luminaries — Gov. Gretchen Whitmer and Senator Debbie Stabenow, and hopefuls like Representative Elissa Slotkin, who is running for Ms. Stabenow’s Senate seat — shared the stage with Shawn Fain, president of the United Automobile Workers; Brent Booker, general president of the Laborers’ International Union of North America; and Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, among others.

In Pittsburgh, Ms. Harris was joined by Gov. Josh Shapiro and Senator Bob Casey, both Democrats of Pennsylvania, as well as Liz Shuler of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and Kenny Cooper of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In Milwaukee, Mr. Walz appeared alongside Gov. Tony Evers and Senator Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin.

All three Democratic governors of the blue wall states are popular with voters and are expected to play key roles in whipping up enthusiasm for Ms. Harris. Mr. Casey and Ms. Baldwin are both seeking re-election.

“This is when you labor leaders, y’all got to go knock on your colleagues’ doors,” Mr. Shapiro said in Pittsburgh. “You got to text them. You got to call them.”

In contrast to the busy day for Democrats, Mr. Trump appeared at least publicly to take the day off. He released a statement praising American workers without mentioning unions.

“We were an Economic Powerhouse, all because of the American Worker!” Mr. Trump wrote. “But Kamala and Biden have undone all of that.”

Even as she moves out of the president’s shadow, Ms. Harris is still following Mr. Biden carefully on policy.

During her remarks in Pittsburgh, the vice president announced that she would oppose the [*takeover*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) of U.S. Steel by a Japanese company, prompting cheers from a crowd of roughly 600 people. Mr. Biden had taken the same position in March, shortly before he was endorsed by the United Steelworkers, an influential union based in Pittsburgh. (Mr. Trump has also said he opposes the deal.)

“I couldn’t agree more with President Biden: U.S. Steel should remain American-owned and American-operated,” Ms. Harris said.

And their first joint campaign appearance seemed to reinforce why the vice president is now leading the Democratic ticket. It was hard not to notice the difference between their clarity as orators. Mr. Biden told war stories of political campaigns and union leaders from decades ago, his voice fluctuating from a nearly inaudible whisper to a shout as he emphasized his points. Ms. Harris stuck to a cleaner and more streamlined message, arguing that she would fight for workers while Mr. Trump offered a return to a past of union-busting.

The president had suggested that he speak first, volunteering himself for an auxiliary performance, according to three people briefed on the event.

Ms. Harris’s day of travel also underscored a major division still fracturing the Democratic coalition: the war in Gaza. Unions have been some of the loudest voices calling for an immediate cease-fire and the halting of military aid to Israel.

In Detroit, an area where many Arab and Muslim Americans live, Ms. Harris was greeted by about 30 protesters with bullhorns outside her event. In Milwaukee, some attendees silently held up kaffiyehs as Mr. Walz spoke. Several were asked to leave by security.

The busy day did suffer one notable hiccup: In Wisconsin, several cars in Mr. Walz’s motorcade crashed en route to his event in Milwaukee, with staff members and members of the press suffering minor injuries.

The dynamics of union support have been shifting. Mr. Biden won over union voters by 22 percentage points in 2020, [*according to a Harvard University study*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas), considerably better than Hillary Clinton had done in 2016, when she narrowly lost the presidential election. But even Mr. Biden’s performance was an erosion from when Bill Clinton [*won union voters by 31 points*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) in 1992.

Union leaders have promised on-the-ground muscle to get out the vote for Ms. Harris, rally their members and pull in groups that have slid toward Mr. Trump, especially white, male workers in and out of organized labor. Counting family members and retirees, one in five voters in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin are affiliated with unions, said Steve Smith, a spokesman for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

But even union officials were not all that certain their ground efforts were breaking through. Terrell Garner, a training instructor for the laborers union’s 5,000-strong local in Detroit, spoke at length of the education efforts the union is making with members and their families and friends, the phone banking and door knocking on weekends in pivotal Michigan.

But when asked how it’s looking for Ms. Harris, he held out a hand and rocked it back and forth: “Eh, 50-50,” he said with a sigh.

“As they become more educated, they do find themselves on our side of the fence,” he added, but time is running short for that effort. Mail-in voting in Michigan begins in just over three weeks.

Union leaders were far more positive. In an interview, Ms. Weingarten said her union’s footprint in Michigan was growing as the A.F.T. unionizes higher-education employees, health care workers, librarians and even some doctors.

“What we’ve learned is that people really trust teachers and nurses,” she said.

But Mr. Trump’s appeal to ***working-class*** voters is undeniable. The one union leader not aboard Ms. Harris’s campaign, Sean O’Brien, president of the Teamsters, has continued his dalliance with the former president, resisting pressure from the main Black teamsters organization and some large locals that have shattered precedent by endorsing Ms. Harris on their own.

Appearing on CBS’s “Face the Nation” on Sunday, Mr. O’Brien continued to move the goal posts on an endorsement. He had once said it would come after both parties held their conventions. Now he said the Teamsters cannot endorse until their leadership sits down for an interview with the vice president.

“We represent 1.3 million members,” he said. “Half of our members are Republicans, half of our members are Democrats. So we have to serve all of our membership equally.”

Jazmine Ulloa contributed reporting from Milwaukee and Simon J. Levien from Minneapolis.

Jazmine Ulloa contributed reporting from Milwaukee and Simon J. Levien from Minneapolis.

PHOTOS: President Biden introduced Vice President Kamala Harris at a campaign appearance in Pittsburgh. “I’ll be on the sidelines, but I’ll do everything I can to help,” he said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIERNEY L. CROSS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Ms. Harris is in a tight contest in Michigan, which also features open House seats and a Senate race. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

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[***The Big Question: What Is Underrated?; Turning Points***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK5-X7V1-JBG3-645D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Experts from the worlds of music, food, film, etiquette and relationships each reveal something that — up until now — has been underrated.

**Body**

Experts from the worlds of music, food, film, etiquette and relationships each reveal something that — up until now — has been underrated.

This feature is part of a series called [*Turning Points*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025), in which writers explore what critical moments from this year might mean for the year ahead. You can read more by visiting the Turning Points [*series page*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025).

When we say that something is underrated, we think it deserves more credit or attention. Perhaps not enough of the world recognizes its full value beyond a small group of fans. Or maybe we come to appreciate something that has, for too long, been flying under the radar.

It doesn’t have to be tangible: a practice that’s fallen out of fashion because of changing social norms; a ritual that’s part of our daily lives but overlooked because it’s mundane; a way of doing things that falls to the wayside as society evolves.

In this article, we explore aspects of our culture that deserve more attention or are underappreciated — elements of our everyday lives that not enough people are thinking about, listening to or doing. These aren’t necessarily our favorite things, but we believe that they tell us something important about our world and make it more interesting.

We asked a group of thought leaders to answer a (seemingly underrated) question: What is underrated?

Their responses have been edited and condensed. — Augusta Greenbaum

Alain Ducasse: ‘We Tend to Forget the Power of Dreams’

When I was 12, I made the most critical decision of my life: I decided to become a chef. To be honest, I never fully understood the reason behind my choice. I was living on a farm in the southwest of France with my family. We lived modestly, and I had never eaten at a restaurant. Despite this, becoming a chef was definitely what I wanted to do and what I actually did. I made my [*dream come true*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025).

In a society organized around instant results, rationality and technology, we tend to forget the power of dreams. In some ways, dreams don’t fit with the rest of our lives. They need time and they aren’t rational or based on technology. They result from unclear and unpredictable associations of ideas that pop up by chance in our minds.

I still value dreams in my professional life. What my team of young executives call “projects” are dreams for me. When I open a restaurant — which happens very frequently — I start by dreaming about it. Where will it be located, what type of people will it attract and what kind of food will it offer? I let my mind wander freely with many unorganized thoughts. Piece by piece, an idea emerges from this chaos. The next step is simple: I transfer my ideas into the real world.

There is no better way to lead your life than by listening to your dreams. At École Ducasse, my vocational school for culinary arts, we’ve welcomed many students who decided to change the course of their lives after the Covid-19 pandemic. Our students come from very different business sectors, but they opt to work in hospitality to follow their cherished dreams. When I see how motivated they are, I know that they will succeed. The type of success here is not just professional; it’s something much more valuable. What’s at stake is personal success, which makes you happy and gives your life harmony.

Dreaming can be seen as a luxury since it requires time, the rarest resource. Dreaming can be seen as ineffective since it deliberately ignores constraints and logic. But don’t underestimate its potency. I believe dreams make the world go ’round.

Alain Ducasse is a chef and restaurateur with a total of 18 Michelin stars.

Anitta: ‘Funk Carioca Mirrors the Reality of Many Brazilians’

I was born and raised in a [*Rio de Janeiro favela*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025). I experienced the spirit of funk carioca, also known as Brazilian funk, firsthand. While this music is extremely popular in Brazil and in parts of Latin America, the genre is underrated globally despite its unique, lively blend of sounds. In addition to the sound, funk carioca mirrors the reality of many Brazilians and is a way to tell their stories, mine included.

Musically, the genre fuses hip-hop subgenres, electronic dance music, freestyle and pop — all while featuring its own Brazilian flair. This high-energy mix creates an electric vibe with drumbeats, samples of popular melodies and rhythms, plus raw vocals. My song “Joga pra Lua” — which in English translates to “Twerk for the Moon” — embodies this sound.

Funk carioca came to life in Brazil’s favelas in the 1980s. The vibrant music remains the beating heart of areas like my hometown, which are ***working-class*** neighborhoods on the outskirts of Rio.

Like hip-hop in America, funk carioca is a genuine expression of the social issues burdening the people of Rio. The Brazilian government once considered criminalizing funk for its lyricism that reflects everyday problems in favelas. But the funk scene in the favelas is where my [*career as a singer began*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025), and where many young Brazilians find ways to express themselves.

While the music reflects reality, the favela parties, often called “baile funk,” bring the music to another level. These parties offer an escape from the hardships detailed in the songs. The resilience and spirit of the gatherings have been integral in making Brazilian funk a phenomenon, and essential in inspiring women and celebrating sexual freedom. They’ve also contributed to a significant part of Rio’s economy and continue to support countless families in regions like the one where I grew up.

My shows reflect the soul of these Brazilian funk parties. Dance circles often break out in the crowd while I perform. I witness the community that funk carioca music can create as I’m transported back to the feelings I experienced at my hometown parties. All of this reminds me of the unifying power of Brazilian funk.

Anitta is a Brazilian singer-songwriter. Her sixth studio album, “Funk Generation,” was released in 2024.

Sara Jane Ho: ‘Etiquette Is Not a Static Concept’

People often balk at the notion of “etiquette.” Many think it’s an upper-class relic of a bygone era that’s concerned with remembering which fork to use at the dinner table. The word might feel repressive, like it seeks to control and limit who we are, but etiquette is not a static concept.

Instead, etiquette is a contextual and creative practice that aims to illuminate the best possible versions of ourselves. It also has the power to adapt to fit the needs of our changing times. There’s no need to adhere to the conventions of the past just for the sake of following etiquette rules, but learning why key traditions existed helps explain the reasons behind our behavior.

The ancient origin of the handshake was to prove to others that you were not armed. Likewise, the custom of toasting developed so hosts could outwardly show that they weren’t poisoning their guests: You clink glasses so that alcohol splashes into the other person’s cup. Many precepts of etiquette shared across cultures have deep roots in our distrust of our neighbors. It’s not news that this distrust is deepening, and our social fabric is fraying. Every day brings a fresh story of epic rudeness and, sometimes, even violence.

Etiquette has been effective for centuries at smoothing the rough edges of social disparities. Today, it can neutralize toxic polarization and allow us to live in peace with our neighbors, even — and especially — when we disagree.

Respectful communication, active listening and conflict resolution skills are examples of how we can use etiquette to get along with others during a time of geopolitical instability. Partisanship might be [*dividing our world*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025), but when the goal of the parties is to achieve the same ends, debate can be constructive if both sides keep etiquette in mind.

Our current moment calls for restoring civility to civil society. The seriously underrated principles of etiquette can help us achieve this by reminding us of our shared humanity.

Sara Jane Ho is the founder of the etiquette school Institute Sarita, the host of “Mind Your Manners” on Netflix and the author of “Mind Your Manners: How to Be Your Best Self in Any Situation.”

Jillian Turecki: ‘A Relationship Should Feel Good’

I spend a lot of time learning about love — what makes it work, what makes it last and how to help people find it. It’s both my career and my passion. Understanding this deeply human thing, the desire for partnership and to make a life with someone, has given me so much purpose. Yet throughout my career as a relationship coach, I’ve found that we often forget the vastly underrated and somewhat radical idea that a relationship, although it may take work, should also feel good.

In my journey of discovery, I’ve seen how unprepared many of us are to love. Sex education rarely teaches the relational skills we need to make relationships last. Without comprehensive education, too many of us fall for platitudes about love or narratives that lock us into relationships that don’t work.

Consider the refrain, “Relationships are work.” Well, sure. Of course, there’s [*work required*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025) for a lasting partnership. We work to heal the wounds we bring into the relationship. We must learn skills to repair after conflict to communicate our needs. We have to work to bolster our partnership against the outside world — those external forces that can weigh on a relationship. Certainly, all of this is work. But a partnership shouldn’t feel like constant labor. It should be easy on our [*nervous systems*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025) instead of spiking our cortisol or draining our energy. A relationship should feel good.

It’s just as easy to ignore the necessity of feeling good when we think about other relationship-related conversations. Relationships should be passionate, right? Yes. But I’ve seen how simple it is to conflate passion with chaos and to chase the nervous system spikes and dips. The reality is that passion should also feel good. It should feel good in our bodies and not wreak havoc. The goal of partnership is to feel good and safe with each other, where feeling safe becomes a springboard for excitement, passion and growth.

The more I learn about love, the more I become certain: Our bodies know what’s right, and we should listen to what they tell us.

Jillian Turecki is a relationship coach, the host of the podcast “Jillian on Love” and the author of “It Begins With You: The 9 Hard Truths About Love That Will Change Your Life.”

Paavo Järvi: ‘An Orchestra Is a Microcosm of an Ideal Society’

In our modern world, where attention spans are fleeting and popular culture favors easily digestible content, the symphony orchestra is a profoundly underappreciated gem. It is not merely a bastion of elite art; it represents an ideal society where harmony and cooperation prevail. Regardless of background, race or personal preferences, each member of an orchestra knows their role, listens to others and works toward the shared goal of creating the best possible performance.

An orchestra is a microcosm of an ideal society. It consists of highly accomplished section leaders and musicians who collaborate and compromise, despite having their own opinions. Decision-making in an orchestra is democratic, yet it respects a hierarchy; musicians trust and follow the conductor’s vision while maintaining a degree of independence and personal expression. This delicate balance mirrors a well-functioning society where individuals work together while respecting leadership.

Today, orchestras are marginalized in a cultural climate that often dismisses intellectual pursuits and deep artistic engagement. They are wrongly perceived as symbols of elitism when, in reality, they embody the opposite.

Classical music is more than just entertainment — it aims to provoke thought and reflection. However, its perceived complexity and declining exposure among diverse communities mean many view it as inaccessible or irrelevant. This is a grave misconception, as classical music is a chronicle of human civilization. It captures the emotional and intellectual depths of our collective journey, written in the language of music.

With its rich and intricate repertoire composed by geniuses like Beethoven, Mozart, Mahler and Stravinsky, the symphony orchestra deserves greater recognition and protection. It is a pinnacle of human cultural expression, reflecting the complexities and subtleties of our [*shared heritage*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025). The symphony orchestra should be safeguarded by UNESCO, ensuring its preservation and appreciation for future generations. Recognizing the orchestra’s invaluable contribution to our cultural fabric is essential in maintaining the richness and diversity of our artistic achievement.

Paavo Järvi is a Grammy Award-winning Estonian-American conductor. He is the music director of the Tonhalle-Orchester Zürich, the artistic director of the Deutsche Kammerphilharmonie Bremen and the founder of the Pärnu Music Festival and its Estonian Festival Orchestra.

Alicia Malone: ‘Expert Curation Is Full of Incongruity and Pure Human Instinct’

As someone who watches movies for a living, you’d think I’d never be stumped about what to watch. But like so many of us, I’ve lost countless hours to fruitless scrolling. Wading through the endless apps and channels can be overwhelming. There’s no hierarchy of content. Since everything is jumbled together, it makes me feel like there is simultaneously too much to see and nothing good to watch.

The movie recommendation algorithms are not the answer; I’ve never understood why they offer ideas for movies just like the ones you’ve already seen. Surely, the true joy of watching movies lies in discovery: finding a film you’ve never heard of that becomes a new favorite; getting drawn into a story that makes you consider a subject in a different light; seeing a movie that is not your taste, but gives you a topic to debate with friends. I’ll never forget the moment I first caught “Leave Her to Heaven” on television and how entranced I was by Gene Tierney’s face as she committed dark deeds in bright Technicolor. I hadn’t realized that film noir could be colorful, and like Dorothy in “The Wizard of Oz,” I felt like my own world was switching from black and white to color, expanding with every new film discovery.

In deciding what to watch, I’ve always relied on the advice of experts to help push myself out of my comfort zone. As a teenager at my local video store in Canberra, Australia, I’d clutch my dog-eared copy of “Leonard Maltin’s Movie Guide” while also taking the recommended staff picks into consideration. But today’s technology has led to a dwindling reliance on human recommendations.

Among the clutter of multiple streaming services offering seemingly limitless content, the cable channel [*Turner Classic Movies*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025) — where I work as a host — is among just a small handful of channels where humans still have control. The [*Criterion Channel*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2025), a streaming service, is another. Both are run by film experts with years of amassed knowledge, who handpick movies and place them within programming themes. Since these channels are easy to navigate, they encourage discovery for film buffs and newcomers alike. Even after working for TCM for six years, I still encounter movies playing on the channel that I’ve never before watched.

As self-checkouts become the norm and artificial intelligence takes over, I hope we never lose the skill of film programming. Expert curation is full of incongruity and pure human instinct; it can’t be replicated by technology.

Alicia Malone is a host for Turner Classic Movies.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Muhammad Fatchurofi FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Mayor's Office Distracted by Investigations Stirs Hope for Stalled Street Projects***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0TP-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. 32

**Length:** 1298 words

**Byline:** By Ana Ley

**Body**

Mayor Eric Adams has stalled plans to build bus and bicycle lanes. With his leadership under threat, the projects' supporters see an opening.

Ever since Mayor Eric Adams took office, his administration has been known to stall projects that would set aside a greater share of New York City's crowded streets for pedestrians, bicyclists and bus riders.

These sorts of proposals often draw passionate support from transit advocates and the city's own urban planners. But in a megalopolis where the use of every inch of public space is fiercely contested, consensus is rarely possible.

Two years ago, the mayor's chief aide, Ingrid Lewis-Martin, reintroduced cars to an eight-block stretch in Fort Greene, Brooklyn, that had been reserved for pedestrians. Last year, Mr. Adams's administration watered down a proposal to prioritize bus traffic along Fordham Road in the Bronx. And in July, the mayor, who during his campaign for office vowed to help improve bus service, deflected criticism that he was delaying a major bus-lane project on Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn.

Now, Mr. Adams and some of his closest advisers -- those who have not resigned -- are trying to run New York while they are at the center of several corruption investigations. And those who have championed changes to the city's streets are sensing an opportunity.

Transit advocates and some rank-and-file officials in the city's Department of Transportation are hoping that their policy priorities will have a better chance of navigating City Hall with the Adams administration focused on its own survival.

It's a surge of opportunistic optimism that gained steam when several seemingly stuck projects lurched forward.

In a reversal, a plan to remove car lanes from a section of McGuinness Boulevard in Brooklyn was restored earlier this month after it had been cut back last year. Ms. Lewis-Martin had been the plan's most powerful detractor, having pressed Mr. Adams to scale back the plan after it was opposed by influential Democratic donors.

''Ingrid Lewis-Martin was a big obstacle to some of these street projects moving forward -- she's certainly a little distracted right now, as is the mayor,'' said Sara Lind, a co-executive director of Open Plans, a nonprofit that supports a more pedestrian- and cyclist-friendly city.

''It's exciting to see that maybe the D.O.T. feels empowered right now, and it's going to move ahead with some of this stuff,'' Ms. Lind added.

In a text message, Ms. Lewis-Martin declined to respond to questions about the criticism.

City Hall officials did not respond to questions about how the investigations could be affecting the work of the Transportation Department, but a spokeswoman, Liz Garcia, said in a statement that the administration was ''making it easier, safer and more affordable to get around New York City -- especially for young people and ***working-class*** New Yorkers.''

She added that in August, the city and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority had expanded bus-mounted camera enforcement against cars that were blocking or double-parking near bus stops. She also said that the city was moving forward with a plan to build more than 40 miles of new protected paths for cyclists and pedestrians.

Other projects that got a green light include additional bike lanes for Bedford Avenue in Brooklyn and on the Avenue of the Americas in Manhattan, and new paths for pedestrians and bicyclists along 16 miles of Queens shoreline.

The Department of Transportation declined to address whether the crisis unfolding at City Hall had any impact on the progress of the projects. But a person familiar with the internal workings of the department, which is responsible for maintaining and building bus and bike lanes, said the timing was just chance.

Three department officials who spoke to The Times on the condition of anonymity out of fear of retribution said that many of the agency's employees had spent years drawing up plans for more bus and bike lanes, only to see them languish. The officials said that they hoped that Ydanis Rodriguez, the transportation commissioner, and Meera Joshi, the deputy mayor for operations, would use any opening presented by the crisis in City Hall to take bolder action.

Ms. Joshi said that the mayor had made ''several organizational changes'' that helped the city deliver projects more efficiently.

''We remain focused on making New York City a more walkable, bikeable and commuter-friendly city,'' she wrote in an email. ''City government continues to operate as normal for New Yorkers.''

Mr. Rodriguez declined to comment, but Vincent Barone, a spokesman for the department, said that officials were ''laser focused on delivering for New Yorkers every day.'' He added, ''Over the last two years, we've implemented record amounts of pedestrian space, including Open Streets, shared streets, plazas and permanent outdoor dining, as well as protected bike lanes, and we look forward to keeping up this momentum.''

Federal prosecutors obtained an indictment of Mr. Adams on Sept. 25 on charges that include bribery conspiracy, fraud and soliciting of illegal foreign campaign donations. Many top officials' phones have been seized and their homes searched, and some have been charged with crimes. Seven senior officials have left their jobs. Mr. Adams, who is up for re-election in 2025, has said that he is innocent.

Of course, pushing projects through City Hall is not the only obstacle, and transportation officials must often contend with skepticism from the public. Residents are often bitterly divided on matters that involve precious space on New York's streets and sidewalks, frequently inundating government officials with complaints over even the smallest changes.

To help sway the public, Transportation Department officials periodically meet with transit advocates, a longstanding practice that has continued during the upheaval at City Hall.

Many transit activists hope that the added scrutiny at City Hall will amplify their lobbying. The Riders Alliance, a transit advocacy group, issued a sharp statement a day after Mr. Adams was indicted. ''We hope Mayor Eric Adams has time to finally consider the needs of bus riders stuck on Fordham Road and Flatbush Avenue as he awaits his day in court,'' said Betsy Plum, the group's executive director.

On Thursday, the New York Public Interest Research Group, a nonprofit organization, held a hike along a section of Flatbush Avenue to push for the street's bus plan.

Transit advocates and Transportation Department insiders, however, also fear that a City Hall in disarray might instead further slow the implementation of new projects.

''It's a very real risk that the mayor circles the wagons,'' said Danny Pearlstein, a spokesman with the Riders Alliance.

While the M.T.A., the agency that runs the subway and bus networks, is operated by the state, the streets are controlled by the mayor, and he has the power to give buses and bicycles more space to move freely on them.

City buses provide more than a million rides each weekday on streets filled with double-parked cars and delivery trucks, among other choke points. New York has the slowest buses in the nation -- averaging eight miles per hour.

Mr. Adams said he would build 150 miles of bus lanes in four years. But the city built only 14.7 miles of new bus lanes last year and 5.4 miles the year before. This year, the city is on track to build just seven miles of bus lanes, according to an analysis by Streetsblog.

Mr. Adams also promised to install 300 miles of protected bike lanes by the end of his term. His administration has built 69 miles, achieving 23 percent of that goal with a year left in his term.

Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/nyregion/adams-nyc-transit-proposals.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/nyregion/adams-nyc-transit-proposals.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A transportation plan to limit traffic and improve bus service on East Fordham Road in the Bronx has been slow to materialize. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THALIA JUAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A32.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Climate Groups Begin $55 Million Ad Campaign for Kamala Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS3-XBK1-DXY4-X007-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 19, 2024 Monday 09:00 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 676 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:** Three of the ads frame Biden-Harris policies in terms of their economic, rather than environmental, benefits.

**Body**

Three of the ads frame Biden-Harris policies in terms of their economic, rather than environmental, benefits.

Several organizations focused on combating climate change joined forces on Monday for a $55 million advertising campaign in support of Vice President Kamala Harris, embracing what they describe as the economic upside of the Democratic Party’s environmental efforts.

The campaign will include ads in at least six swing states: Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. It is being run by the L.C.V. Victory Fund, a political arm of the League of Conservation Voters; E.D.F. Action Votes, an affiliate of the Environmental Defense Fund; Climate Power Action, a communications organization; and Future Forward, [*one of the biggest super PACs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/14/us/politics/biden-future-forward-super-pac.html) in Democratic politics.

“When the choice is so stark between Vice President Harris and Trump, and we know it’s going to be a close election, there was a recognition that we needed to join forces,” Pete Maysmith, the senior vice president of campaigns at the League of Conservation Voters, said in an interview. The coalition, he said, “could put more dollars together jointly to communicate why this is such an important decision from a climate and energy perspective.”

Three of the ads, shared with The New York Times before their release, frame President Biden’s climate policies and Ms. Harris’s prospective policies in terms of economic benefits rather than environmental ones, and also touch on economic issues not directly related to the climate.

“The goal of her presidency: strengthen America’s middle class,” one ad says. “We get there by investing in growing fields like advanced manufacturing and clean energy — good-paying jobs that don’t need a four-year degree. Cap the price of drugs and strengthen Social Security.”

The second ad focuses on Ms. Harris’s time as San Francisco district attorney and California attorney general, noting that she led cases against oil companies whose operations polluted communities and against banks that foreclosed on homeowners. “Harris took on the most powerful interests, while Donald Trump has always stood with corporations that rip us off, and he always will,” it says.

The third says Ms. Harris knows prices are too high, so she will “triple America’s clean energy production” — saving families money, it says — and “take on big oil companies’ price gouging.”

The messaging is in line with that of the Biden-Harris administration. Mr. Biden enacted the country’s largest investment in climate-change mitigation by signing the Inflation Reduction Act, but he and Ms. Harris have often promoted it primarily as a force that is benefiting ***working-class*** Americans by pushing companies to create manufacturing and construction jobs for green-energy projects.

“Kamala Harris’s vision is focused on helping working families, from lowering energy bills to creating new jobs in growing industries like clean energy,” Chauncey McLean, the president of the Future Forward PAC, said in a statement. “Donald Trump is focused on helping wealthy corporations like big oil companies make more money.”

Ms. Harris’s and Mr. Trump’s platforms on climate and environmental issues are starkly different. Ms. Harris supports efforts to increase renewable energy use and lower carbon emissions through tax incentives and federal regulations, while Mr. Trump wants to undo many regulations and has mocked both renewable energy and the facts of climate change.

While polls show that many voters are worried about climate change, they generally rank the economy higher on their list of concerns. Mr. Maysmith said he believed a message connecting the two would resonate.

“Clean energy is cheaper energy,” he said. “If she’s looking at how can things be more affordable for voters, this is one way to do that.”

PHOTO: The ads frame Kamala Harris’s prospective policies in terms of economic benefits rather than environmental ones, and also touch on economic issues not directly related to the climate. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Business Books***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8T-S731-DXY4-X2M3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 8; BUSINESS

**Length:** 1419 words

**Byline:** By Zeke Faux

**Body**

Three new books examine debt's fraught politics and history.

''Going back to biblical times,'' a man in the money-lending business once told me over beers in downtown Manhattan, ''there was something dirty about charging for money.''

He held up his sudsy glass. ''But a business owner can buy this beer for a dollar, mark it up eight times and sell it to idiots like us, and no one cares.''

His barroom philosophizing was self-serving. The man had earned a fortune off costly loans and spent his days partying in a mansion in Puerto Rico, while many of his borrowers were crushed by punishing interest rates. But there was a kernel of truth to what he said. Debt still carries a whiff of immorality, even as it's become central to nearly everyone's economic lives. After President Biden announced a federal student debt forgiveness plan -- now tied up in legal challenges -- Republicans denounced the initiative, often in shaming terms, blaming ''slacker baristas'' and ''lesbian dance theory'' majors who, having wasted their years in college, were unable to land a decent-paying job. Debt's contradictions, its power and peril, are explored in three new books.

In THE HAMILTON SCHEME: An Epic Tale of Money and Power in the American Founding (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 525 pp., $35), by William Hogeland, debt is a tool wielded by Alexander Hamilton to unify and empower the nascent United States. The scheme of the title is Hamilton's plan to have the federal government assume the states' Revolutionary War debts. A federal debt would require federal taxes, which in turn would mean funding for a federal army. It would enrich speculators and bind them to the country's success. Through debt, Hogeland argues in this provocative, fast-paced book, Hamilton, the country's first treasury secretary, aimed to consolidate the nation.

The debts that Hamilton had the government assume were minuscule by today's standards, small enough that a federal tax on whiskey production and a tariff on imported goods were enough to cover the payments. (The national debt is now $35 trillion, and Donald Trump recently proposed his own scheme to pay it back: ''We'll hand them a little Bitcoin and wipe away our $35 trillion.'')

But Hamilton's whiskey tax was opposed by small-scale producers on the country's western frontier, who saw it as a scheme to subjugate them to the financial class. Hogeland says they were right. Hamilton was a committed elitist, and he and other Revolutionary leaders feared the power of the ***working class***. (Hogeland calls the heroic underdog version of Hamilton in Lin Manuel Miranda's musical a ''fan-fiction Alexander.'') When the producers rebelled in 1791 in what became the Whiskey Rebellion, Hogeland writes, George Washington was eager to suppress them, in part to preserve the value of his frontier land holdings.

The rebellion was put down, and Hamilton's financial scheme helped lead the nation to unprecedented prosperity and extreme inequality. ''Conflicts over money and power,'' Hogeland writes, ''really created the United States of America.''

For a time, the microfinance industry seemed to have turned debt into a miracle cure for poverty. With a loan of just a few dollars, the pitch went, a poor woman could start a small business, repay the money and support herself. Microfinance allowed philanthropists to assist the needy while turning a profit. Credit became a one-size-fits-all solution, helping even a destitute borrower ''actualize a sort of rags-to-riches story all by herself,'' Mara Kardas-Nelson writes in WE ARE NOT ABLE TO LIVE IN THE SKY: The Seductive Promise of Microfinance (Metropolitan Books, 381 pp., $31.99).

In 2015, Kardas-Nelson moved to Sierra Leone and soon began to question that story. At the health organization where she worked, a colleague told her that women, the primary recipients of microloans, were being jailed for defaulting on their interest payments. She decided to investigate.

The result is this revealing study, which weaves together vivid stories of female borrowers in Sierra Leone with a deeply reported history of how the microfinance industry was created and where it went wrong. (Her subjects include Muhammad Yunus, the founder of the microfinance Grameen Bank, who was recently appointed interim leader of Bangladesh after the country's prime minister fled amid nationwide protests.)

Microfinance has become an integral part of the economy in Sierra Leone and many other countries, Kardas-Nelson writes. But lenders charge high rates and often use punitive collection measures. Changing lives seems at best an afterthought. (A 2015 study in Hyderabad, India, by the Nobel Prize-winning economists Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo and two colleagues, found that microfinance had little impact on alleviating poverty.)

Among the women Kardas-Nelson profiles with remarkable empathy are Adama, a mother of five who needs money to support her business selling buckets of broken rocks to homebuilders, and Abbie, who tries to start a shoe-resale business after her husband dies of Ebola. The women fail to make enough cash to cover the interest on their microloans, which, with the addition of various fees, approaches 100 percent annualized. Adama flees town following her arrest for nonpayment, and Abbie is trapped in a cycle of debt, taking new loans to pay off old ones. ''I don't want microcredit,'' she says. ''I just don't have any other option.''

For the U.S. legislators who created the federal student loan program, debt was a compromise. It was 1958, the Soviet Union had recently launched Sputnik, the first Earth-orbiting satellite, and amid fear that American scientists were falling behind, an education aid bill was introduced in Congress. Some House Republicans opposed the bill's provision for scholarships as ''socialist,'' and so the resulting law, the National Defense Education Act, instead offered low-cost loans.

The program helped finance a vast expansion in U.S. higher education. But it treated college as a personal investment, rather than as a public good. Now 42 million borrowers are loaded with $1.6 trillion in debt. BURDENED: Student Debt and the Making of an American Crisis (Dey Street, 323 pp., $29.99), by Ryann Liebenthal, is a powerful argument for reforming this system.

Liebenthal traces the roots of the current problem to the voucher program created by the 1944 G.I. Bill. Offering young men free money and free choice of colleges, the legislation attracted hustlers, eager to exploit them. By 1949, as many as 600,000 veterans were enrolled in for-profit schools, about a third of them scams.

Since then, efforts to rein in the profiteers have been stymied by lobbying. The 1970s saw another epidemic of fraudulent for-profit schools, including ''correspondence schools'' that mailed out lessons. Today, for-profit colleges account for a disproportionate share of federal loans, even though about 70 percent of their students fail to graduate within six years. Liebenthal makes a good case that the government should stop ''funneling taxpayer funds through third-rate entrepreneurs regulated with all the strength of a friendship bracelet.''

I am less convinced that the entire student loan program is ''rotten through and through,'' as Liebenthal asserts. At public universities, just under half of undergraduates graduate with no debt, and the average owed by those who do borrow is $27,400. The resulting monthly payment would be around $300 -- burdensome for sure, but hardly unmanageable, especially given that the typical four-year college graduate earns 86 percent more than someone with only a high school degree.

Student loan horror stories tend to be about people who took on huge debt for graduate degrees, especially in low-paying fields. After a 2005 law eliminated caps on such loans, universities jacked up prices. At Columbia's master's program in film, for example, the median loan debt owed by recent graduates was $181,000. Liebenthal herself borrowed $100,000 for a journalism degree from N.Y.U., a decision she views as a financial mistake but one she says led to a fulfilling career and life.

Liebenthal's hopeful vision is that young people shouldn't have to make a trade-off between getting an education and taking on crippling debt. ''Education,'' she writes, ''ought to be a right of citizenship in a wealthy, humane, democratic society.''Zeke Faux needs a bio. tkt kt tkt kt kt tkt kt kt kt tkt kt ktt kt tkt kt tkt kt kt kt tkt kt kt tk tkt k.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/books/review/debt-student-loan-microfinance-business-books.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/books/review/debt-student-loan-microfinance-business-books.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page BR8.

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**End of Document**



[***An Artist's Work Gets a Place***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8T-S731-DXY4-X2TN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section F; Column 0; SpecialSections; Pg. 28

**Length:** 1423 words

**Byline:** By Alix Strauss and Rebecca Kiger

**Body**

A new permanent exhibition in a house in Pittsburgh displays the creativity and artistry of Mark Dion.

This article is part of the Fine Arts & Exhibits special section on the art world stretching boundaries with new artists, new audiences and new technology.

The artist Mark Dion stood in the hallway of a three-story house in Troy Hill in Pittsburgh recently, ruminating on what was about to become a unique home for his wildly unusual array of creations.

From 1956 through 2018, the modest house in a ***working-class*** neighborhood belonged to the Christopher family. But after the matriarch, Margaret Christopher, died in 2017, it was offered by her two sons to Evan Mirapaul, a philanthropic art collector and local resident.

Over the past two years, the house was gutted, rebuilt and meticulously transformed into a permanent installation to showcase Dion's work, which opens to the public on Saturday.

It combines the Massachusetts native's fascination with obsessive collecting, ordering and the preservation of things, with questions over how natural history is understood in the Western world.

Mrs. Christopher's House is the fourth art house in the Troy Hill Art Houses series, a project led by Mirapaul, 65, whose inspiration, he said, came from a trip he took in 2007 when he visited repurposed homes on the island of Naoshima in Japan.

Dion, 63, is no stranger to fleeting art exhibitions. Over the past 30 years he has produced a glow-in-the-dark pack-rat skeleton sculpture for the La Brea Tar Pits & Museum in Los Angeles; bears in caves in the remote Norwegian mountainside; and an enormous fish fountain in the coastal town of Stavoren, the Netherlands.

There were group shows, at Documenta in Kassel and the Sculpture Projects in Münster, both in Germany; and solo ones at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston and the Whitechapel Gallery in London. But none ''have created a permanent, immersive experience,'' he said.

Until now. ''I do projects where I knock myself out for years, and it only exists in an exhibition for months,'' he said, explaining that many of his works were discarded when an exhibit ended or were placed in storage. ''Nothing in this house is temporary. The idea of having something that can be a permanent reference point is exciting.''

Dion is an unassuming man with salt-and-pepper hair who favors black-framed glasses. Dressed during a recent interview in a sky-blue button-down shirt, khakis and sneakers, he seemed to blend into the furniture, almost as if he was part of the house he created.

As a nod to his past work, everything here purposely refers to something Dion has created before, giving the house a ''retrospective feel, so that each room is a predecessor to the next,'' he said.

The experience begins on the first floor in the living room, which has been transformed into Christmas Eve circa 1961. A huge plate of glass separates the onlooker from the room, which meticulously depicts a blue-collar, upwardly mobile family while exploring the idea of the American dream.

Dion amassed thousands of objects to tell his artistic story, and that of the people who lived here. Vintage liquor bottles were tracked down. Handmade felt socks created in the '50s and '60s, which hang from the repurposed fireplace, took hours of detective work to find. Same for the ''picture of the Kennedys, and a white Jesus purposely placed so you can only see his reflection in the mirror,'' Dion added.

A skeletal, silver Christmas tree, surrounded by presents underneath, resides in one corner. Beautiful handmade wallpaper exuding a blue hue covers the walls; the doors and frames, piped in dark wood, match the furniture.

On the second floor, an enormous sleeping bear in a brick dungeon -- reminiscent of a bear Dion exhibited at the Storm King Art Center in New York's Hudson Valley in 2019 -- commandeers the location once occupied by a remodeled 1970s bathroom.

The next room is a Lower East Side gallery in the 1990s, complete with a concrete floor, cheap lighting, a situation desk and 28 images of polar bears, which Dion photographed in various museums.

''The polar bear is a nod to a body of work I've been serious about and catalogs the change in our attitude from being a predatory and frightening animal, to something fragile,'' Dion said. ''A victim of climate change. Something that needs protection, that's sweet and cuddly.''

A darkened room, illuminated by objects painted with phosphorescent paint, leads to the Extinction Club room, featuring handmade periwinkle-colored wallpaper peppered with an array of animals (rhinoceroses, pheasants, elephants); worn leather chairs; and curiosity cabinets filled with fossils, keys and mini liquor bottles.

''Downstairs is petrified. The Extinction Club welcomes your participation. You can sit in these chairs and embrace a fictionalized conversational space,'' Dion explained, pausing to adjust a bird in a brass cage. ''I want to keep the viewer excited and curious, experiencing wonder at every turn.''

If the first and second floors highlight humans' relationship to the natural world, the attic speaks to our collecting obsession, wonder and the power of stuff -- Dion's sweet spot.

More than 400 jars in a range of sizes -- a microcosm from high culture to low culture, from the highly natural to highly artificial -- are filled with a menagerie of items: seaweed, Monopoly hotels, chicken feet, a possum head and Paris subway cards. Most are personal: The broken eggshells, for example, are discards from his omelets.

On the opposite wall reside just as many customized cigar boxes, many of which, he said he designed and produced and for which he printed the paper that lines them.

''Visitors are encouraged to unscrew the jars and open the cigar boxes,'' he said. ''That's the payoff,.''

Dion spent two years locating these objects. Some were found at flea markets, church sales and antique malls; others came from internet sleuthing. Some belonged to him and are ''hard to part with -- a raggedy doll I found in a flea market in Brazil, a celluloid object that I got in Paris,'' he said, admitting that his own home resembles this room.

''We love home because it's a reflection on us,'' he said. ''This is a material catalog of my life. If you cut me open, this is what you would see.''

The tour ends with an outside experience, the Confectionary Conservatory of Wonder, a glass cagelike case filled with, at first glance, gorgeous little desserts. ''As you get closer you realize they're covered with dead insects,'' Dion said of the installment he created with his wife, the artist Dana Sherwood, with whom he often collaborates from their home in Copake, N.Y.

''Their beauty attracted the insects, ruining the desserts and killing the bugs,'' he added. ''We started making these pieces after we went to art fairs and we saw how people were drawn to vapid, beautiful, decorative things that weren't very good for them.''

The desserts might not be; the house and this project, however, have been good for Dion, who said he had felt ''freer working here versus working with institutions, where many constraints coming from different departments exist.''

''This is authored,'' he said. ''It's an impactful, intimate, fertile and truthful space. You can keep returning to this. I want to have a serious catalog that represents my body of work. I'm not interested in an online presence because I find that incredibly ephemeral.''

If the interior is transformative, the exterior is not. All four Troy Hill Art Houses in this collection have purposely remained untouched. Rather than reflect the huge occurrence inside, they seamlessly, quietly, live among neighboring homes occupied by longtime residents.

''Some people have no idea these houses are here,'' Mirapaul said, noting that all four are within 150 yards from where he lives. ''There's no real border between the thing that is contemporary art and the thing that is people living their lives.''

Over the past 11 years, other artists have left their own, specific thumbprints on these houses, including Thorsten Brinkmann, Robert Kusmirowski, Lenka Clayton and Phillip Andrew Lewis.

''It's unusual for an artist to have the opportunity to think about an entire structure,'' Mirapaul said, adding that these are not galleries or spaces to put art. ''The artists I've invited understand it's an opportunity to make the house the art. Their art is inextricably united with the structure of the house.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/arts/fine-arts-dion-house.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/arts/fine-arts-dion-house.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, the artist Mark Dion displays a wall of jars in the attic of a house that serves as a permanent installation of his creations. Above, the house is one of four Troy Hill Art Houses founded and owned by Evan Mirapaul

one room was transformed into a living room on Christmas Eve circa 1961. Bottom left, Dion creating a sculpture. Bottom right, desserts covered with dead bugs are among the items on display in an outdoor structure. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY REBECCA KIGER) This article appeared in print on page F28.

**Load-Date:** October 27, 2024

**End of Document**



[***For Black Women, Harris Loss Only Affirms Their Worst Fears***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCB-P411-DXY4-X10C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1493 words

**Byline:** By Erica L. Green and Maya King

**Body**

Donald Trump has won the 2024 presidential election. Follow live updates here.

From the moment Kamala Harris entered the presidential race, Black women could see the mountaintop.

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

The painful answer arrived this week.

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

Many Democrats saw the brutal political environment for the party, peppered with anger about President Biden's leadership, as more to blame for Ms. Harris's crushing loss than the double-edged sword of racism and sexism. But others, reflecting on a campaign devoid of controversy or obvious missteps by a qualified candidate who almost never held out her race or gender as reasons to vote for her, found it difficult to ignore suspicions about why Mr. Trump won with such ease.

''This isn't a loss for Black women, it's a loss for the country,'' said Waikinya Clanton, the founder of the organizing group Black Women for Kamala. ''America has revealed to us her true self,'' she added, ''and we have to decide what we do with her from here.''

It was the moment that Black female political leaders and organizers had feared most and worked hardest to avoid. Across battleground states, the Democrats organizing fund-raisers, door-knocking and other get-out-the-vote efforts were often Black women, motivated to campaign for a presidential candidate who was not just a member of their party but one of their own.

The tens of millions of voters who supported Ms. Harris saw her candidacy as a chance to usher in a new generation of leadership. (In one small bright spot for the party, two Black women will be in the next Senate for the first time ever.) But for Black women, the Democratic Party's most active and loyal voting bloc, it was something bigger: a hard-fought recognition of the work they had done for a party that often failed to support them.

''The party has always wanted our output, not necessarily our input,'' Marcia Fudge, a former housing and urban development secretary under Mr. Biden, said in an interview this year. ''We have for a very long time been the people who did the work, but never been asked to sit at the table.''

'It is not over, because we never go away.'

From the start of her first presidential campaign, Ms. Harris's supporters saw her as the redemption for their party and vindication for the Black women who had come before her.

During her 2019 bid, she modeled much of her political persona after Shirley Chisholm, the first Black woman elected to Congress, in 1968, and the first Black woman to run for a major party's presidential nomination, in 1972. Many of Ms. Chisholm's acolytes became Ms. Harris's advisers and closest confidants during her second presidential campaign.

But even Ms. Chisholm predicted a slow walk to progress. That was, in part, because of the intense sexism that she faced from men of all races, who believed that her campaign was too tailored to issues favoring women, people of color and the poor.

''This 'woman thing' is so deep,'' she said of her presidential run. ''I've found it out in this campaign, if I never knew it before.''

''That I am a national figure because I was the first person in 192 years to be at once a congressman, Black and a woman proves, I would think, that our society is not yet either just or free,'' she wrote in her autobiography, ''Unbought and Unbossed.''

Maya Wiley, the chief executive of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, said there was deep anger about the license that Mr. Trump's victory had given to continue to undercut Black women in politics, down to the derogatory ways he and his allies have described female leaders.

''Not only have we always been on the menu, but they have been eating us, and it's been happening for generations,'' Ms. Wiley said. ''And what this represents for Black women right now is it has deepened and been given significantly more permission.''

Still, she added, ''it is not over, because we never go away.''

The underappreciated heart of a party

Mr. Trump's overwhelming victory leaves Democrats with a lot of work to do.

Nearly the entire country shifted sharply to the right as it returned him to power. Democrats watched as he won alarmingly high shares of the vote in blue states: 47 percent in Virginia and New Jersey. 44 percent in New York. 43 percent in Connecticut.

The night represented a striking rebuke of a Democratic Party that has grown more aligned with college-educated, wealthier Americans, and struggled to maintain support from ***working-class*** voters and people of color.

As the party picks up the pieces, preparing to oppose a second Trump administration and looking ahead to 2026 and 2028, Black women are likely to again play a central role. Long hailed as the backbone of the Democratic Party, they have supported liberal candidates in overwhelming numbers, organized political operations on the ground and fueled victory after victory.

Yet Black women running for office have often said that the party is not investing adequately in their campaigns, particularly those for higher positions like Senate and governor (there has still never been a Black female governor). Some candidates have argued that this dearth in support has been the difference between winning and losing in close races.

Ms. Harris had plenty of investment, hauling in more than $1 billion, but the circumstances of her candidacy were far from ideal.

Overnight, she had to resuscitate a dying campaign and re-energize a despairing Democratic base that had fallen into despondency over Mr. Biden's poor debate performance and sinking political standing.

She stayed fiercely loyal to a boss who had grown widely disliked, and who at times privately doubted her chances. She stayed a cheerleader for the administration even though some of its leaders spent the first half of her term undermining her to the point of rendering her invisible and ineffective. And she fired up a party whose leaders had only in July talked quietly about bypassing her to put a white man at the top of the ticket.

Ms. Harris worked feverishly to introduce herself and sell her political vision to an angry and exhausted American public -- even as she struggled to separate herself from Mr. Biden. She built a multiracial, bipartisan coalition of supporters and allies.

And it wasn't enough.

''She ran a damn good race, and we voted for white nationalism,'' Melanie L. Campbell, the chair of the Power of the Ballot Action Fund, an advocacy group focused on policies for Black Americans, said of American voters. Ms. Campbell also served on a committee of women who advised Mr. Biden in choosing Ms. Harris as his running mate.

''This level of vote was not because they were worried about grocery prices,'' she said of voters. ''They were worried about white privilege, white status, and sent the message that a multiracial democracy is fine as long as they're at the top.''

As Ms. Harris conceded, she tacitly acknowledged the challenge she had faced.

''Don't you ever listen when anyone tells you something is impossible because it has never been done before,'' she said.

Smaller progress on a disappointing night

There were some signs on Tuesday of political momentum for Black women down the ballot.

Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester of Delaware and Angela Alsobrooks, the Prince George's County executive in Maryland, both won their races for Senate, giving the chamber two Black women for the first time -- a long-sought goal for Black Democrats.

But for Black women in the party, the defeat of Ms. Harris will sting for a long time.

''The vice president said from the very beginning that she was going to be running this race as an underdog, when you have 107 days versus somebody who's been running for nine years,'' Senator Laphonza Butler of California, a close adviser to Ms. Harris, said on Tuesday night as the vice president's prospects dimmed.

Citing the hundreds of Black women who were running in races across the country, Ms. Butler said that even if Ms. Harris lost, she would have proved to the Democratic Party and to the country that not only were Black women the beating heart of the party, ''but we are ready to take our seat at the table.''

''The country better be ready for the future of Black women who are going to continue to show up and demand their seat,'' she said.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Vice President Kamala Harris's election-night party was at Howard University in Washington. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAANSI SRIVASTAVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester ran for Senate in Delaware, winning a seat in a safely Democratic state. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINE BREHMAN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

Angela Alsobrooks won Maryland's Senate race. It will be the first time two Black women serve in the Senate together. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Democrats have ''always wanted our output, not necessarily our input,'' said Marcia Fudge, an ex-Biden official. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

In 1972, Shirley Chisholm became the first Black woman to run for president in a major party. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE LIEN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2024

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[***Harris and Walz Point Their Campaign Bus to Rural Georgia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CV1-0R61-JBG3-61CM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 28, 2024 Wednesday 08:00 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 677 words

**Byline:** Maya King and Nicholas Nehamas Maya 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. Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris. More about Nicholas Nehamas

**Highlight:** The Democrats’ presidential ticket will head to the Sun Belt, aiming to sway voters in more conservative areas to their side.

**Body**

The Democrats’ presidential ticket will head to the Sun Belt, aiming to sway voters in more conservative areas to their side.

Vice President Kamala Harris and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, seeking to build Democrats’ momentum in the Sun Belt, will campaign on Wednesday in the rural counties of southeast Georgia before holding a rally on Thursday in Savannah.

Democrats outside the party’s Metro Atlanta engine have long complained that focusing on the capital city, where a majority of Democratic voters in the state live, ignores pockets of supporters in less populous areas. Organizers have emphasized the particular need to engage voters in rural South Georgia and the state’s mountainous northern regions — both heavily conservative parts of the state that will still require high turnout from Black and moderate white voters to keep Democrats competitive.

A visit from the presidential ticket, some rural Democrats say, shows that top party leaders heeded their calls.

“A little does a lot in rural areas,” said Melissa Clink, the former chair of the Democratic Party in Forsyth County, north of the Atlanta suburbs. “If we can get some face time with, especially, the top of the ticket, then not only does that help donors open up their wallets to fund get-out-the-vote operations on the ground but it also inspires more people to do more work because they feel seen.”

The Georgia bus tour is similar to a campaign trip that Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz took to a [*conservative-leaning county*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) outside Pittsburgh this month. Like South Georgia, Democrats in western Pennsylvania have also said their voters were being [*unwisely ignored*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) by presidential campaigns. On their tour, Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz made sure to highlight the diversity of the area, engaging with residents in Aliquippa, a former steel town that has a large Black population, where they spent time with a high school football team alongside the former Pittsburgh Steelers star Jerome Bettis. (Mr. Walz is a former high school football coach, which might also play well in Georgia.)

More broadly, Democrats hope Mr. Walz — who flipped a largely rural and more conservative House district in southern Minnesota in 2006 — can help stem their losses with rural and white ***working-class*** voters, especially men, who have grown increasingly hostile to their party. He has worked to present a [*more caring version of masculinity*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) that contrasts with the brash aggressiveness of Mr. Trump.

His party knows it cannot hope to win those rural voters outright. But in what is expected to be a tight election, Democrats are aiming to keep their margins manageable outside the cities and suburbs, something Joseph R. Biden Jr. accomplished during his 2020 campaign. Ms. Harris has made [*few gains*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) with white men since taking over the ticket.

The Harris campaign says it has invested heavily in rural Georgia, hiring nearly 50 staff members across seven offices, in places including the small cities of Valdosta and Albany close to the Florida line and rural towns like Millen and Cordele, which calls itself the [*watermelon capital of the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas).

Polling [*shows*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) that Ms. Harris has [*made Georgia competitive*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas), after it seemed to be slipping out of reach for Mr. Biden. And Mr. Trump has devoted a [*significant chunk*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) of his advertising budget to the state, suggesting his team also sees the state as being back in play.

In Savannah, where Ms. Harris will hold a rally on Thursday, Democrats are hoping her visit will reignite energy in a city that is home to the second-largest cluster of blue votes in the state.

“Love is an action word — you show people first by your presence,” said Van Johnson, the mayor of Savannah, who has lobbied the Biden and Harris campaigns to campaign in the city for months since Ms. Harris visited in February. “Her presence is going to really be indicative of that esteem she has for our community.”

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz, during their previous bus tour, in Pennsylvania in mid-August. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2024

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[***How Inflation Shaped Voting***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCC-8691-JBG3-6138-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday 11:15 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1756 words

**Byline:** German LopezGerman Lopez is a writer for newsletter.

**Highlight:** We explain inflation’s role in the election.

**Body**

We explain inflation’s role in the election.

Why did Donald Trump defeat Kamala Harris? One answer was clear even before Election Day: Voters consistently said the economy was their top issue, driven primarily by concerns about inflation. And they trusted Trump more than Harris to handle it. “It’s the economy, stupid” is an old cliché in American politics, and it often proves true.

Still, Trump’s achievement contained a mystery. On paper, the economy seems OK. Inflation is down recently. Wages are up. But anger persists. That’s because higher prices cause a special kind of pain — one that lingers and, historically, leads [*voters to punish the people in charge*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068). Tuesday was no exception.

Today’s newsletter explains why voters still blamed the Biden-Harris administration — and why America’s leaders are far from alone in feeling the public’s fury over inflation this year.

Pocketbook pain

Why does inflation anger voters so much? Some economic problems, like high unemployment, affect only a minority of the population. But higher prices affect everyone.

Inflation also taps into what psychologists call “loss aversion”: People feel negatively about losses much more than they feel positively about gains. So although wages have kept up with inflation or surpassed it, people still feel more pained by sticker shock at the grocery store than elated by their gains.

To make matters worse, consumers can’t do much about inflation. They simply have to cut back their spending on certain things or work more hours to afford them. The sense of loss combined with a feeling of powerlessness leaves people furious. They expect their leaders to fix the problem.

Inflation fell to normal levels over the past year, but high prices remain. Eggs still cost nearly triple what they did four years ago. When people imagine an ideal end to inflation, they think of prices returning to normal. That hasn’t happened, and economists don’t expect it will. When the polling firm Morning Consult [*surveyed U.S. voters about inflation*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), they were comparing prices with those from 2020. They blamed President Biden and Harris for the increases since then, fairly or not.

“Americans were comparing this economy to one without inflation, whether or not that was a realistic option according to economists,” said my colleague Ben Casselman, who covers the U.S. economy. “They weren’t saying, ‘Inflation is tough, but at least I have a job thanks to Biden.’ They were saying, ‘Of course I have a job, but now I have to deal with all this inflation thanks to Biden.’”

At the same time, the solutions to inflation can make the problem feel worse in the short term. To stop price increases, central banks raised interest rates. That made loans, credit card payments and mortgages more expensive — another set of higher costs that consumers had to deal with.

Global rage

The same dynamic is haunting leaders all over the world. Over the past few years, voters have thrown out incumbents, on the left and the right, in Britain, France, the Netherlands, Argentina, Italy and Australia. The top political parties in South Africa, Japan and India also faced disappointing elections. Canada’s and Germany’s incumbents are in danger of losing their jobs next year.

Higher prices are the central reason. In the aftermath of the Covid pandemic and Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, prices spiked worldwide.

There is some good news for world leaders: Most prices have stabilized as the shocks of the pandemic and Russia’s war have subsided. If that trend continues, voters’ anger will likely ease.

There are already some signs of that growing optimism. The Federal Reserve, America’s central bank, [*cut interest rates yesterday*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), signaling that inflation will continue falling. The University of Michigan’s consumer sentiment index, which measures people’s faith in the economy and their finances, has improved over the past year. The improvement, however, was too little and too late for Harris’s presidential campaign.

More on Trump’s win

* Trump looks set to [*win the national popular vote*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), which would make him the first Republican presidential candidate to do so in 20 years.

1. [*See the voting groups that swung to the right*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).
2. Trump won votes from Arab Americans and conservative pro-Israel Jews, [*groups with very different views*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

House results

* Republicans are seven seats away from a House majority and appear to be poised to achieve that. Twenty-five races have not been called. [*Track the results*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

1. Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a House Democrat who’s criticized her party for condescending to ***working-class*** voters, won re-election in a red district. She spoke with The Times about [*how her party should change*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

California

* London Breed, San Francisco’s first Black female mayor, lost to Daniel Lurie, an heir to the Levi Strauss fortune who [*pledged to improve public safety and city services*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068). Both are Democrats.

1. Gov. Gavin Newsom [*called California’s legislature back for a special session*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) to pass protections for civil liberties, reproductive rights and climate action “in the face of an incoming Trump administration.”

The transition

* Trump [*picked Susie Wiles*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), who helped to run his campaign, to be his White House chief of staff. She’s the first woman to hold the role.

1. Biden pledged a [*peaceful and orderly transfer of power*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), and urged Democrats not to give up. “A defeat does not mean we are defeated,” he said at the White House. “The America of your dreams is calling for you to get back up.”
2. For the rest of Biden’s presidency, he will focus on nominating judges, delivering hurricane aid and funding the government, White House officials said.
3. Vladimir Putin [*congratulated Trump*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) and said Trump acted “like a man” after he survived an assassination attempt. He also praised Trump’s desire to improve ties with Russia.

* Jerome Powell, the Trump-appointed Federal Reserve chair whom Trump has frequently criticized, [*said he wouldn’t resign*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) even if Trump asked him to. Powell’s term ends in 2026.

1. Trump has proposed expensive tax cuts. His advisers are [*grappling with how feasible those are*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).
2. During the campaign, Trump pledged to pardon people prosecuted for storming the Capitol on Jan. 6. Hours after Trump won, one convicted rioter told a judge [*that he expected to receive clemency*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Other election news

* [*Abortion rights were more popular than Harris*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068). In states like Arizona and Nevada, some voters split their tickets, supporting both abortion rights measures and Trump.

1. After the election, a wave of racist text messages summoning Black people to report for slavery appeared on phones across the U.S. [*The F.B.I. is investigating*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

* In 2016, shocked liberals reacted to Trump’s victory by organizing. This time, there is more resignation. [*“My feed feels like a funeral,” one woman said.*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068)

THE LATEST NEWS

International

* Attackers [*wounded at least 10 Israeli citizens in antisemitic violence*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) tied to a soccer game between a Dutch and Israeli team in Amsterdam, officials said.

1. The Chinese government [*approved a $1.4 trillion plan*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) to revive the economy.
2. Australia moved to [*ban children under 16*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) from social media.
3. In Argentina, the authorities accused three people of crimes in connection with [*the death of Liam Payne*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), the former One Direction singer.
4. Prince William [*spoke publicly*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) for the first time about the emotional impact on him after his wife, Kate, Princess of Wales, and his father, King Charles, received cancer diagnoses. “It’s probably been the hardest year in my life,” William said.
5. DNA from the remains of volcano victims at Pompeii [*revealed new details about the residents*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) and their relationships.

Other Big Stories

* Forty-three monkeys [*escaped a research center*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) in South Carolina. A search is underway.

1. Firefighters [*struggled to battle a mountain fire*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) near Los Angeles. More than 10,000 people were evacuated.
2. Federal prosecutors accused the mayor of Jackson, Miss., and two other officials of bribery. [*They pleaded not guilty*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).
3. A judge [*threatened Rudy Giuliani with contempt*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), which carries possible jail time, for failing to turn over property to pay two former election workers Giuliani defamed.

Opinions

If Trump’s opponents focus their criticism only on Trump, they will alienate millions of Americans. They should focus on [*defending the vulnerable*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), David French writes.

Democratic voters who follow every news update are arrogant in assuming everyone else does, too. [*That blind spot cost them the election*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), Frank Bruni argues.

People who voted for both abortion rights and Trump may [*support some women’s rights but not full gender equality*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), Jill Filipovic writes.

MORNING READS

A giant puppet: The secret to happiness in Santa Fe, N.M.? [*The annual burning of a 50-foot effigy*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Fields, not freezers: Some in Minnesota love the challenge of hunting turkeys — [*and the cooking that follows*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Ultraprocessed foods: A scientific committee says there’s not enough evidence to avoid them. [*Some experts disagree*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Literary guide: [*Read your way through Shanghai*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Lives Lived: Eikoh Hosoe was an avant-garde photographer who helped pioneer a new kind of art making in postwar Japan. His surreal, often erotically charged images explored life, death and the nuclear age. He [*died at 91*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

SPORTS

Olympics: The Australian breaker Rachael “Raygun” Gunn [*is retiring*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) from competition, citing the “upsetting” backlash to her Olympic performance this summer.

N.F.L.: The Baltimore Ravens beat the Cincinnati Bengals in [*a 35-34 thriller*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

ARTS AND IDEAS

If you haven’t made plans for Thanksgiving yet, you could consider an unusual option: going abroad.

November can be one of the most affordable months for foreign travel. And Thanksgiving week, when domestic flights skyrocket, is a golden window for last-minute international flights. [*Read more about the deals*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

More on culture

* Elwood Edwards, an announcer who voiced the email alert “You’ve got mail!” on AOL, [*died at 74*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

1. Late-night hosts joked about [*Biden’s speech to the country*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Make a [*big pot of old-fashioned beef stew*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), one of our most-reviewed recipes.

Wash [*your clothes by hand*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) — even ones labeled “dry clean only.”

Buy [*a cheap gaming laptop*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Shave with [*a better electric razor*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Try [*a deep fryer*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Print [*photos instantly*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

Take [*our news quiz*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068). Yesterday’s pangram was chateaux.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), [*Wordle*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068), [*Connections*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068) and [*Strands*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

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.nber.org/papers/w33068). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w33068).

PHOTO: Voting in Kansas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Charlie Riedel/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***What Tim Walz’s Time in Minnesota Says About How He Governs***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D39-9H81-JBG3-64BD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1013 words

**Highlight:** Mr. Walz was willing to move the state swiftly to the left as soon as Democrats had an opening. He supported all but one bill that fellow Democrats approved, issuing a single veto last year.

**Body**

Mr. Walz was willing to move the state swiftly to the left as soon as Democrats had an opening. He supported all but one bill that fellow Democrats approved, issuing a single veto last year.

After Democrats won full control of Minnesota’s statehouse two years ago, they quickly pressed for change, enshrining a right to abortion under state law, legalizing recreational marijuana, requiring that employers provide paid medical and family leave, and funding free meals for most school students.

Tim Walz, the governor, signed it all, along with practically everything else his fellow Democrats passed in 2023. He issued only one veto that year.

As Mr. Walz, now a vice-presidential candidate, prepares to debate Senator JD Vance on Tuesday, that single year in St. Paul could shed light on how Mr. Walz may govern, and the kinds of policies he might champion in the White House.

Mr. Walz’s supporters view 2023 as a time that revealed him to be a decisive leader who put an end to gridlock and pursued bold policies to help ***working class*** Minnesotans. His critics also point to the period as the clearest look at Mr. Walz’s liberal views. On his watch, they argue, Minnesota vastly expanded state programs in a manner that might have been politically popular in the short term, but could prove to be fiscally untenable.

Here’s a look at Mr. Walz’s most notable year as governor, and how he got there.

Running as a Unifier

After representing a largely rural district in Congress for 12 years, earning a reputation as a moderate who found common ground with Republicans on issues related to veterans and agriculture, Mr. Walz ran for governor in 2018.

Drawing attention to his experience as a public school geography teacher and football coach, Mr. Walz presented himself as a unifying leader in a polarizing time. His campaign motto was “One Minnesota.” His running mate, Lt. Gov. Peggy Flanagan, made history as the highest-ranking Native American elected official in the state. They won by more than 11 percentage points.

During Mr. Walz’s first term as governor, Republicans controlled the Minnesota Senate and Democrats struggled to pass major pieces of legislation. Mr. Walz also found himself in crisis mode, grappling with the Covid-19 pandemic and upheaval that followed the murder of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer in 2020.

In 2022, Minnesotans re-elected Mr. Walz by a slightly narrower margin — just under eight percentage points — but Democrats flipped the Senate, giving the party full control in St. Paul for the [*first time since 2014.*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government)

‘Burning Political Capital’

After Democrats won their trifecta, Mr. Walz met with the the party’s leaders, House Speaker Melissa Hortman and State Senator Kari Dziedzic, to talk about all of their priorities for the 2023 session, including bills that Republicans had blocked for years.

“Our lists were virtually identical,” Ms. Hortman said. The two legislators said they had heard the same complaint from voters repeatedly: They were sick of gridlock. Mr. Walz, Ms. Hortman and Ms. Dziedzic agreed to act swiftly and decisively.

Mr. Walz and his team kept close watch as major pieces of legislation advanced in the months that followed, Ms. Hortman and Ms. Dziedzic said in interviews, but he largely left the details of bill drafting and political lobbying to them.

Mostly, there was easy agreement among top Democrats, they said. Mr. Walz issued [*his only veto*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government) to block a measure that sought more generous compensation for ride-share drivers.

He took center stage during carefully choreographed bill signing ceremonies, often standing alongside Ms Flanagan. Such ceremonies celebrated a measure that enshrined a [*right to abortion*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government) in the state, a law that gave undocumented immigrants the right to [*obtain drivers licenses*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government) and a bill that protected [*transition-related medical care*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government) for transgender youths.

After the 2023 legislative session came to an end, Mr. Walz shared a [*campaign-style video*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government) shot with a drone that flew from inside the State Capitol to a bill-signing ceremony for the budget on the Capitol’s steps.

“It’s not about banking political capital for the next election,” Mr. Walz said in the video. “It’s about burning political capital to improve lives.”

‘Runaway Train’

Minnesota Republicans said the 2023 session left them reeling.

“As we looked at what the Democrats were pushing with their one-party control, wanting to spend, spend, spend, we kept raising the alarm and saying that this is not going to be sustainable,” said Representative Lisa Demuth, the Republican leader.

It is partly spending, conservatives in Minnesota say, that worries them, and leaves them scoffing at the notion that Mr. Walz could be portrayed as a centrist.

In 2023, Democrats assumed control with a $17 billion surplus in the state budget.

Despite the surplus, some critics said they feared that the rise in state spending on Mr. Walz’s watch — [*to $38 billion from $27 billion*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government) over the past year — could tip Minnesota into a deficit in the years ahead.

The free school meals initiative, which was projected to cost $400 million in 2024 and 2025, proved so popular that state officials had to revise that figure upward by an additional [*$80 million*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government).

“I hope Republicans regain control of the Legislature and restore some political balance in Minnesota,” Tim Pawlenty, a former Republican governor, said in an email. “Otherwise, the progressive runaway train will continue to roll down the tracks with no brakes.”

Top Democrats call those fears overblown. They say the state under Mr. Walz’s watch has a balanced budget, low debt, a [*healthy labor market*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government), an estimated $[*3.7 billion surplus*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government) and [*high marks*](https://ballotpedia.org/Party_control_of_Minnesota_state_government) from credit-rating agencies.

“The things that we have put in place are things that we’ve been working toward for a long time and that Minnesotans, clearly, at the ballot box, told us that they wanted us to deliver on,” Ms. Flanagan said in an interview.

PHOTO: As governor, Tim Walz cleared a path for the top priorities of Democrats in Minnesota. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** October 1, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘An Earthquake’ Along the Border: Trump Flipped Hispanic South Texas***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCC-2FH1-DXY4-X1K5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1660 words

**Byline:** J. David Goodman, Edgar Sandoval and Robert GebeloffJ. David Goodman is the Houston bureau chief for The Times, reporting on Texas and Oklahoma.

**Highlight:** Donald J. Trump’s biggest gains were along the Texas border, a Democratic stronghold where most voters are Hispanic. He won 12 of the region’s 14 counties, up from five in 2016.

**Body**

Donald J. Trump’s biggest gains were along the Texas border, a Democratic stronghold where most voters are Hispanic. He won 12 of the region’s 14 counties, up from five in 2016.

Nowhere in the United States have historically Democratic counties shifted so far and so fast in the direction of former President Donald J. Trump as they have in the Texas communities along the Rio Grande, where Hispanic residents make up an overwhelming majority.

In recent elections, the region’s mix of sprawling urban centers and rural ranch lands that had been reliable Democratic strongholds for generations were beginning to turn red.

Then on Tuesday, Mr. Trump brought South Texas and the border region firmly into his column, taking 12 of the 14 counties along the border with Mexico, and making significant inroads even in El Paso, the border’s biggest city. In 2016, Mr. Trump carried only five of the counties.

The support for Mr. Trump along the Texas border provided the starkest example of what has been a broad national embrace of the Republican candidate among Hispanic and ***working-class*** voters. That shift has taken place in rural communities as well as in large cities, like Miami, and in parts of New York and New Jersey.

But Texas stood out. Eight of the top 10 Democratic counties that most swung toward Mr. Trump on Tuesday were on the Texas border or within a short drive.

One of the biggest swings came in Starr County, a rural area of 65,000 people dotted with small towns where [*sections of border wall have been rising*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/11/us/border-wall-biden-texas-starr-county.html), incomes are low and many travel long distances to jobs in the West Texas oil fields. The county flipped Republican on Tuesday, backing Mr. Trump by about 16 percentage points. He lost the county to Hillary Clinton by 60 points in 2016.

Concerns about inflation and the large number of unauthorized border crossings in recent years dominated the campaign in the county. On a sweltering Thursday in the border city of Roma, voters who supported Trump said they had done so mostly for practical reasons, and out of a concern over uncontrolled immigration.

Fabiola Rodriguez, 28, a single mother of two children, said just going to the grocery store had become a painful experience. When Mr. Trump was president, she said, she was able to fill her shopping cart for about $250. Now, she spends $300 for a cart that is less than half full.

“I don’t take my children to the grocery store because I know I won’t be able to afford what they want,” she said.

She also feared that Vice President Kamala Harris would be unfriendly to the oil and gas industry, which draws many workers from places like Roma. She blamed the Biden administration’s policies in support of renewable energy for cuts to her father’s and her brother’s working hours in the oil fields.

The county’s top official, Eloy Vera, a Democrat, said there was a broad sense among residents that Democrats did not support the oil and gas industry.

“Our young people thought, hell, they’re going to do away with our jobs,” Mr. Vera said.

At the same time, Mr. Vera was quick to point out, Democrats still have sway in the county: Local Democratic officials like the sheriff won handily on Tuesday. That pattern held in other border communities, where voters split their tickets, choosing Mr. Trump while still in many cases favoring local Democratic candidates.

Rodrigo Burberg, a 32-year-old software engineer from Brownsville, backed Democrats in local contests but remained undecided about the presidential race as recently as a few weeks ago. He ended up voting for Mr. Trump, and also for Senator Ted Cruz, a Republican who was facing a tough re-election fight.

“Honestly, I never heard Kamala say any definitive response to anything,” Mr. Burberg said. “Democrats are saying the economy is really strong. But really, the metrics are not there to reflect what people are feeling. Who cares about G.D.P. if everything is spent on Ukraine?”

Mr. Trump flipped seven counties south of San Antonio.

He won by 19 points in Maverick County, where the city of Eagle Pass had become a flashpoint for unauthorized border crossings during the Biden administration, after losing the county by 56 points in 2016 and by about nine points in 2020. He won in urban areas like Cameron County, home to Brownsville, and Webb County, home to Laredo.

“I’m in awe,” said Adrienne Peña-Garza, a former Democrat turned Republican activist in the border city of McAllen. “A lot of those people who used to attack us now say, ‘Y’all were right.’ The price of eggs, border security,” she said. “Hispanics, they’re at their heart conservative.”

The strong rightward turn among Hispanic voters had surprised many Democrats four years ago, when Mr. Trump began attracting major support in South Texas.

Democrats, who did not campaign hard in the region in 2020, vowed not to let the region slip away. This election cycle, there were [*on-the-ground efforts to rally Democratic voters and increase turnout*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/11/us/border-wall-biden-texas-starr-county.html). Party activists and paid canvassers fanned out across the region, particularly in the cities of the Rio Grande Valley.

But that effort didn’t hold back the tide; the dam burst. Many Democrats were left in shock.

“Republicans built a brand around folks who work at the oil rigs, households that were struggling to pay for groceries,” said Michael Mireles of LUPE Votes, a progressive South Texas political organization that worked in Hidalgo County to elect Democrats. “It’s silly, but consistently talking about the price of eggs — it’s something that people can remember.”

A longtime Republican who lives in McAllen, Gary Groves, said he had felt the political momentum shifting his way as he started getting Trump supporters together after the 2020 election in caravans of cars and trucks festooned with flags. The gatherings, known as the Hidalgo County Trump Train, began with a few cars; this year, as Election Day approached, he said, some events had as many as 150 or 200.

“What happened was an earthquake,” Mr. Groves, 69, said of Tuesday’s election. And, he added, the party still has room to grow locally. “The majority of the Republicans down here do not have Republican” on their campaign signs, he said. “Hopefully that will change.”

He shared a video from one of his gatherings in which a woman complained that her husband, a Latino immigrant who had recently become a citizen, could no longer get a construction job because local contractors were hiring only unauthorized migrants, who generally worked at lower wages.

For years, Republicans have been working in state and federal races to convince socially and religiously conservative Hispanic voters that their values are better aligned with the Republican Party. Gov. Greg Abbott started his 2022 re-election campaign in the Rio Grande Valley and made frequent trips to the border for political events, cutting into Democratic margins significantly.

“We were talking about prosperity and hope while the Democrat Party was talking about pronouns,” said Representative Monica De La Cruz, who in 2022 became the first Republican member of Congress elected to a district that stretches from the border to the suburbs of San Antonio. She was re-elected on Tuesday. “The Republican Party has become the party of the blue-collar voter,” she said.

This year, the Cruz campaign invested heavily in courting Hispanic voters, running Spanish-language ads beginning in June on streaming services. Some of the campaign’s ads focused on Democratic support for transgender participation in youth sports and gender transition surgeries for prisoners and those in the military.

“Their party has left them on a lot of these key social issues,” said Sam Cooper, a Republican campaign consultant who worked on the Cruz campaign.

Mr. Cruz, who won by nearly nine points over his Democratic opponent, Colin Allred, spent the final days of the campaign in El Paso and then in McAllen, where, Mr. Cooper said, hundreds of people packed into an event with the conservative commentator Ben Shapiro.

But while Mr. Cruz made significant gains in South Texas, he did not win the region as decisively as Mr. Trump, who drew more Democrats to his side.

“It’s Donald Trump, not the Republican Party,” said Representative Vicente Gonzalez, a conservative Democrat who held onto his South Texas seat in a close race. “Donald Trump won every county in my district.”

Mr. Gonzalez said Democrats had done a poor job reaching Hispanic workers, particularly men who work in the oil industry and have come to distrust the party. And, he added, the anti-trans messaging by Republicans appeared to resonate with many voters.

“Democrats need to get away from some of those social issues,” he said. “What works in Massachusetts certainly doesn’t work in South Texas.”

On Thursday in the historic downtown of Roma, perched above a winding portion of the Rio Grande, Josie Falcon, 50, reflected on what a second Trump presidency might bring.

Ms. Falcon described herself as “not very political” but said she had felt the need to vote for Mr. Trump over Ms. Harris for pragmatic reasons. “It’s like everyone is saying — the economy,” Ms. Falcon said. “It wasn’t because I didn’t like Kamala or because of race or gender.”

She worried about migrants arriving without authorization from Mexico, still an occasional sight despite a sharp reduction in crossings, and said she was frustrated over paying “a lot of taxes.”

“I’m not sure if Trump will be able to lower the taxes, but that’s what he said, and we have to be optimistic,” she said. “The Democrats didn’t talk about that at all.”

PHOTOS: Along the Rio Grande, where Hispanic residents are an overwhelming majority, support swung for President-elect Donald J. Trump.; FABIOLA RODRIGUEZ, above, voted for Mr. Trump in part because she said groceries were cheaper when he was president.; JOSIE FALCON, above, says she voted for Mr. Trump because of the economy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GABRIEL V. CÁRDENAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***People Places Things***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0P-2WG1-DXY4-X1WT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 888 words

**Byline:** By Alice Cavanagh

**Body**

How do you build a town from scratch? For an answer, you might look to two metropolises that sprang up in just a handful of years during the 1950s and '60s: Chandigarh, the Swiss French architect Le Corbusier's planned city in northern India, and BrasÃ­lia, the sprawling capital of Brazil, designed by the urban planner LÃºcio Costa and the architect Oscar Niemeyer. Far less well known, but inspired by the same modernist belief in architecture's utopian potential, is La Grand Motte, an otherworldly resort town of curving white concrete towers spread across nearly 2,000 acres of former marshland in the South of France.

The magnum opus of the Turkish-born French architect Jean Balladur, La Grande Motte began in 1965 as one of several ***working-class*** resort towns built by the French government in response to the post-World War II vacation boom. (Later in the decade, a law increased workers' annual holiday allowance from three to four weeks.) These places were fashioned as cheaper, family-friendly alternatives to the ritzier attractions of the CÃ´te d'Azur, farther east. La Grande Motte (the Big Mound), a 40-minute drive east of Montpellier and named after a nearby sand dune, was to offer affordable accommodation for 37,800 tourists, in the form of vacation homes, rental apartments and campsites.

While Balladur, who died in 2002, realized this goal, his vision was met with scorn: In 1972, the magazine L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui called La Grande Motte ''architectural pollution.'' Over the next 30 years, the resort expanded to include a shopping district, two schools, a church, a town hall and a golf course -- earning it unflattering comparisons to Florida and Disneyland. But the town also became an ideological blueprint for future urban developments in France, an example of how a supposedly uninhabitable area -- in this case, one that was windswept and mosquito-ridden -- might become home to a mostly peaceful, self-contained community. In 2010, the French Ministry of Culture formally recognized La Grande Motte as a place of ''Outstanding Contemporary Architecture,'' making it the first town to receive that designation.

La Grand Motte's futuristic, pyramid-shaped apartment blocks are arranged along a 4-mile-long stretch of sandy beach and around a man-made port, their position and shape designed to mitigate wind and salt spray, providing shelter for the immense gardens Balladur had planted below. The architect drew inspiration from the modernist aesthetic of the Bauhaus movement, the social-planning theories behind BrasÃ­lia and Le Corbusier's CitÃ© Radieuse residential complex in Marseille and, more surprisingly, the symbolic forms of the pre-Columbian pyramids in Teotihuacan, Mexico. He hoped to make a place that would feel out of time: a lost paradise almost overrun by greenery. The result is what the French call dÃ©paysant, the word conjuring the disorienting feeling of arriving somewhere unfamiliar.

That quality is what the photographers and friends Laurent Kronental, 37, and Charly Broyez, 40, set out to capture in the summer of 2020, when they began to document La Grande Motte with a large-format field camera. ''It's like discovering a parallel world in which we don't know if we've found the remains of an ancient civilization, or entered the future,'' says Kronental, whose work often focuses on cities and their inhabitants.

The duo went on to spend three more summers at the resort, exploring by bike and on foot. Often, they'd befriend residents who'd then grant them access to private spaces or views from their balconies. During the summer, the town's population increases tenfold, to around 90,000 -- including a mix of second-home owners and tourists who stay at the resort's still moderately priced rentals and campsites -- but the pair avoided frames that featured people, taking many of the photographs in what Kronental calls the ''blue hours'' of the day, the hazy moments just before dusk and dawn.

The first part of the resulting series -- titled ''La CitÃ© Oasis'' and scheduled to be published next year by Editions Sur la CrÃªte -- explores the territory as it might have looked before it was developed: Images feature the remote, ramshackle fishermen's huts that still stand on the grass-lined estuaries of the surrounding Camargue region. In contrast, the second part of the book highlights the graphic gestures of Balladur's masterpiece -- the honeycomb-like facades and swooping silhouettes -- set against the lush green of its landscaping. ''You have the impression of going on a poetic journey,'' says Kronental, ''from being at the end of the world, almost marginalized outside of society, to this very modern oasis.''

Balladur was, Kronental argues, ahead of his time, in part because his fantasy of a town immersed in nature made him something of an environmentalist. He dedicated over two-thirds of the site to vegetation, planting tree species -- including pines, planes, olives, poplars and cypresses -- that could withstand heat, wind and sea spray. He also built 11 miles of footpaths that weave throughout the center of the resort, restricting cars to the outskirts. Some 60 years later, La Grand Motte remains one of the greenest towns in France. ''Balladur was visionary,'' says Kronental. ''He anticipated the city of tomorrow.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/10/t-magazine/la-grande-motte-french-resort-town.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/10/t-magazine/la-grande-motte-french-resort-town.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top and above, the pyramidlike, yet futuristic, La Grande Motte, a resort town built in the South of France in the 1960s. Laurent Kronental and Charly Broyez started photographing it in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHARLY BROYEZ AND LAURENT KRONENTAL) This article appeared in print on page D3.

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Tupperware (the Brand) May Fail. Tupperware (the Word) Will Survive.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0S-KSM1-JBG3-642S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 907 words

**Highlight:** The company behind the resealable containers filed for bankruptcy, but the term outgrew its origins decades ago.

**Body**

The company behind the resealable containers filed for bankruptcy, but the term outgrew its origins decades ago.

When Tupperware [*filed for bankruptcy protection*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/business/tupperware-bankruptcy.html) on Tuesday amid slumping sales and rising debt, the news unlocked an airtight seal of nostalgia for many who fondly recalled Tupperware parties and childhood leftovers. Hearts ached for a brand that was seemingly conjoined with the American kitchen — and working women — for decades.

But no matter what happens with the brand, the name Tupperware will never go away — not really. That’s because many consumers will continue to refer to their resealable food containers as Tupperware, even if those containers are not Tupperware. (Most of them aren’t.) And that may have been a part of Tupperware’s problem.

In marketing parlance, a phenomenon that is likely to have played at least a small role in Tupperware’s demise is known as [*genericization*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/business/tupperware-bankruptcy.html), which is when a brand name becomes so well known that it supplants the product itself. Think of brands like Kleenex, which is synonymous with facial tissue, or X-acto, which has become a stand-in term for any type of modeling knife.

By the way, when was the last time anyone asked for “an adhesive bandage”? People, instead, ask for Band-Aids, even if those bandages aren’t really Band-Aids. And that Ziploc baggie? Amazon sells its own sandwich bags these days. So do Dollar Tree, Whole Foods and a host of other companies.

Tupperware, though, seemed to crumble amid the competition that it helped to create.

“The big, savvy companies know how to protect themselves,” said Charles R. Taylor, a professor of marketing and business law at Villanova University’s School of Business.

Laurie Kahn, a filmmaker whose 2004 documentary, “[*Tupperware!*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/business/tupperware-bankruptcy.html),” won a Peabody Award, said in a telephone interview that she wasn’t terribly surprised when she heard the news this week.

“I knew it was probably coming because of their recent troubles,” he said. “But it’s sad.”

Her documentary traces Tupperware’s roots, all the way back to the mid-1940s, when [*Earl Silas Tupper*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/business/tupperware-bankruptcy.html) got ahold of some polyethylene pellets, a wartime plastic that the chemical company DuPont did not believe could be molded, and invented an airtight container that could preserve food more effectively than anything else on the market.

The genius of the company, though, was in how those containers were marketed — by a woman named [*Brownie Wise*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/business/tupperware-bankruptcy.html), who launched the concept of the Tupperware party, where products were peddled by housewives and single moms and other women who simply wanted to work outside the home in the postwar era.

“She empowered an entire generation of ***working-class*** women,” Ms. Kahn said.

Soon after Mr. Tupper died in 1983, the patent on his burping seal expired, and a host of companies emerged to copy his idea, Ms. Kahn said.

Patents are designed to last long enough to give the companies that acquire them sufficient time to build up their brands and recoup whatever investments they had poured into research and development. For decades, that was certainly the case for Tupperware, which was a name that had stood for one brand and one brand only.

Name recognition, it seems, is great — up to a point. Suddenly Tupperware had a slew of imitators and rival products that were largely indistinguishable from its own. Tupperware had been genericized, and Rexall, the chemicals company that had [*purchased the brand decades earlier*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/business/tupperware-bankruptcy.html), was slow to diversify its product line.

“They were perfectly poised to take their absolutely stellar brand name and expand into everything domestic, the way Martha Stewart sells everything domestic,” Ms. Kahn said. “And I think they’d still be alive if they’d done that. But they stuck to plastic containers, and that was a mistake, because then suddenly there were cheap knockoffs in every drugstore and grocery store.”

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/business/tupperware-bankruptcy.html)]

Successful companies have strategies to protect their trademarks and fend off the creep of genericization, Mr. Taylor said. Many, for example, avoid using the brand name as a noun, choosing instead to use it as an adjective in their marketing materials: Kleenex facial tissues, Q-tips cotton swabs, Velcro brand fasteners. Mr. Taylor also cited Crayola Crayons, a company that was ahead of the curve.

“They were very careful not to refer to them as Crayolas,” he said.

And for various reasons that get into the legal weeds, companies like Google and Kimberly-Clark, which owns Kleenex, have fought (mostly [*unsuccessfully*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/business/tupperware-bankruptcy.html)) to keep their brands from being included in dictionaries, Mr. Taylor said.

Tupperware, though, is a part of the cultural lexicon — even in bankruptcy — and its legacy will persist whenever someone cracks open a resealable food container, even if it is made by Ziploc. Or Rubbermaid. Or Pyrex. Or Freshware.

Tupperware could live on in other ways, too. Ms. Kahn had originally hoped to turn the Tupperware story into a Broadway musical, but she has since shelved that idea — at least temporarily. Instead, she said, a feature film based on her documentary is in development with a production company.

“If we get this feature off the ground, it could be followed up by a musical,” Ms. Kahn said. “It would be a great musical.”

Tupperware may die. Long live Tupperware.

PHOTO: Tupperware had opportunities to diversify its product offerings, but sticking to resealable containers left it vulnerable to imitators. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Garrett Cheen/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Two New Musicals Poke at the Seamy Underbelly of the American Dream; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CMN-R4R1-JBG3-600K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 3, 2024 Saturday 22:58 EST

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**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 1298 words

**Byline:** Laura Collins-Hughes

**Highlight:** Kristin Chenoweth stars in “The Queen of Versailles” in Boston, while a new “Gatsby” musical in Cambridge takes Myrtle seriously.

**Body**

Kristin Chenoweth stars in “The Queen of Versailles” in Boston, while a new “Gatsby” musical in Cambridge takes Myrtle seriously.

“It may surprise you,” Jackie Siegel says, “but we are not old money.”

Surprise us? Probably not, but there were some context clues. Such as that she utters these words while dressed to the pink and sparkly nines, holding a tiny, fluffy dog and perched in the lap of her decades-older husband, David, whose capacious, ornately gilded chair suggests delusions of royalty.

So does their home construction project: a 90,000-square-foot house modeled on the Palace of Versailles (because, you know how it is, their current 26,000 square feet are feeling cramped) and built, Jackie tells us, “in the most beautiful place in the entire world — Orlando, Florida.”

The audience at the Emerson Colonial Theater in Boston got a good guffaw out of that on Thursday’s opening night of “The Queen of Versailles,” the surprising and frequently excellent new musical starring an utterly disarming Kristin Chenoweth and co-written by her “Wicked” composer-lyricist, Stephen Schwartz.

Then again, it may be a sort of genius to stage the world premiere of this show, which has already announced a Broadway run next season, in a city that is fundamentally identified with the origins of this nation and constitutionally disposed to adore old money but turn its nose up at vulgar flash.

Because “The Queen of Versailles,” based largely on [*Lauren Greenfield’s 2012 documentary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/movies/review-the-queen-of-versailles-by-lauren-greenfield.html) of the same name, is as much an exploration of the seamy underbelly of the American Dream as is the very different new musical “Gatsby,” wrapping up its own world premiere across the river in Cambridge. (More on that momentarily.) Like F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Jay Gatsby, Jackie Siegel came from not much at all, left her humble roots behind and — with a husband (F. Murray Abraham, in terrific form) whose beginnings were similar — reinvented herself on a scale so over the top that strangers can’t help gawking.

Mind you, fans of reality television — which the real Jackie Siegel has embraced since the documentary — will be more versed in her life and persona than those who shy from that genre. But the “Versailles” musical, which has a book by Lindsey Ferrentino and direction by Michael Arden, stands on its own, no previous familiarity required.

It is a story of excess and fame, of a fortune vanished in the 2008 economic crash and then regained. It is also (this may be a spoiler) a story about the death of a teenager: Victoria (Nina White, poignant and appealing), Jackie’s firstborn, a compelling adolescent presence in the documentary and the only one of her seven children seen in the musical. The show is still finding its way toward telling that essential strand of Jackie’s biography without throwing off the dramatic equilibrium.

Act I fizzes entertainingly along, striking just the right tone, Chenoweth’s playfulness and charm endearing Jackie to us. And the show, which starts with and occasionally returns to the original Versailles, looks great. (Set and video are by Dane Laffrey, costumes by Christian Cowan, lighting by Natasha Katz.)

But in Act II, the tone flails, even descending briefly into sentimentality with a song called “Little Houses.” The cast is rock solid, and Chenoweth gives a fiercely intelligent performance, emotionally nuanced and deep. The narrative ground beneath the actors is unsteady, though. The darkness has — for now, at least — thrown the show’s creators off.

Readers of “The Great Gatsby” know to expect darkness in any serious adaptation. That’s part of the reason the frothy musical of the same name currently on Broadway feels so hollow. But the new “Gatsby,” at the American Repertory Theater in Cambridge, is another creature altogether.

With a book by Martyna Majok and a score by Florence Welch (music and lyrics) and Thomas Bartlett (music), this show is smart, inquiring and fluent in the subtleties of class. Its arty chic lets you know it’s a Rachel Chavkin production, the ambience flickeringly reminiscent of her work on “Hadestown” and “Natasha, Pierre &amp; the Great Comet of 1812.”

Majok, who won a Pulitzer Prize for “Cost of Living,” has said that she sees Gatsby as a ***working-class*** character. What’s astonishing is how clearly she and her collaborators draw parallels between Gatsby (Isaac Powell) — enmeshed in an affair with Daisy Buchanan (Charlotte MacInnes), the wealthy love of his life — and Myrtle Wilson (Solea Pfeiffer), the ***working-class*** woman risking her own marriage for an affair with Daisy’s spoiled creep of a husband, Tom (Cory Jeacoma).

In this telling, Gatsby and Myrtle want the same thing: for their illicit liaisons to turn legit, granting them a kind of stability and acceptance that they have never known. When Gatsby gazes across the bay at Daisy’s house, that’s the beacon that beckons him.

On Mimi Lien’s thrilling sculptural set — a silvery wreckage of cars in a mountain of industry and ruin — the cast is almost uniformly strong. But Pfeiffer received the biggest applause the night I saw the show, and in what version of this tale has Myrtle ever gotten to be more than a shrill and tacky tart? She does here.

Admirers of Majok’s work might have expected her to pay close attention to Myrtle, but this layered, sympathetic take on her is powerfully transformative. One of the show’s most stunning moments is when Tom doesn’t hit Myrtle as he does in the novel, doesn’t break her nose, but instead does something at least as violent to her soul. He says to her, in front of a room full of people, “Marry you? You’re dreaming,” and uses an expletive to amp up the viciousness.

Daisy, too, here has more than the customary agency, even if she sometimes makes her decisions — like her choice to marry Tom, in the arrestingly fraught wedding-day song “I’ve Changed My Mind” — from a position of vulnerability and self-destruction. And George (Matthew Amira), Myrtle’s sweet and disappointing mechanic husband, often almost a background character, is thoughtfully and effectively fleshed out.

The score is frequently lovely, propulsive both musically and narratively, and there are some real standout numbers. Gatsby’s gambler mentor, Meyer Wolfsheim (Adam Grupper), gets one, delightfully.

Gatsby’s part of the story, though, is out of whack, partly because of the lack of sexual chemistry between Gatsby and Daisy. Powell has a gorgeous voice, but he errs on the side of recessiveness, not exuding the magnetism Gatsby needs. Why Daisy and her mensch of a cousin, Nick (Ben Levi Ross), are so drawn to him remains a mystery.

The show has yet to figure some things out, like how to balance innovation with faithfulness to the novel’s bones, and how to populate the set to make the party scenes at Gatsby’s house look sufficiently crowded. (The ensemble, cleverly clad by Sandy Powell, has a definite netherworld vibe.)

With the grace of Sonya Tayeh’s choreography, this production absolutely nails the final line of the novel and the final moment of the show. And Fitzgerald’s phrase “vast carelessness” is, perfectly, a lyric now.

He used it to describe the behavior of Daisy and Tom. But it’s indelible because the habits of the obscenely rich tend that way in any age.

Gatsby

Through Aug. 3 at American Repertory Theater, Cambridge, Mass.; [*americanrepertorytheater.org*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/movies/review-the-queen-of-versailles-by-lauren-greenfield.html). Running time: 2 hours 40 minutes.

The Queen of Versailles

Through Aug. 25 at the Emerson Colonial Theater, Boston; [*queenofversaillesmusical.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/movies/review-the-queen-of-versailles-by-lauren-greenfield.html). Running time: 2 hours 45 minutes.

PHOTOS: Top, Charlotte MacInnes as Daisy and Isaac Powell in the title role of “Gatsby.” Above, Kristin Chenoweth as Jackie and F. Murray Abraham as David in “The Queen of Versailles.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JULIETA CERVANTES; MATTHEW MURPHY) This article appeared in print on page C3.

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[***A Tight Senate Battle Comes Down to a Few Key Races***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB3-2MS1-JBG3-606W-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**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:** Republicans are in good position to win the Senate majority, but Democrats still hold hope of retaining control.

**Body**

After two years and a multibillion-dollar barrage of political attack ads, the fight for Senate control is down to a handful of races, with Republicans holding a clear edge but Democrats maintaining a narrow path to retaining their majority if events break their way.

As the final days of an intensely polarizing campaign season play out, the Senate focus is on seats held by Democrats in Montana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan, and on Republican seats in Texas and Nebraska.

The outcome will help determine [*how much power the next president can wield*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html), given the Senate’s crucial role in approving cabinet and judicial nominations and in [*setting — or thwarting — the legislative agenda*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html).

Republicans have already [*all but claimed West Virginia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html), where the popular governor, [*Jim Justice, is their candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html) for a seat left open by the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III, a onetime Democrat who changed his affiliation to independent this year. That means the G.O.P. needs a net gain of just one more to flip the current 51 to 49 Democratic majority.

The top Republican target has been in Montana, a state that former President Donald J. Trump is expected to carry easily. [*Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat who has served three terms there, has trailed consistently in most polls against Tim Sheehy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html), a Republican and wealthy businessman. But other embattled Democrats have maintained slim polling leads that have tightened in the latest surveys.

If the party fails to retake the chamber, it would mark the third consecutive election cycle that Senate Republicans have come up short. They are confident they will get over the hump this time.

“I believe we will take the majority,” said Senator John Barrasso of Wyoming, a member of the Republican leadership who is on the ballot himself and has campaigned in 11 states with G.O.P. hopefuls. “The next president’s agenda runs through the United States Senate, and Republicans will control the Senate.”

Democrats note that all of their endangered Senate candidates have been outperforming the party’s presidential ticket in their states, making them optimistic that they can offset Mr. Trump’s strength in red states such as Ohio and Montana and sweep the swing states of Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan. They also have long-shot hopes of defeating the Republican firebrand Ted Cruz in Texas, and of benefiting from an upset defeat of Senator Deb Fischer of Nebraska, who is facing an unexpectedly steep challenge from an independent opponent.

“A year and a half ago, no one thought we would have a shot,” Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, said in a statement. “Now the race to keep the majority in the Senate is neck and neck and we’re cautiously optimistic about our chances.”

While all the races have had their distinctive issues, they have also been run along the contours of the broader national debate. Democrats have emphasized abortion rights, their legislative accomplishments such as a major infrastructure bill and a relatively drama-free approach to governing, while portraying Republicans as extreme enablers of a right-wing power grab. Republicans have hit Democrats on inflation, the flood of unauthorized migrants entering the country through the southern border and cultural hot-button issues such as transgender rights, accusing them of being in thrall to an ultraliberal agenda.

It has added up to a series of very close contests, with Mr. Tester and Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, both originally elected in the Senate class of 2006, in the most jeopardy given that Mr. Trump has carried their states twice. Republicans point to a proven record of their Senate candidates winning in states carried by Mr. Trump in 2016 and 2020 as ticket splitting has diminished.

In Montana, Mr. Tester is trying to beat those odds by relying on a strong get-out-the-vote effort, his long history in the state and the federal dollars he has delivered. He characterizes Mr. Sheehy, who moved to Montana in 2014, as one of the rich newcomers who have driven up housing prices, making homes unaffordable for average Montanans.

“It shouldn’t be a very close race, but it is going to be a very close race,” Mr. Tester told supporters at one of his campaign-ending rallies as he urged them to get supporters to the polls.

Mr. Sheehy, a former Navy SEAL and political neophyte whose honesty has been questioned because of conflicting accounts of how he got a gunshot wound in his right forearm, has hit Mr. Tester for being a crucial vote in Washington for the Democratic agenda. He has been outspent by Mr. Tester but Democratic strategists worry that Mr. Tester’s time has run out.

In Ohio, [*Mr. Brown faces similar headwinds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html) but appears to be faring better against Bernie Moreno, a wealthy former car dealer who won a contested Republican primary. Mr. Brown has a long populist record and strong ties to labor. A group backing him ran ads showing that he was able to work with Mr. Trump, who signed an anti-fentanyl measure Mr. Brown wrote. Mr. Moreno faltered with a comment questioning why women over age 50 would care about abortion rights. Like other Republican Senate candidates, Mr. Moreno has also focused on transgender issues, arguing that Mr. Brown and fellow Democrats are pressing to allow men to compete in women’s sports.

In Wisconsin, Senator Tammy Baldwin, a two-term Democrat, is looking to fend off what has become an increasingly competitive challenge from Eric Hovde, a Republican banking executive. Ms. Baldwin, a soft-spoken progressive, won re-election in 2018 in part by carrying reliably conservative-leaning, rural swaths of Wisconsin by double digits. [*She is counting on those same voters rallying to her side again this year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html), but she has not previously run with Mr. Trump on the ballot.

Pennsylvania’s race pits Senator Bob Casey, another Democrat first elected in 2006, against the former hedge fund executive David McCormick in a state that is also ground zero for the presidential race. Mr. Casey, whose father was the state’s governor, has sought to emphasize his independence by noting that he had broken with the Biden administration on oil and gas drilling. He also ran ads saying his opponent actually resides in Connecticut. Mr. McCormick, who owns a home in Pittsburgh, has portrayed his opponent as someone who would vote in lock step with Democrats.

In Michigan, two candidates with national security credentials have squared off for the open seat being vacated by Senator Debbie Stabenow, a Democrat. Representative Elissa Slotkin, a Democrat and former C.I.A. analyst, is facing former Representative Mike Rogers, a Republican who was the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee. The two have battled over the economy and abortion rights in a race that polls indicate slightly favors Ms. Slotkin.

Democrats say they are also optimistic about their Senate chances in Nevada and Arizona, where Senator Jacky Rosen and Representative Ruben Gallego, respectively, have led in polls. Republicans had been bullish about picking up a Senate seat in deep-blue Maryland after Larry Hogan, a popular former two-term Republican governor, jumped into the race. But Angela Alsobrooks, a Democrat and the Prince George’s County executive, now appears poised to win and become Maryland’s first Black senator.

“Our strength is driven from the fact that we have better candidates, ran more effective campaigns, and are on the right side of the issues voters care most about,” said David Bergstein, a spokesman for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

[*Democrats also see a chance of picking off Mr. Cruz in Texas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html), with Representative Colin Allred, a former professional football player, and Mr. Cruz fighting over abortion rights and border policies. But Republicans say they expect Mr. Cruz to survive another election scare.

Perhaps the most surprising race of the cycle has been in Nebraska, where Ms. Fischer is in [*a race for her political life*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/republican-congress-trump-johnson.html) against independent Dan Osborn, a former mechanic and labor leader with ***working-class*** appeal.

In his closing argument, Mr. Osborn has pitched himself as the candidate of change and said he is more closely aligned with Mr. Trump than Ms. Fischer is. He has said he would not caucus with either party. Republicans say that Ms. Fischer was slow in responding to the threat but that she has now effectively fought back and should prevail.

“Republicans are confident we are going to retake the Senate majority,” said Mike Berg, communications director for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. “Right now we are competitive in battlegrounds across the country and will run through the tape as we try to win as many races as possible.”

Luke Broadwater, Catie Edmondson and Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.

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PHOTOS; Jim Justice The governor of West Virginia is the Republican candidate for a seat left open. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Jon Tester The Democrat of Montana has served three terms but has trailed in polls. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JANIE OSBORNE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Dan Osborn An independent aligned with Donald J. Trump, he vies to take Nebraska. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL CIAGLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); David McCormick A Republican, he is challenging Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES) (A20) This article appeared in print on page A1, A20.

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[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Ruy Teixeira; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6B7K-PFD1-JBG3-6003-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 12271 words

**Highlight:** The Feb. 1, 2024, episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.”

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode with Ruy Teixeira. Listen [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html).

Transcripts of our episodes are made available as soon as possible. They are not fully edited for grammar or spelling.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: From New York Times Opinion, this is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

So last week on the show we had Simon Rosenberg giving the very optimistic case on the Democratic Party, the view that the Democratic Party is doing great, they are winning at a rate we have not seen since F.D.R., and that all of this panic about the state of the party, about its prospects in 2024, is misguided.

Today is the other argument, the argument the Democratic Party is not doing great. That, in fact, it’s doing quite badly. That it is losing something core to who it is, core to its soul, and it’s losing it because it is making bad strategic and even, as you’ll hear in his views, substantive decisions. So Ruy Teixeira is very well known in Democratic policy circles, longtime pollster and political strategist. And he wrote in 2002, alongside John Judis, a famous book called “The Emerging Democratic Majority.”

When this book comes out, things are looking real bad for Democrats. It’s the 9/11 era, George W. Bush is super popular. And here come Teixeira and Judis to say, actually things look pretty good for Democrats, that if you look at how the country is changing, the growth of nonwhite voters, the growth of the professional class, if you look at how those and other groups vote for Democrats, that just based on demographics you should expect the Democratic slice of the electorate to really grow. And if it grows, Democrats are going to begin winning.

Now it’s a weird time for that book to come out. George W. Bush wins again in 2004. But in 2008, reality begins to look a lot like what they’ve been describing. And then in 2012, when Obama wins on the back of huge, huge turnout among nonwhite voters, he has a share of the white electorate that is about what Dukakis had when he loses in 1988.

When Obama wins with that coalition, it really looks like Teixeira and Judis were right. And even the Republican Party seems to think so. It begins to think it has to moderate on immigration and put forward a kinder face. And then, of course, comes Donald Trump and upends us once again, wins when people think he cannot. And that sets off a set of soul-searching. What was wrong in the emerging Democratic majority? What did Teixeira and Judis get wrong? What did Democrats get wrong?

And so now they have a new book out called “Where Have All The Democrats Gone?” And this book’s fundamental argument is that most of what they said came to pass. But one thing happened that they had worried about in that book, and people didn’t really pick up on, which is that in order for that Democratic majority to happen, Democrats needed to keep the ***working class***. And they, in particular, needed to at least hold down the ground they were losing with the white ***working class***. And that did not happen — Democrats getting stomped among the white ***working class***. There is some evidence of them losing at least some ***working-class*** Black and Hispanic voters, particularly men.

So the question is, why? It’s a question that Judis and Teixeira are trying to answer in the new book. You will hear in here that the view is both political and, I would say, substantive. Right? There’s an argument about what is good policy and also an argument about why that policy, why a much more moderate Democratic Party would be a more politically-effective one.

And so I wanted to offer this as the second way of thinking about the Democrats right now. That they have lost a constituency that, at their very soul, they are built to represent, and that they should be treating that as a real emergency. And then there’s the question of, what do you do about it? It’s a place where I think Ruy and I have some different views, but I was grateful that he joined me here.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

Ruy Teixeira, welcome to the show.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Hey. Thanks for having me, Ezra.

EZRA KLEIN: So I want to begin with the older book, “The Emerging Democratic Majority,” which gets published in 2002 and later takes on this status as a kind of artifact of a certain era of Democratic triumphalism. But it was helpful to me to remember that it was in 2002, which was a really bad time for the Democratic Party. So tell me what you were seeing then that made you write the book. What was the context for it? Because at that time it was counterintuitive.

RUY TEIXEIRA: The context in which John Judis and I wrote the book was looking at the way the United States had evolved away from the Reagan coalition through the Clinton years and the very early part of the 21st century. If you looked at how their political base was changing and how the country was changing, it was clear that Democrats were going to benefit from the sort of inevitable rise of the nonwhite population, which was heavily Democratic. We saw the realignment of professionals toward the Democrats. We saw dramatic shifts in the voting patterns of women, particularly single, highly-educated working women.

And we looked at the more sort of dynamic Metropolitan areas of the country that we called ideopolises, and it was clear they were realigning toward the Democrats. So you could put these sort of demographic, ideological, and economic changes together and say, well, it looks like the way the country’s changing overall is moving in a direction that’s consistent with what we called at the time Democrat’s “progressive centrism,” and if they played the cards right, could conceivably develop a dominant majority that might last for some time. Even though, of course, it didn’t mean they’d win every election or even the very next election after the book was published, which was 2002.

Roiling underneath the surface there, Ezra, was a caveat we had in the book about the white ***working class***, because we were very careful to note that secular tendency of the white ***working class*** to move away from the Democratic Party was a problem, and the Democrats really needed to stop the bleeding there and keep a strong minority share of the white ***working class*** vote overall nationally, maybe around 40 in the key Rust Belt states that were heavily ***working-class***, more like 45. And if they did that, they could build this coalition. But the political arithmetic would get vexed and difficult if the white ***working class*** continued to deteriorate in their support for Democrats.

EZRA KLEIN: You mentioned something there, which is the ideological trends of the time, like the professional class becoming more Democratic. That hadn’t always been true. So what did you see happening ideologically in the parties around that time that was shifting these coalitions?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Right. Well, the professionals part was really important in our analysis. And if you looked at professionals, not only were they becoming a much larger part of the US occupational structure and of the electorate and, of course, they vote way above their weight in terms of turnout, but they were moving in a direction in terms of their views on cultural issues which was quite liberal.

Then also professionals, by virtue to some extent of their position in society and their occupational structure, they tend to be more public-spirited. They tend to be more sympathetic to the role of government. And those views seemed to be strengthening as professionals became a larger part of the American electorate. And we thought that was really going to help the Democrats. And, in fact, that turned out to be true, in a strict quantitative sense. They did, in fact, realign heavily toward the Democrats. It really starts in the late ’80s, kind of strengthens in the ’90s, and goes forth in the 21st century to the point today where professionals, by and large, can almost be considered a base Democratic group.

EZRA KLEIN: So then tell me what happens on the way to the Democratic majority. So you have this new book called “Where Have All The Democrats Gone?” It just published in late 2023, and it’s a bit of an update. Why didn’t this durable Democratic coalition emerge?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, point number one is something that we foreshadowed in “The Emerging Democratic Majority,” which was that the Democrats had a potential Achilles’ heel in their coalition in terms of the white ***working class***. If that group started moving away smartly from the Democrats again, that would throw the whole thing into question. And that did, in fact, happen after Obama’s victory in 2008.

If you look at 2010 election where the Democrats get crushed to lose 63 seats, it’s a lot because white ***working-class*** voters bail out from the Democratic Party in lots of areas of the country, particularly the upper Midwest. 2012, Obama manages to get re-elected, and that was viewed or characterized as the return of the Obama coalition. But the part of the Obama coalition they missed is, he ran a kind of populist campaign against the plutocrat Mitt Romney, running on the auto-bailout and other things like that, and he really managed to grab back a lot of those white ***working-class*** voters in the upper Midwest. And if he hadn’t done that, he would have lost that election.

But the coalition of the ascendant kind of analysis that Democrats had been playing with becomes ever stronger. In fact, after 2012, in an odd sort of way, the Republicans even embraced it with their post-election autopsy. The Democrats were riding this demographic wave, it was going to wash over the country, and the Democrats were going to potentially be dominant.

But I think Trump — [LAUGHS]: Trump had a different opinion. He thought that, in fact, there was a wellspring of resentment among the ***working class*** in the United States that a politician like him could tap, and that the Democrats were going to have a lot of difficulty defending against, and that turned out to be the case.

So that’s part of what happened to the Democratic coalition. Another part of the Democratic coalition that is — I mean, the change that’s really still unfolding today that’s very important is, if you look at 2020, even though Biden did manage to squeak through in that election, not nearly as big a victory as they thought they’d get, he managed to hold what white ***working-class*** support they had, in fact, increase it a little bit. But what was really astonishing is the way Democrats lost nonwhite ***working-class*** voters, particularly Hispanics. There was big, big declines in their margins among these voters, declines that we’re still seeing today in the polling data.

So one way to think about 2020 and where we are today, is that racial polarization is declining but class polarization, educational polarization, is increasing. And that’s a problem for a party like the Democrats which purports to be the party of the ***working class***.

EZRA KLEIN: Well let’s pick up on this question of the ***working class*** and how do we define it. At different times we’ve talked about the ***working class*** here, the white ***working class***. What is your measure of the ***working class***?

RUY TEIXEIRA: I use the standard definition at this point, which is those voters lacking a four-year college degree. There’s obviously different ways you could do it. If you’re going to use a more traditional definition, which is essentially impossible to operationalize in most polls, you would use blue-collar and low-level service workers as opposed to managerial and professional workers.

You could do it by income. There’s no right, scientific way to do this. But the way I typically do it is to look at the four-year degree and more, and less than a four-year degree. And that’s pretty standard at this point, and it’s certainly the easiest thing to operationalize in polls.

And it’s not like it’s without substantive value. I mean, we look at the economic and cultural trajectory of non-college as opposed to college folks, and they look very different. I mean, this has been a country, in the last 40 years, that has been much, much better to people with a four-year college degree than people who lack it. That’s very well-established in all the empirical data.

So it’s not like we’re making something up here. It does really capture a lot about people’s economic trajectories and the jobs they have and their position in the society.

EZRA KLEIN: One thing you do see is that, depending on which definition you choose, the situation looks a little bit different. So if you look at who wins college educated voters and who wins non-college voters in 2020 and 2016, Trump does. But if you look at who wins voters making less than $100,000, Biden does. And if you look at who wins voters making more than $100,000, Donald Trump does. And you can slice that even a little finer. You look at who wins voters making between $0 and $50,000, Biden. Between $50,000 and $100,000, Biden. And then above that it tends to tilt more towards Donald Trump.

So why do you prefer an educational definition here than an income definition? And what different things might the two tell us?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, one reason to do it is pretty practical. I mean, income categories are highly variable in terms of how they’re polled. And also income distributions shift over time simply because of inflation. So it’s not a very stable way to define the ***working class***, in terms of income.

That said, I mean, we know that if you look at how Democrats are faring with the highest income voters, they do a lot better than they used to do among affluent voters, particularly affluent educated voters, which kind of is consistent with the idea that Democrats are no longer as much of a ***working-class*** party as they used to be.

EZRA KLEIN: One reason I ask this is, you can be measuring different things here that would point to different both problems and possibilities in the two parties. So if the issue is raw income, that tells you something about, say, material standards, the way people are living.

One thing about being college and non-college is it means different geographic patterns. It means you have been around other people in college, or maybe you haven’t been around people in college, right? That might be picking up in a more direct way a kind of cultural context that you have or have not gone through. We can look at, I think, which is often quite helpful to look at, rural and urban, which does map a little bit onto college, non-college. And urban voters have gone way Democratic and rural voters have shifted quite far to the right.

And so all of those, I think, are useful ways of thinking about something that might map on to this concept of class. But whether class is a thing about how much money people make or a thing about who they know and what their culture is in society or a thing about geographic dimensions and resentment, they all might lead you towards a different set of solutions. And so I’m curious how you think about that difficulty of reading what you’re seeing here.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, I mean, I’m always in favor of complicating stories and looking at more variables rather than fewer. So I think you’re getting at, to some extent, one reason why college-educated voters vote the way they do, especially people with professional degrees and feel so sympathetic to the Democrats, isn’t just because they’re relatively affluent and they think the Democrats defend their economic interests. Not at all. I mean, they feel very comfortable with the cultural set of the Democratic Party. Everybody they know thinks the same way. These are their values. These are how things have evolved in their minds in terms of how the country has gone, and they’re very happy to vote for the Democrats on that basis.

So I think all of those things are important to keep in mind — geography, income, levels of education, and so on — in trying to understand how people have evolved in the way they have. Why certain areas of the country are so populist and so sympathetic to Trump, and certain areas of the country basically think Trump is a great Satan and this is Weimar Germany in 1932. So all of those things are important to try to understand this roiling mess that American politics has become.

EZRA KLEIN: Tell me about your theory of the great divide.

RUY TEIXEIRA: OK. The great divide is this division that’s opened up between not only college-educated and non-college-educated voters over time in terms of how they experienced the economic development of the country in the late 20th century where college-educated voters became increasingly advantaged relative to non-college. ***Working-class*** voters experienced deindustrialization, the sort of decline of resource extraction areas in the country, and just a general sense the country was moving away from them, and the Democrats weren’t really defending their way of life. They were promoting trade deals and deregulating finance, and basically didn’t seem to have the back of these voters in the way they used to think the Democratic Party did.

So that great divide, in terms of the fates of different areas of the country and different educational strata and different types of workers, really affects people’s attitude toward the Democratic Party. There’s actually a very interesting paper by Suresh Naidu, et al., which basically describes the Democrats’ strategy after a certain point, and the late 20th century as being “compensate the losers” as opposed to necessarily providing prosperity for ***working-class*** people. And I think that was processed by a lot of ***working-class*** people as not being exactly what they had in mind.

Then fast forward to the 21st century. Democrats, I think, embrace what we call in the second part of the book, more of a “cultural radicalism” where views on immigration, race, crime, gender, and so on actually become quite a bit more left than they were, and they become the conventional wisdom of the Democratic Party, and out of the wheelhouse of a lot of ***working-class*** voters, which again accentuates this great divide we talked about in the first part of our book.

So I think all of these things move the Democrats in the direction of becoming what Thomas Piketty and his colleagues have called a “Brahmin Left” party, which is actually very common if you look across Western industrial societies. The mass parties of the left have shed ***working-class*** support and gained support among more educated and professional strata of the society, and have become more defined by their support among those groups.

So in a way, the great divide is all about, well, how did we get to the point where Democrats are no longer the party of the ***working class*** in a strict quantitative sense? And they are really more a party that’s dominated by professionals and educated elites. How did they become a Brahmin Left party, and what does that do to their potential for having a dominant majority coalition?

Our view is that it puts pretty serious limits on that. Doesn’t mean they can’t win elections. They do. But it does mean they have a lot of difficulty breaking through their ceiling and becoming a truly dominant party again.

EZRA KLEIN: I’m glad you brought up the Piketty research, because it does show that there are similar dynamics that seem to be structuring political coalitions across many different countries which have internally somewhat different contexts, right? All the parties aren’t the same. They don’t have the same historical bases of support. But there seems to be a movement towards these somewhat more educated, center-left coalitions facing down these somewhat less-educated, populist-right coalitions.

I’m very uncomfortable with this ***working-class***, non-***working class*** term here because I do think it’s very hard to say a party winning most voters making less money is not the party of the ***working class*** because we’ve decided on another definition. But take a sort of more-educated, less-educated cut as real here.

What is your theory, substantively, of why this is happening in a bunch of different places at the same time? Is it policy positions? Is it the actual consequences of governance? I mean, when you think about what leads to this new cut emerging, what is the story you tell?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, I think there’s a couple of different components to it. I mean, in an odd sort of way I think that me and John and people like us — we take more seriously than maybe some other commentators do who are on the left, that the neoliberal economic model, which dominated policymaking and the sort of economic development of these societies for many, many decades, it actually did do a lot of damage. [LAUGHS]

The Democrats also were trying to deal with the Reagan revolution and figuring out how to position themselves within that political space, economic space. At the time in the country there was a certain amount of consensus that government had done too much, spending money wasn’t the solution to economic problems, and Democrats needed to be responsive to those currents of public opinion. So they adopted what I think of, and I think a lot of people think of, as a softer version of neoliberalism.

Or again, back to Suresh Naidu, et al, you compensate the losers, you try to use some of the riches that are generated by this new economic model to compensate people who are losing out. You hope to bring down prices because people respond to that even if their overall economic trajectory in terms of wages and incomes and the kind of communities they live in may not be so great. At least they can buy a flat-screen TV. It really did reduce the faith in a lot of ***working-class*** voters that, in fact, the parties of the left were on their side and did have a plan for how the areas of the country they live in could be prosperous and how they could be provided with a maximum amount of economic mobility. I really think that made a big difference. So that’s a significant thing.

I think another thing gets at the cultural radicalism thing. Back in the day, when unions played a bigger role in a lot of these parties, and the traditional ***working class*** had more political weight within these parties, elites thought twice about what kind of issues they embraced on the cultural front. They were more circumspect. They wanted to have a more moderate face.

I think a lot of that’s gone out of the window at this point, and I think that the forces that dominate left parties today, including the Democratic Party in the United States, they’re much less worried about doing and saying things that seem kind of like out of the wheelhouse of ***working-class*** voters. They’re very concerned about being viewed as being on the right side of history by some of the more educated and activist and fervent supporters. And I think we definitely see that with the Democrats.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: All right. Let’s take these in turn. And I want to focus on the neoliberal explanation first, because I think this is the most common explanation for loss of ***working-class*** support in the Democratic Party in part because it also aligns with the views of a lot of people at the top of the Democratic Party. Weirdly, this is like a shadow version of your thesis, where they have more left economic views than the party has had over time.

But when I look at electoral performance of the party over time, this era that gets talked about as a neoliberal turn, is an era in many ways where the party does better after being in the wilderness for much of the ’70s and ’80s presidentially. It wins under Bill Clinton, who is considered the harbinger of neoliberal economics in the Democratic Party. A lot of people consider Barack Obama a neoliberal. I think at least he’s somewhat within that consensus still, but but he’s very effective as a national politician.

The Republican Party is quite far right on economics. I sometimes find it very strange to hear people argue, well, the Democratic Party became in certain ways more moderate economically, but the Republican Party was trying to privatize Social Security and cut taxes for rich people so the ***working class*** went over to them. It just seems like a weird way to imagine a voter’s mind working.

And the final thing that’s been on my mind about the sort of anti-neoliberal turn in political punditry over the past couple of years is, if you were to boil down what neoliberalism concerned itself with as an economic philosophy, the thing that it was really doing was holding down prices of goods. Right? It was opening up a lot of globalized trade, trying to turn a lot of things over to markets in ways that would make economies more efficient.

And the thing it really did, coming as it did after stagflation, was bring down prices. Inflation came down. Prices came down. Global trade made things a lot cheaper. We had Walmarts and televisions from China. And one thing we’ve seen very recently in American politics is, people hate high prices. They really hate them. And so on the one hand, they don’t like factories closing, but they don’t like paying more for goods.

And so I want to push a little bit here. It looks to me, when I look at electoral performance of a lot of the Democrats who won in this period were neoliberal, that when you had much more left figures run in more ***working-class*** states they did not win, in general. And that it’s a little hard then to also say the Republican Party, which was, again, quite far to the right economically during this whole period that you’re saying people trusted them more on prosperity, that if it was really happening was ***working-class*** or white ***working-class*** voters in Ohio were saying, oh, I can’t believe these Democrats are signing free trade deals. I mean, a lot of those free trade deals were authorized by Republican presidents.

So convince me this is not a kind of just-so story.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, a just-so story in terms of it’s like a single variable model?

EZRA KLEIN: I’m saying that — convince me it’s true. Right? Like, run the counterfactual for me. Who is the politician — look. American politics is — I don’t want to say a perfectly competitive market, to be very neoliberal about it. But there are many opportunities for different kinds of candidates to run. And I would say Mondale was less neoliberal than Bill Clinton, but Bill Clinton did much better than Walter Mondale.

I would say, if you look at Democrats who won governorships in this period, in general more, quote unquote, “neoliberal” candidates were doing pretty well. And so there’s something here at the heart of this story. I’m perfectly willing to believe neoliberalism, in particular ways as an economic philosophy, was bad. Right? Like, if you want to make a substantive case, that’s fine. But as a political case, it didn’t seem unsuccessful.

I mean, at the same time Democrats were becoming a competitive national party again, during this exact same period that is being located as a source of their failure. And that feels to me like a problem for the theory that I don’t often hear addressed.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Right. Well, of course, one thing Clinton did is he moved to the center on cultural issues, which was very important at the time and helped reestablish the Democrats as a more moderate party.

I mean, look. Clinton never got a majority of the vote. It was Obama who did. I mean, there was a huge Perot vote in 1992 which is heavily ***working-class***, indicating the dissatisfaction of a lot of these voters with the way things are going. So, soft neoliberalism beats hard neoliberalism. That’s one way to think about it.

And that was a pretty good model. I mean, a sort of reasonable electoral approach at the time. But Trump, in a way, blows that up because he basically discards a lot of the elements of hard Republican neoliberalism on deficits, on trade, on regulation, on a lot of other things. He basically says, this stuff is killing you. Bad trade deals. They don’t care about you here in the heartland. I do. I’m Trump. And I think the Republican Party is still recovering, or trying to adjust.

I mean, look at people like Oren Cass and American Compass, the American Affairs people, the Compact Magazine folks. There’s definitely intellectual currents in and around the Republican Party who want to move in a different direction and realize there has to be a sort of conservative common good economics as opposed to just back to the future and revive Reagan and stuff like that.

So I think we’re in a very fluid time between the parties, and both within the parties and between the parties, as both parties are trying to figure out how can we promulgate an economic model and make it popular that actually would benefit most people and that we actually get credit for if we tried to do it.

EZRA KLEIN: One way you might think of testing the thesis you have here is, what if Democrats elected a sort of president who was a throwback in important ways to the older Democratic Party? And that president’s economic philosophy was much less neoliberal than the party has traditionally been over the past 20 or 30 years, maybe a big return to industrial policy, a real focus on bringing back manufacturing jobs, a real focus on getting things built in the real world as opposed to using tax incentives to increase more digital activity.

And that fundamentally describes Joe Biden and their economic agenda. It’s been big infrastructure bills, huge amounts of industrial policy, huge incentives to try to bring semiconductor manufacturing to America. I don’t think it’s really arguable to say that Joe Biden hasn’t tried to push things towards industrial policy, towards “buy American,” towards in-sourcing, towards reviving American manufacturing, towards a bunch of the things that you’re saying are the big problem with the party.

And to the extent they message anything, they really do message that. This has been a Democratic Party that, in terms of what it has been trying to pass, its legacy is atypically physical. It’s not trying to build gigantic new social insurance programs, right? The thing they passed was not universal child care. They are trying to just pump money into building things in America.

And to some degree it seems to be working. They’ve seen a very, very large increase in manufacturing jobs since taking office. We have not seen in that a big shift in ***working-class*** perceptions of the Democratic Party, their perceptions of them on economics where it looks like they’re going to — at least the white ***working class*** — is going to vote in 2024.

So if this is really amenable to policy, if having different policies can shift on this, why aren’t we seeing change?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well the proof is in the pudding, is it not? I mean, you can promulgate a different policy approach. You could pass big bills. You can spend a lot of money, what Noah Smith calls “Checkism.” But in the end of the day, people will judge you and these policies by what they actually produce.

I mean, Noah Smith also argues that if you’re going to have an industrial policy, you have to do more. And I think you would agree with this, Ezra, in terms of making it easier to build stuff and get regulations and permitting out of the way that prevent you from doing things fast and effectively. And if we’re going to have a new economic model and make this industrial policy really work, we need a lot more changes than simply writing a bunch of checks. Voters judge you on the basis of the results they see and experience in their real life. And until and unless they see those changes and they judge them as positive, they will not give you credit just for passing a bunch of bills and saying you’re for something that seems sort of like industrial policy.

EZRA KLEIN: See, I think the place I’m pushing on in this part of the theory — because I think there’s a set of different dynamics on the cultural side — is, I’m a little less of a believer than I used to be that voters are judging you that closely on results. I do think the state of the macro-economy matters significantly for who gets elected and who doesn’t.

When you go back to 2010 and Democrats getting wiped out that year, I think that’s inseparable from the fact that unemployment was really, really high. And I think that 2022 was an unusually good election for Democrats. Inflation was high, which made a lot of people think it was going to be a bad election for them, but unemployment was low and the labor market was reasonably strong. And I think that is part of the foundation on which they were able to hold what they were able to hold.

But when I go back over this whole period, because you’re making — and many people make this argument — a sort of argument over decades, I actually do not see a strong economic record for the Republican Party. George H.W. Bush has a significant recession under his watch, ends up a one-term president.

Bill Clinton presides over an extremely strong economy. Then you have George W. Bush, presides over a large credit and housing bubble and financial bubble. By the end of his presidency the entire global economy is in tatters. That leads to Barack Obama, who manages a fairly — not perfect by any means, but compared to peer countries, fairly strong recovery.

In my view Trump is, in many ways, drafting off of trends you’re seeing for the last couple of years of the Obama presidency. Then — I don’t fully blame Donald Trump for this, because he did not cause a pandemic. But by the end of Donald Trump’s presidency, the economy is just a complete disaster-show again. Then we’re in Biden now and things seem back under control.

This idea that there is this strong one-to-one between what the parties are either backing, which is on the Republican side is very plutocratic policies during this entire period we’re talking about, or the results they are delivering, frankly, neither of them looks that good for the Republican Party. And that’s why I’m asking you about what is the actual evidence of this theory? Because if it is something that is amenable to a different economic policy, I want to see the country where that worked or the state where that worked or the period of time in American life recently in this kind of attentional and media sphere where that worked.

Because otherwise it has this problem that I think we often get in punditry — and I am a pundit and probably guilty of this many times myself — of people saying, well, if you only did the thing that I think would be better policy, you would definitely win more elections. But it’s always, I think, important to try to net that out in actual elections. So that’s my point of skepticism here, that it’s very hard for me to track economic performance and the movements of the voters you’re talking about, or actually what the two parties are economically supporting and the movements of the voters you’re talking about.

And so before we move on to maybe another set of explanations here, tell me why you think I’m wrong. Tell me why you think I’m underplaying this.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, you could almost be saying that economic results are irrelevant to what happens electorally. Why haven’t the Democrats completely cleaned the Republicans’ clock on the basis of their economic performance? And I think to understand that, we have to get back to some of the underlying trends that have affected ***working class*** voters in the United States and how they’ve experienced their lives, and how their communities have evolved and the resentments they have about the various political parties and what they stand for.

I mean, back to your thought experiment about, what if we had a president who practiced more industrial policy predistribution-type stuff, focused relentlessly on the fate and welfare of ***working-class*** voters all over the country, Black, white, and polka-dots, and actually produced for them. Would that be good for the Democrats electorally more so than what they’ve previously done? I would say, yes. I think the problem for this is, it takes a while. You know? [LAUGHS] I mean, Rome wasn’t built in a day. And neoliberalism, or whatever you want to call it, won’t be transformed in a day.

But I tend to believe if Democrats could produce rising incomes and wages for most ***working-class*** voters for many, many years and transformed the political economy of the United States into something pretty different and perceived as something pretty different than what they’ve experienced in the last several decades, do I think they’d benefit and be able to dominate a Republican Party whose economic policies are far less salubrious? Yes. I do think that’s, in fact, possible.

EZRA KLEIN: Give me an example here. Is there any country — my point is not that I think — good things are good and bad things are bad, so you should govern well because you should govern well. But I’ve become more, myself, skeptical of policy feedback loops I once believed in. But, so is there a peer country where you feel that the left party or center-left party is governed in the way you’re talking about?

Or separately, is there a state where the Democratic governor of the state has at least atmospherically — because governors only control so much — been the kind of leader you’re talking about and that has led to a shift in the trends among particularly white working, white non-college voters that you’re discussing? Right? We have a lot of examples of people trying different things. I’m curious if any of them, in your view, have worked?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, I think the short answer to that is, in a broad sense, no. I mean, we’ve been in this kind of position for a number of decades where the left parties have hemorrhaged ***working-class*** support and where the economic fate of a lot of areas of the countries in which they govern and the working classes in these countries have not done well relative, certainly, to the professional classes and the elites. And that’s affected everywhere.

I mean, if you look at the Western world today, right populist parties are on the march everywhere. I mean, there are some exceptions. The U.K. Labor Party is going to win, a lot because conservatives have been in power and they made a balls up of it. But, by and large, you look at the political trends across industrialized democracies, and I see a lot of the same things happening.

So I think this is an era in which left parties are going to have to experiment and figure out new ways of doing things and saying things and practicing policy. And I do believe that if they do that, in the end it will make a difference.

I mean, Ezra, you almost sound a little nihilistic here. I mean, it sort of doesn’t matter what people do. I mean, this policy feedback stuff is all a bunch of bunk. I mean, it’s kind of political warfare and trying to make salient the part of the other side that your voters don’t like. Hey, wait a minute. Isn’t that kind of what we’re doing today? Hey, that’s part of the point of the book that Judis and I wrote, is we are in a position where negative partisanship is huge and you really try to amplify the salience of something about the other side your voters don’t like. So I’d like to see us get out of that situation, and I’d like to see us establish a nice feedback loop between policy that works, and voting support and political power.

EZRA KLEIN: I do sound a little bit nihilistic. And I don’t know that I think of myself as a nihilist on this, but I do think of myself as somebody who — I mean, I wrote a book about political polarization. And one of the striking things to me about the research is how difficult it is to change people’s minds and how difficult it is to see in the data anywhere that a major policy has led to a major shift in voting patterns, anywhere that even major world events lead to sustained shifts in voting patterns.

RUY TEIXEIRA: You don’t think the New Deal would qualify?

EZRA KLEIN: I think that the New Deal is, at this point, an example leached of its power. Look, I take very seriously media environments, and I think in the New Deal era you’re dealing with such a different kind of media environment and such different kinds of parties, particularly given the way the Southern Democratic Party was a sort of authoritarian, conservative, racial hierarchy party that was just not going to go Republican ever in that period because Republicans had, in living memory, invaded that part of the country and overturned slavery and taken it in a very different direction than they wanted to go.

So I think the political dynamics of the New Deal, where you sort of have this four-party system of liberal Democrats and Dixiecrats and more liberal Republicans and conservative Republicans — I think it’s so different it’s actually functionally a different political system. It’s hard to map it on.

I’ll say one thing here, which is that it’s very much not my view that the decisions of parties and politicians don’t matter. It is my view that the feedback between policy and voters is very, very, very strange and complicated and hard to control, in part because things take a long time to pay off. And so people don’t get the rewards for things they did five or six years ago, because they’re already out of power by then.

But I want to use this to move a little bit to the other side of your theory which is, as you put it, “cultural radicalism,” which I actually do think has a certain amount of explanatory power.

So sort of walk me through that argument, that a lot of left-wing coalitions have become more culturally-liberal and more highly-educated.

RUY TEIXEIRA: I think one way to think about this is, what did Democrats historically stand for in terms of cultural issues. I mean, they historically stood for anti-discrimination, for tolerance, for equal opportunity, equal rights.

You know, this did not sit necessarily well with everybody in the country, but these were important things to fight for and built, in a sense, on a fundamental aspect of American values which is, yeah, in fact, we are all Americans. We’re in this together. Everyone should have equal rights to get ahead, prejudice is bad, discrimination is bad, racism is bad. I think these were good things to stand for and I think, ultimately, they connected pretty well to the way most Americans think about the world, particularly as it was evolving in the late 20th century.

We really see a change in that as we get into the 21st century. We see issues around race going beyond equal opportunity to equal outcomes, this whole equity obsession. We get people taking seriously the views of people like Ibram X. Kendi, where any disparity in outcomes is prima facie evidence of racism. This is not something that the Democratic Party 20 years ago would have taken very seriously.

We see the evolution of views around transgender issues as going way beyond the issue of discrimination to issues of, well, biological sex isn’t even really important. If a biological male says they’re a woman, then they are a woman. Gender affirming care should be available to children without too many questions asked, even though these are basically experimental treatments. Dylan Mulvaney gets invited to the White House.

I mean, all kinds of things happen in and around the Democratic Party that just don’t seem to have a lot to do with the way the Democratic Party has historically stood for tolerance and against discrimination and racism and sexism and things like that, and equal opportunity. These are very different than the kinds of things — basically, these sort of escaped from the academic lab into the broader political discourse powered, of course, by young, college-educated folks who are coming to take over some of these institutions and whose voices are very loud on social media, very important. It’s hard to see how any of this happens without social media.

And this is really not in the wheelhouse of most ***working-class*** voters. I mean, immigration is another good issue that we talk about quite a bit in the book. If you look at the Democratic Party, historically they tried to deal with the issue of immigration on the basis both of tolerance and about protecting the wages and livelihoods of ***working-class*** people in the United States.

Crime is another issue that’s loomed large recently, and Democrats have historically tried to right the ship from the ’80s, right? Law and order. Violent criminals are bad, and they should be in jail. And we’ve now come to a point of view where basically we have to be very careful about how we enforce the law, and a lot of issues because it could have disparate impact, and so on and so forth and maybe policing is the real problem, not crime.

I’m not saying these are things everybody in the Democratic Party believes. That is not the case. But clearly they’ve had an enormous influence on the Democratic Party’s image and how it’s perceived by many voters, particularly ***working-class*** voters. And this makes a big difference.

I’d also even include climate in this, Ezra, as a kind of cultural issue. I mean, I don’t think this is the number one issue for a lot of ***working-class*** people. Not even close, but it’s the number one issue for a lot of elites who dominate the Democratic Party and a lot of groups who put pressure on them.

None of this stuff is good, because basically it’s associating the Democratic Party with a vector of positions on culturally-inflected issues that are basically out of the wheelhouse of most ***working-class*** voters — alienate them, make them think the Democratic Party is dominated by elites who look down on them and don’t care about them and don’t take their views seriously and concerns seriously.

In addition to that, a lot of these things don’t even make much sense as policy. Right? Quasi-open borders don’t make any sense.

EZRA KLEIN: Well, let’s hold before we go into the policy. So first I want to note, there’s like two definitions of good that can be used here. One is, are these policies good. Right? Would they be good policies to pass? On climate, for instance, it may be that you have policies that are not supported by many voters but are actually what you need to do if you do believe holding warming down to 2 degrees centigrade is important. So you can have “good as policy,” and you can have “good as politics.”

I want to go backwards though before we get to climate to the sort of potted history of the Democratic Party there on race, because I think you cleaned that up more than it merits. So we’ve been talking about, somewhat interchangeably here, ***working-class*** and white ***working-class*** voters, but what Democrats have primarily lost is white ***working-class*** voters.

And I think it’s pretty standard and, in fact, you all say this in the book, that they primarily began that process of losing white ***working-class*** voters after the signing of the Civil Rights Act and the efforts to enforce the Civil Rights Act and similar bills like that. There’s also a big shift in white ***working-class*** voters around the time of Barack Obama, which most political scientists I know think is not an accident.

And so I think sometimes there’s a tendency to cut the history of the Democratic Party fighting for racial justice in this era, and now we look back and we’re like, oh, that was totally fine because that all worked out and we all agree the Civil Rights Act is good. And now the stuff that is on the margin is not fine. That’s politically unpopular. It’s controversial. It’s not how the white ***working class*** looks at the world. But when these fights were happening, they also weren’t how the white ***working class*** was looking at the world.

I mean, Martin Luther King Jr. Was not an icon of national consensus. He was shot down in the streets, ultimately, and he was unpopular for much of his life. I mean, the Freedom Riders were unpopular when you polled people on them.

So I think one push on this is that many people will say this is in the tradition of the Democratic Party. Right?

Gay marriage is another one where I remember people blaming gay marriage ballot initiatives and the Democratic Party’s assumed support for gay marriage for John Kerry’s loss in 2004. Now it seems obvious that the party would eventually come to support it. But that was another place where people said, by being as open — and it wasn’t that open, I think, in my view — to gay rights then was alienating people.

So there is this tension between what is on the edge of trying to have a more inclusive America, an America where there is equal opportunity — and I’m not a believer in the sort of equal opportunity, equal outcomes distinction a lot of people make. Equal opportunity is extraordinarily hard to achieve, and we are nowhere near achieving it. But it’s not popular, typically. And it wasn’t popular then. And the fact that it’s not popular now — tell me a little bit more about that cut you’re making, because a lot of Democrats see themselves and say, this is the proud tradition of the party.

We have often taken on difficult, unpopular fights that eventually become consensus positions in American life. But they only become that position because we took the fight on and even, at times, accepted political cost for taking the fight on.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Right. Well, I mean one thing John and I do is we make a distinction between good radicalism and bad radicalism. All radical ideas aren’t great. Some radical ideas are pretty great, and history will absolve them, in a sense. I mean, Social Security at one point was a radical idea. The Civil Rights Act was a radical idea. There are lots of things that have been promulgated by left parties or by activists that eventually do become consensus positions and actually are extremely important in a policy and social sense.

But I guess I don’t buy the idea that every radical idea is just waiting for its time to come. I do make a distinction, for example, between being against discrimination against gay people and for allowing gay marriage — that’s basically making gay people equal with other people. I make a distinction between that and, say, the idea that biological sex is not important and that a biological man who says they’re a woman is exactly the same thing as a woman, and that gender affirming care should be promulgated, no questions asked, despite all the tremendous medical questions around it as a policy issue. I don’t think these are matters of radicalism that’s the same as the radicalism around —

EZRA KLEIN: But I think you just did a weird thing there where you compared a policy to a not-policy. So, I mean, it eventually became the policy of the Democratic Party that gay marriage should be legal. I don’t actually think it’s a policy of the Democratic Party that biological sex is unimportant or that gender affirming care should be given to children, no questions asked. I mean, I’ve done reporting on this. The experience people have in that is that there are actually quite a lot of questions asked, and it’s a difficult thing to do. I think it’s a very unsettled space, so I’m open to the idea that, and believe that there’s going to have to be a lot of difficult political and also medical work and social work figuring that out.

But the jump I would make — I mean, it was considered wild —

RUY TEIXEIRA: There was a Biden official — Rachel Levine? What is her name? Who basically said gender affirming care is settled science. That is not true. It is not settled science. So the administration is associated with this kind of approach to issues of transgender concerns. Right?

EZRA KLEIN: But I think their policies tend to be in the anti-discrimination category. I don’t want to get totally caught on this question of gender affirming care for minors, because I do think it’s an incredibly hard space. And I’m not arguing with you the Democratic Party is obviously associated with a more open position on that, or certainly with a position that is not looking to lock it down.

I mean, I’m just old enough to remember, as are you, when the idea that you would treat gay couples equally in American life was considered, in politics, ridiculous. You weren’t allowed to be gay in the military. You weren’t allowed — and the belief was it would destroy American marriage. And this was a dominant politics.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, Ezra, you’re saying basically these issues are the same?

EZRA KLEIN: I don’t think you need to say the issues are the same. I don’t think the question here is really do Ruy and Ezra agree on gender-affirming care. I don’t think it really matters whether we agree on gender-affirming care. The question I’m trying to present to you is actually this issue of, what do you do if you believe there is something unpopular that is nevertheless necessary? If it’s a better space to do it we can talk about this in climate, where I have a much more expansive view on how much climate action is substantively necessary than I think you do.

But if I’m right and if you are right, that the politics of it are bad, which I accept it may well be, how do you think about that? What is the role of a political party when it begins to believe something is necessary, but the something it believes to be necessary is not popular?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, I think the first thing you do is you scrutinize this particular new or radical idea on the grounds of, does it, in fact, make sense? Is it, in fact, necessary? Is it the right policy? And I would raise questions about a lot of this stuff in the race and gender area, and indeed in the climate area.

The second thing you would say, once you decide what the correct policy is even if it’s a bit radical is, how do I promulgate this in a way that will allow me to progress politically? Because if I don’t progress politically and keep my coalition together and expand it, the radical thing that I apparently want to do won’t happen. Right? You always have to make compromises. You always have to take cognizance of the level of popularity at any given time that the radical policy or quasi-radical policy you stand for has, and you have to negotiate politics on that basis.

So I think both things are important. A, the substantive judgment, and then B, the political reality. So you have to take cognizance of it to actually get the thing you want to get done, done.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: So Donald Trump wins in 2016. And again, I think people want to make that very unusual, but as you’ve said and we’ve talked about, there are a lot of populist-right figures winning across the world in this era. But he doesn’t have a big popular majority, right? He loses the popular vote.

The Democrats win in 2018. Then in 2020 I think there’s a big view that things like Defund the Police, et cetera, are going to wreck them, but they win in 2020. Maybe — yeah. They went in 2020. And then they win in 2022, despite high inflation and these sort of lingering questions of the Democratic Party. And they’ve won so far most of the special elections in 2023.

And so one question I have about that is that, if this is also toxic why, in your view, is the Democratic Party’s electoral record in this era reasonably good? In fact, much better than it has been in eras where it had more, say, ***working-class*** voters but it wasn’t really competitive at the national level and was not able to hold the Senate, et cetera. Like, how do you how do you see the record in this period matching up with the theory?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, they have a couple of secret weapons at this point, I feel. One is that the way the Democratic coalition has evolved, being increasingly dependent on the votes of educated, active people who pay close attention to politics, I mean, this is great for special elections. It’s great for off-year elections.

In an odd sort of way, Democrats have become low-turnout election specialists. They actually benefit from lower turnout, not higher turnout. And I think that’s going to be a problem for them in 2024, when a lot of peripheral voters are going to be drawn back into the voting pool. And a lot of data suggests these voters are, in fact, less enthusiastic about Biden, more skeptical of a lot of things the Democrats have done, and more open to voting for Trump. So that’s a bit of a problem.

But perhaps the most important secret weapon is, the other side is so screwed up. I mean, I don’t think I probably have to convince a lot of listeners to this podcast the Republican Party is kind of a wacky, dysfunctional party at this point. And given, in fact, how dysfunctional the Republican Party is and how weird they are and how vexed Trump is as a candidate, why is this even in question? Why aren’t the Democrats obviously going to kick their ass in 2024? And I don’t think that’s obvious at all at this point, and that concerns me quite a bit.

EZRA KLEIN: So one of the difficulties here is that if you move towards one group you can begin to lose power or support among another group. So to use one of the examples we’ve been talking about, let’s say the Democratic Party listened to Ruy and said, man, yeah. We’re way too far to the left on climate, and we’re going to show people we’re not. Right? Which is not just shifting the innards of their bills, but somebody’s really going to say this aloud and pick the fight.

And on the one hand that might shift them a little bit more toward some of the voters you’re worried about. On the other hand, Democrats have benefited in recent years from a lot of support among young voters who do care about climate and who do care about some of these other baskets of issues. And if leaders in the Democratic Party picked a fight on this specific set of issues, maybe you pick up here, but don’t you lose strength among some of these voters who have been attracted to you for exactly that reason? And maybe you only pick up a couple of the ***working-class*** voters you’re thinking about and you lose a lot of the young voters who have been an important source of Democratic strength.

How do you think about that question of trade-offs, of how moving from one position to another might pick you something up but it could also cost you just as much or more?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Right. Well, as you point out, it would be a trade-off. And it’s a little hard to comment on it without knowing the content of whatever fight or different policy position we might really be talking about here. But I think the general idea would be that it’s probably more important for you to get in the wheelhouse of more ***working-class*** voters in terms of energy issues and in terms of their raw material concerns about how they’re going to pay their electric bills or whatever than it is to get in the wheelhouse of the climate activists who are most concerned about this.

Yes, young voters are more concerned with climate change than, say, the 45 to 54-year-old cohort and 65-plus cohort. But it doesn’t necessarily follow that for a lot of these voters that climate is their number one issue and they would be completely freaked out if the Democrats actually backed off from any of their current commitments or softened any of their approaches to these issues. That’s not clear to me at all. I think the Democrats have a lot of problems with young voters. The issue of climate is only one of them at this point. And my judgment about that trade-off is that it would, on net, be good for the Democrats.

I mean, really talking about people who would back off on climate if the Democrats softened a bit, I suppose who just wouldn’t turn out? I don’t know. Would they maybe vote for R.F.K.? I don’t know. It’s a little hard, again, without the context of an actual policy change or policy fight. But my judgment is that the nature of that trade-off would be beneficial for the Democrats. They would lose some, but they’d gain more.

And I can’t prove that because we don’t really have a specific policy here we’re talking about or a specific fight we’re talking about, but I think this would be a trade-off well worth experimenting with. And we’ll see what the Democrats do in the future. They may actually have to entertain this based on some of the trends we’re seeing in other industrialized countries.

EZRA KLEIN: The other thing that brings up for me is this question I think Democrats have to face and Republicans have to face alike, which is that it’s proving in this era very, very difficult for parties to not be captured by their own base. Right? So a lot of what is in your book, a lot of your argument here — I mean, I think you actually align with the things you are saying politically. Right? You’re not saying, in general, I believe X radical things are great, but they’re just bad politics and the Democratic Party shouldn’t do them. I think it’s sort of clear that you have an alignment between what you think the good politics and the good policy is.

But you could imagine a world where that wasn’t true. Right? And you’re saying, OK, move on all these things. Right? Even though you want them, move on them. But it’s been striking to me how hard that is for parties. So the Republican Party can’t even move off of the position that the 2020 election was stolen. They’ve proven really unable to make strategic decisions as a party that would potentially lead to an easier election for them in 2024.

I mean, another way of saying what you were saying is, like, Joe Biden’s 81 and polling at, depending on the day, 37. The Republican Party should stomp to win in 2024, but because they’re going to nominate a bunch of wild candidates including Donald Trump, they may well lose. How do you think about that relationship right now between parties and their base? Because parties feel — even as partisanship is fairly strong, parties feel quite weak.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Yeah. No, that’s a very good question. And I do think it sort of highlights something, as you say, both parties are going to have to deal with. The difficulty of separating out their policy and their political brand and their strategy from what their most fervent supporters would prefer, and the fervent supporters who are on social media, whose voices are loud, who provide a ton of donations and set the tone for the party.

Clearly that’s not as functional and desirable for a political party that wants to maximize its electoral potential and its coalition as a strategy might be that took account of the views of the base but realized it needed to appeal to a much broader part of the electorate and, in fact, some of what their most fervent activists want are really bad ideas and really sets limits on their ability to put that coalition together. How do you break out of that?

I think someone basically has to come up and read the market signals and provide a different kind of politics that gets out of this endless cycle of polarized conflict between the parties. But I do think that’s sort of a shock to the system that is necessary to get us out of where we are.

EZRA KLEIN: One of the things I think about when you say signal — like, this gets back to the part of this I’m not nihilistic about. I don’t think party reputations, the sense people have of a party, is based on the innards and sometimes not even the direction of policy. For a bunch of different reasons, I just think that the amount people know about policy, feel from policy, are able to track back from policy is much less than I would like it to be, as a policy guy. If I thought it were much more, I would feel much more sanguine on a bunch of issues.

I do think you can change a party’s vibe though. I do think you can change its character. It tends, though, I think, to work in the attentional space, not the policy space. So I don’t know how many people really know anything about Joe Biden’s industrial policy, no matter how well or how poorly it ends up working.

What Trump was very effective at doing was, by being as confrontational and outrageous as he was, including with elements of the Republican Party, attacking the Bushes for starting the Iraq War and attacking the party for trying to cut Medicare and attacking free trade deals — it was so obvious that he was different, that he could be believed to be different. And he lost people on that belief who went to the Democratic party. He won people as those beliefs changed, who went to him. But he worked through the attentional space much more so than through the policy space where — I mean, quite famously his policies were often very different than things he said on the campaign trail in 2016.

I think Barack Obama shifted the nature of the party, in part just by being who he was, in part by being the first Black president and a Democrat. I mean, he did it through policy a little bit, too. But who he was, the energy he gave off, I think, shifted the party.

And so that, to me, is what this would end up looking like in your theory, or in any other. You need a president, a party leader who seems different and who is willing to pick certain fights that make them look different. But it has to be very high-attention. I mean, I think in some ways that you were sort of describing somebody who had aesthetically looked to me like John Fetterman, at least prior to his stroke, who I sometimes think is interesting here because on the one hand Fetterman struck me as a candidate who was really creating a ***working-class*** aesthetic within the Democratic party. But on the other hand, on a lot of things that you think about — very liberal on criminal justice reform, very liberal on climate, very liberal on a bunch of these dynamics — but the who he was, the how he came off really mattered. And even with the stroke, he ended up being the only Democrat to flip a Senate seat in 2022.

So how do you think of the Fetterman example, both in terms of seeming different than other Democrats, breaking through in that way, but also not really moving to the right on policy almost at all?

RUY TEIXEIRA: Well, I mean, that may be changing though. I mean, famously he has said, I am not a progressive. That’s really not where I’m coming from. I think it’s actually, like, a really bad idea when the population of Pittsburgh shows up on the border every month to get into the United States. We really need to do something about border security. He’s been very sort of intransigent on supporting Israel as opposed to joining in with some of the concerns that people oriented toward Palestine have been doing. He sort of — I mean, these are fights he’s picked with certain elements of the progressive left within his own party. And we’ll see if he picks other fights.

But I actually agree with you, Ezra, that picking those kinds of fights that are high-profile issues that sort of have this broad resonance but aren’t like super-granular policy stuff and certainly aren’t about industrial policy, is probably the kind of thing that some politician who resets the tone for the Democratic party would have to do. So I think Fetterman’s definitely a guy to watch on this point.

And it’s interesting to note that since he’s really incredibly popular in Pennsylvania — it’s like an 80 percent approval rating. So to the extent to which he’s alienated people by sort of taking this stance, it doesn’t seem to have done much harm to him politically. There aren’t very many people out there saying, oh my god, he said these things about immigration. I can’t support him anymore. I mean, they’re not there. So that’s interesting to note, that there is perhaps more degrees of freedom than a lot of Democratic politicians think in terms of taking some of these positions and picking some of these fights.

I mean, the progressive left and its associated activist groups and the shadow party John and I talk about in our book, they punch way above their weight among actual voters. And to some extent they’re a paper tiger, and I think Fetterman is calling them out in some ways, and that’s probably a good thing.

EZRA KLEIN: I think the thing that interests me so much about Fetterman though, is the necessity of what the — what I will call the aesthetic, though I want to make sure people don’t take that negatively. I just think the aesthetic dimension of politics really matters, what people seem like, how they look, how they present. I wonder if you could do what he’s doing and make it stick if you didn’t seem the way he seems?

Which is to say that, there are a lot of politicians in the Democratic party who have his basket of issue views or, in fact, have his basket of issue views and are well to the right of him. I mean, the things that he says on border security, on Israel, I would call them closer to mainstream views in the Democratic Party than they are to anything well to the right of the Democratic Party. But nobody really cares when Mark Warner makes that argument. It just isn’t that important to them, because Mark Warner feels like the Democratic party. He’s a former tech executive. He was high up in the Democratic Party and its actual infrastructure.

And so I wonder if some of where your book nets out and a thing that I often think about is that just part of the issue is that, as the Democratic Party becomes compositionally different, it picks candidates who kind of seem like the elite of the Democratic Party. Right? Very highly educated. I mean, people got all over themselves because Pete Buttigieg spoke all these languages and was a Rhodes Scholar and taught himself — what was it, like, Norwegian or Icelandic or something to read a book? And that appealed to people. Right? That appealed to a certain kind of Democrat.

Part of what is happening here, even if you put policy to the side, is that a more educated party goes for a more educated vibe. And some of the great Democratic politicians in different ways were able to merge those two dynamics. Bill Clinton was a Rhodes Scholar with this very down-home dynamic. Barack Obama was the editor of the Harvard Law Review but also had a whole tradition in the Black church.

And that the thing that Democrats are struggling with, it seems to me maybe even increasingly, is pulling from a wider pool of candidates. Because if voters don’t see themselves in you, it almost doesn’t matter what you say after that. They’re not really going to think you’re their kind of person.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Yeah. I mean, Fetterman is kind of like a walking shock to the system. I mean, he does — that aesthetic, I think, is very important. I think that’s a very fair point. And I think Democrats probably need to have a bit more cognizance of how they appear to people, and especially the kind of people who look at your typical hyper-educated, buttoned up Democratic candidate who speaks a zillion languages and think, what does this person have to say to me? They probably look down on me.

Getting past that barrier where you can get a voter to listen to your broad points about what you stand for without taking one look at you and the way you talk and think, this is not a person who’s on my side who shares my values and who is like me in any way — I think that’s really important, and I completely agree with that.

EZRA KLEIN: I think that’s a good place to end. So always our final question, what are three books you would recommend to the audience?

RUY TEIXEIRA: A, I would recommend a “Political Cleavages And Social Inequalities” by Thomas Piketty, et al., “A Study Of 50 Democracies,” because all the political trends and demographic trends we’ve talked about on this podcast today are detailed with copious data in this marvelous compendium of studies. So I totally recommend that.

I’d also recommend “Visions Of Inequality” by Branko Milanovic, “From The French Revolution To The End Of The Cold War,” that just recently came out. And this is a fabulous book for understanding how views of inequality have changed over time, seen through the lens of a lot of economic giants who kind of set the tone for our understanding of inequality over time and how that evolved up until, as I said, the end of the Cold War and even getting a little bit into the way we are today, when inequality studies are, in a sense, enjoying a big renaissance. So I think that’s really a fantastic book to take a look at.

But I think I’ll take the opportunity here to — I’m a bit of an evangelist for this book. It’s called “House Of Government” by Yuri Slezkine. And it’s a incredible, brilliant book about — I mean, it centers in a way — well, in the title the “house of government” was the big house built on the embankment near the Kremlin where all the apparatchiks lived in the ’30s under Stalin. But what the book does is, it’s this panorama of oral history, of architectural studies, of literary analysis, of memoirs, of incredible stuff just that paints this portrait of how the Soviet Union came into being. Who were these people who made this happen? What did they think? How did it affect the way they did everything, from their views of art and literature to their views of politics to their personal relationships with each other? I just can’t recommend this book highly enough.

It’s 1,000 pages, but I consider it one of the most brilliant books I’ve ever read. And I would almost go so far as to say, you can’t really understand the Soviet Union until you’ve read this book.

EZRA KLEIN: Ruy Teixeira, thank you very much.

RUY TEIXEIRA: Hey, thanks for having me, Ezra.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: 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. And special Thanks to Sonia Herrero.

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[***A Mayor’s Crisis Stirs Hope for Delayed Street Projects***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D73-57X1-DXY4-X0BV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Ana LeyAna Ley is a Times reporter covering New York City&amp;#8217;s mass transit system and the millions of passengers who use it.

**Highlight:** Mayor Eric Adams has stalled plans to build bus and bicycle lanes. With his leadership under threat, the projects’ supporters see an opening.

**Body**

Mayor Eric Adams has stalled plans to build bus and bicycle lanes. With his leadership under threat, the projects’ supporters see an opening.

Ever since Mayor Eric Adams took office, his administration has been known to stall projects that would set aside a greater share of New York City’s crowded streets for pedestrians, bicyclists and bus riders.

These sorts of proposals often draw passionate support from transit advocates and the city’s own urban planners. But in a megalopolis where the use of every inch of public space is fiercely contested, consensus is rarely possible.

Two years ago, the mayor’s chief aide, Ingrid Lewis-Martin, reintroduced cars to an eight-block stretch in Fort Greene, Brooklyn, that had been reserved for pedestrians. Last year, Mr. Adams’s administration watered down a proposal to prioritize bus traffic along Fordham Road in the Bronx. And in July, the mayor, who during his campaign for office vowed to help improve bus service, deflected criticism that he was delaying a major bus-lane project on Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn.

Now, Mr. Adams and some of his closest advisers — those who have not resigned — are trying to run New York while they are at the center of several corruption investigations. And those who have championed changes to the city’s streets are sensing an opportunity.

Transit advocates and some rank-and-file officials in the city’s Department of Transportation are hoping that their policy priorities will have a better chance of navigating City Hall with the Adams administration focused on its own survival.

It’s a surge of opportunistic optimism that gained steam when several seemingly stuck projects lurched forward.

In a reversal, a plan to remove car lanes from a section of McGuinness Boulevard in Brooklyn was restored earlier this month after it had been cut back last year. Ms. Lewis-Martin had been the plan’s most powerful detractor, having [*pressed Mr. Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html) to scale back the plan after it was opposed by influential Democratic donors.

“Ingrid Lewis-Martin was a big obstacle to some of these street projects moving forward — she’s certainly a little distracted right now, as is the mayor,” said Sara Lind, a co-executive director of Open Plans, a nonprofit that supports a more pedestrian- and cyclist-friendly city.

“It’s exciting to see that maybe the D.O.T. feels empowered right now, and it’s going to move ahead with some of this stuff,” Ms. Lind added.

In a text message, Ms. Lewis-Martin declined to respond to questions about the criticism.

City Hall officials did not respond to questions about how the investigations could be affecting the work of the Transportation Department, but a spokeswoman, Liz Garcia, said in a statement that the administration was “making it easier, safer and more affordable to get around New York City — especially for young people and ***working-class*** New Yorkers.”

She added that in August, the city and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority had expanded bus-mounted camera enforcement against cars that were blocking or double-parking near bus stops. She also said that the city was moving forward with a [*plan to build more than 40 miles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html) of new protected paths for cyclists and pedestrians.

Other projects that got a green light include additional bike lanes for Bedford Avenue in Brooklyn and on the Avenue of the Americas in Manhattan, and new paths for pedestrians and bicyclists along 16 miles of Queens shoreline.

The Department of Transportation declined to address whether the crisis unfolding at City Hall had any impact on the progress of the projects. But a person familiar with the internal workings of the department, which is responsible for maintaining and building bus and bike lanes, said the timing was just chance.

Three department officials who spoke to The Times on the condition of anonymity out of fear of retribution said that many of the agency’s employees had spent years drawing up plans for more bus and bike lanes, only to see them languish. The officials said that they hoped that Ydanis Rodriguez, the transportation commissioner, and Meera Joshi, the deputy mayor for operations, would use any opening presented by the crisis in City Hall to take bolder action.

Ms. Joshi said that the mayor had made “several organizational changes” that helped the city deliver projects more efficiently.

“We remain focused on making New York City a more walkable, bikeable and commuter-friendly city,” she wrote in an email. “City government continues to operate as normal for New Yorkers.”

Mr. Rodriguez declined to comment, but Vincent Barone, a spokesman for the department, said that officials were “laser focused on delivering for New Yorkers every day.” He added, “Over the last two years, we’ve implemented record amounts of pedestrian space, including Open Streets, shared streets, plazas and permanent outdoor dining, as well as protected bike lanes, and we look forward to keeping up this momentum.”

Federal prosecutors obtained an [*indictment of Mr. Adams on Sept. 25*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html) on [*charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html) that include bribery conspiracy, fraud and soliciting of illegal foreign campaign donations. Many top officials’ phones have been seized and their homes searched, and some have been charged with crimes. [*Seven senior officials have left*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html) their jobs. Mr. Adams, who is up for re-election in 2025, has said that he is innocent.

Of course, pushing projects through City Hall is not the only obstacle, and transportation officials must often contend with skepticism from the public. Residents are often bitterly divided on matters that involve precious space on New York’s streets and sidewalks, frequently inundating government officials with complaints over even the smallest changes.

To help sway the public, Transportation Department officials periodically meet with transit advocates, a longstanding practice that has continued during the upheaval at City Hall.

Many transit activists hope that the added scrutiny at City Hall will amplify their lobbying. The Riders Alliance, a transit advocacy group, issued a sharp statement a day after [*Mr. Adams was indicted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html). “We hope Mayor Eric Adams has time to finally consider the needs of bus riders stuck on Fordham Road and Flatbush Avenue as he awaits his day in court,” said Betsy Plum, the group’s executive director.

On Thursday, the New York Public Interest Research Group, a nonprofit organization, [*held a hike along a section of Flatbush Avenue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html) to push for the street’s bus plan.

Transit advocates and Transportation Department insiders, however, also fear that a City Hall in disarray might instead further slow the implementation of new projects.

“It’s a very real risk that the mayor circles the wagons,” said Danny Pearlstein, a spokesman with the Riders Alliance.

While the M.T.A., the agency that runs the subway and bus networks, is operated by the state, the streets are controlled by the mayor, and he has the power to give buses and bicycles more space to move freely on them.

City buses provide more than a million rides each weekday on streets filled with double-parked cars and delivery trucks, among other choke points. New York has the [*slowest buses in the nation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html) — averaging eight miles per hour.

Mr. Adams said he would build 150 miles of bus lanes [*in four years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html). But the city built only 14.7 miles of new bus lanes last year and 5.4 miles the year before. This year, the city is on track to build just seven miles of bus lanes, [*according to an analysis by Streetsblog*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html).

Mr. Adams also promised to install 300 miles of protected bike lanes by the end of his term. His administration has built 69 miles, achieving [*23 percent of that goal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/nyregion/eric-adams-buses-nyc.html) with a year left in his term.

Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

PHOTO: A transportation plan to limit traffic and improve bus service on East Fordham Road in the Bronx has been slow to materialize. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THALIA JUAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A32.

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[***Best Sellers: Audio Nonfiction: Sunday, August 18th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS2-RTC1-JBG3-600D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 656 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: Audio Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 |  | 3 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (HarperAudio) 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. Read by the author. 6 hours, 49 minutes unabridged. |
| 2 | 1 | 5 | THE ANXIOUS GENERATION, by Jonathan Haidt. (Penguin Audio) A look at the mental health impacts that a phone-based life has on children. Read by Sean Pratt and the author. 10 hours, 33 minutes unabridged. |
| 3 |  | 3 | NUCLEAR WAR, by Annie Jacobsen. (Penguin Audio) The author of ?Operation Paperclip? portrays possible outcomes in the minutes following a nuclear missile launch. Read by the author. 11 hours, 20 minutes unabridged. |
| 4 | 8 | 3 | CHAOS, by Tom O'Neill and Dan Piepenbring. (Hachette Audio) A reassessment of events surrounding the murders committed by Charles Manson?s followers. Read by Kevin Stillwell. 16 hours, 15 minutes unabridged. |
| 5 | 6 | 45 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin Audio) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. Read by Sean Pratt. 16 hours, 17 minutes unabridged. |
| 6 | 3 | 3 | THE DEMON OF UNREST, by Erik Larson. (Random House Audio) A portrayal of the months between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the beginning of the Civil War. Read by Will Patton and the author. 17 hours, 19 minutes unabridged. |
| 7 | 4 | 17 | OUTLIVE, by Peter Attia with Bill Gifford. (Random House Audio) A look at recent scientific research on aging and longevity. Read by Peter Attia. 17 hours, 8 minutes unabridged. |
| 8 | 9 | 46 | GREENLIGHTS, by Matthew McConaughey. (Random House Audio) The Academy Award-winning actor shares snippets from the diaries he kept over 35 years. Read by the author. 6 hours, 42 minutes unabridged. |
| 9 | 2 | 2 | ON CALL, by Anthony S. Fauci. (Penguin Audio) The physician-scientist and immunologist chronicles his six decades of public service, including his work during the AIDS crisis and the Covid-19 pandemic. Read by the author. 19 hours, 13 minutes unabridged. |
| 10 |  | 1 | ASK NOT, by Maureen Callahan. (Hachette Audio) The author of ?American Predator? puts forward a history of the Kennedy family that describes the abuse of women in its orbit. Read by Gabra Zackman. 11 hours, 18 minutes unabridged. |
| 11 | 7 | 24 | I'M GLAD MY MOM DIED, by Jennette McCurdy. (Simon & Schuster Audio) The actress and filmmaker describes her eating disorders and difficult relationship with her mother. Read by the author. 6 hours, 25 minutes unabridged. |
| 12 | 13 | 70 | EXTREME OWNERSHIP, by Jocko Willink and Leif Babin. (Macmillan Audio) Applying the principles of Navy SEALs leadership training to any organization. Read by the authors. 8 hours, 15 minutes unabridged. |
| 13 |  | 4 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin Audio) 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. Read by the author. 9 hours, 26 minutes unabridged. |
| 14 |  | 9 | ELON MUSK, by Walter Isaacson. (Simon & Schuster Audio) The author of ?The Code Breaker? traces Musk?s life and summarizes his work on electric vehicles, private space exploration and artificial intelligence. Read by Jeremy Bobb. 20 hours, 27 minutes unabridged. |
| 15 | 11 | 3 | BITS AND PIECES, by Whoopi Goldberg. (Blackstone Audio) The EGOT winner shares personal stories about her mother and older brother and the struggles they faced. Read by the author. 6 hours, 43 minutes unabridged. |

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Greatest Cancel Culture Warrior in America Is Donald Trump; David french***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG4-NRJ1-JBG3-62HR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 21, 2024 Thursday 11:02 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1956 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:** Sure, the left can be nuts, but have you looked at the right lately?

**Body**

There is something I want to get off my chest.

In the days since the election, I’ve read thousands of words of Democratic introspection. This was the election that repudiated cancel culture, campus protests and identity politics. This was the election that transformed the debate about everything from trans people’s participation in sports to the use of niche ideological words like “Latinx.”

According to this commentary, the lesson is clear: Democratic identity politics and the [*Democratic Party’s move to the left*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) cost the party ***working-class*** voters and alienated the great American middle. If Democrats want to win again, they have to shed their ideological baggage, meet American voters where they are and stop scolding them when they’re puzzled by the ever-shifting ideological demands (and language policing) of the very online left.

I agree with much of this. Cancel culture ([*properly defined*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020)) is toxic. White Democrats, in particular, veered [*to the left*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) of Black Democrats. There has been an intense amount of intolerance in far-left spaces, and not just on campuses. There is a need for a reckoning.

But let’s be very clear about the course of this election. One candidate leaned away from the extremism of her base, and she lost. The other candidate leaned into the worst excesses of his movement, and he won.

Kamala Harris spent her short campaign running away from the excesses of the left. She abandoned her most left-wing positions. She wasn’t using left-wing buzzwords, and rather than cancel ideological opposition, she tried to create the largest possible tent, stretching from Bernie Sanders and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez to Liz Cheney and Adam Kinzinger.

Donald Trump’s campaign, by contrast, reveled in its most vicious language. It’s not necessary to recount every outrage, but we can’t forget that Trump and his allies spent days falsely accusing Haitian migrants of eating ducks and pets. My news colleagues accurately described Trump’s election-closing Madison Square Garden rally as a “[*carnival of grievances, misogyny and racism*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020).”

MAGA’s problems extend well beyond the campaign. In fact, every dysfunction you’ve seen on the far left has emerged on the far right, and the far right hasn’t been repudiated; it’s been empowered. Dissenting Americans should brace themselves for an assault on free speech, extreme intolerance and a vicious form of cancel culture that includes an avalanche of threats and intimidation.

And make no mistake, the most intolerant campus activists in America could take notes from MAGA. In the past eight years, we’ve seen MAGA threaten and intimidate [*election workers*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) and [*school board members*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020). We’ve seen MAGA engage in its [*own forms of cancel culture*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020). It targets critics for termination and public humiliation, and when red America became Trumpified, it embarked on crackdown after crackdown on free speech.

In Florida, for example, Ron DeSantis’s administration enacted unconstitutional limitations on the [*free speech of social media companies*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020), [*university professors*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) and [*private corporations*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020). Across the United States, activists initiated a wave of efforts to [*remove books from school libraries*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020). So-called anti-critical-race-theory bills — which often seek to ban instruction in a set of purportedly divisive concepts regarding race — [*proliferated in red states*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020), with some so poorly written that teachers would even quote Martin Luther King Jr. [*at their own risk*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020).

In my home county in Tennessee, Moms for Liberty activists even used the state’s anti-critical-race-theory law as a pretext for (unsuccessfully) attempting to [*ban the book “Ruby Bridges Goes to School”*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) from the elementary school curriculum. Bridges was the 6-year-old Black girl who desegregated New Orleans public schools, and her courage is memorialized in Norman Rockwell’s famous painting “[*The Problem We All Live With*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020),” which shows her walking to school, flanked by U.S. marshals, with a racial slur scrawled across a wall.

MAGA hostility to L.G.B.T.Q. expression culminated in a series of bills aimed at [*drag queens*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) and [*L.G.B.T.Q.-related speech in public schools*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020).

At the height of the pandemic, even speech in support of Covid vaccines could carry a cost. My friend Dan Darling was [*fired from a senior position at National Religious Broadcasters*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020), a powerful advocacy group for Christian media, after he went on “Morning Joe” and respectfully urged Christians to get vaccinated against Covid.

That’s not all. If you’re alarmed by social media mobs and vicious online rhetoric, MAGA perfected the art of calling critics of its speech codes [*groomers*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) and implying they’re [*pro-pedophile*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020).

And while MAGA mocked the term “Latinx” as a silly and offensive virtue signal, it cheered as Trump declared that the Biden administration’s acceptance of immigrants was “[*poisoning the blood*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020)” of our country. I dislike the term “Latinx,” as do a vast majority of Latinos, but it’s far less offensive or empirically disgusting than the idea that people entering the country seeking a better life were somehow poisoning our blood.

There are strange, bespoke ideologies within the left, but the right more than holds its own in that category, too. From Tucker Carlson’s documentary on masculinity that featured heroic images of [*testicle tanning*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) to the bizarre Christian nationalists who want to [*repeal the 19th Amendment*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) (which granted women the right to vote) to the junk science of [*Robert F. Kennedy Jr.*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) and [*Dr. Oz*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020), the right has become the home for multiple strands of conspiracy quackery.

It’s important to chronicle MAGA’s excesses, but it’s also important to understand why its intolerance and bizarre ideas weren’t ballot box poison. If Americans hate intolerance and bullying, why did a critical mass of Americans vote against the party that was moving away from its extremes?

I have a few theories:

First, don’t make this too complicated. This election was mainly about prices and the border. Discussions of wokeness and cancel culture are more or less beside the point. They’re topics more for the engaged elite and not for the mass of Americans who voted on Nov. 5.

[*I largely agree*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) with this analysis when it comes to explaining the election outcome, but not when it comes to explaining the emerging realignment of the parties. I agree with my colleague Ezra Klein, [*who posted on X*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020): “Friends don’t let friends debate the future of the Democratic Party without being clear on whether they’re debating the 2024 election or the 2016-2024 shifts in the electorate. The former you can explain with inflation. The latter you can’t.”

At the same time, it’s been fascinating to watch Republicans gain strength even as they’ve driven down their own ideological and cultural cul-de-sacs.

Second, if it’s not just the economy, then is it also civic ignorance? Do voters even know how strange and intolerant parts of the right have become? One of the most fascinating elements of the election was the stark information divide.

According to a poll from the left-leaning group [*Data for Progress*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020), Harris won among the voters who said they paid attention to the news “a great deal” or “a lot,” while Trump won by decisive margins among those who paid attention “a moderate amount,” “a little” or “not at all.” Trump won those who don’t pay attention at all by 51 to 32.

[*An April NBC News poll*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) (conducted before President Biden dropped out of the race) showed that Biden was the choice for people who get their news from newspapers by 70 to 21. Trump was winning those who don’t follow political news 53 to 27. You can’t vote against actions or ideas that you don’t know a thing about.

Third — and most ominously — Americans are turning their backs on liberty, tolerance and decency. America possesses a unique culture, but it does not possess a unique people. We’re prone to the same sins and flaws as the people of any other nation, and protecting the rights and dignity of our opponents is just not something that comes naturally to us. It’s a learned behavior, modeled by leaders, and when leaders stop modeling tolerance and decency, Americans are prone to backslide to fear and animosity.

The founders understood this reality clearly. That’s why they kept concentrated power out of the hands of a single person and created separate branches of government. That’s why they removed civil liberties from majoritarian control through the Bill of Rights. But throughout history, we’ve been tempted to reject their wisdom, blow through constitutional safeguards and suppress the freedoms of people we despise.

In this analysis, Trump’s fury and MAGA’s intolerance are assets, but only if they’re targeting the right people. Americans don’t hate cancel culture in the abstract; they hate being canceled. At the same time, all too many of us are more than happy to cancel others, especially if we deem their ideas dangerous or immoral.

American free speech jurisprudence and modern American free speech culture are relatively recent developments. [*It wasn’t until 1925*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) that the Supreme Court held that the First Amendment limited the actions of state and local governments. Modern free speech jurisprudence began to emerge only [*during the civil rights movement*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) and the turmoil of the 1960s and 1970s (a fact the left often forgets, to its own detriment).

In short, Americans have a long history of actually liking censorship, and it requires constant public education to teach them the value of protecting the speech of their opponents. If only one party — or neither party — takes up that mantle, we can’t expect Americans to innately seek tolerance.

Some other things I did

[*My Sunday column*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020) took a look at Trump’s selections of Matt Gaetz for attorney general, Pete Hegseth for secretary of defense, Robert F. Kennedy Jr. for secretary of health and human services and Tulsi Gabbard for director of national intelligence and asked the question: Is Trump already planting the seeds of his own failure?

The corrupt, incompetent and extremist men and women he’s appointing to many of the most critical posts in his cabinet are direct threats to the well-being of the country, but they’re also political threats to Trump and to his populist allies.

To understand why, it’s important to remember a cardinal reality about Trump’s political career. He has now won two general elections when he was the only alternative to an unsatisfactory status quo, and he lost the one when he was the unsatisfactory status quo. If he can’t govern well, his populist partisan realignment will come apart before it can truly begin.

[*On Friday*](https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awokening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020), I joined my colleague Ross Douthat on “Matter of Opinion,” also to discuss Trump’s cabinet picks. Gaetz, in particular, puts Senate Republicans in a bind:

Ross, this is going to be a big test for Senate Republicans. The question is: How much are they going to view themselves as Team Trump versus how much are they going to adopt the role envisioned for them in the process by the founders as an independent check on Trump? And that’s the question. And right now, I’m not that optimistic that they’re going to act as a check, as opposed to act as team members.

And so the other thing that I want to mention about him, just real briefly: There’s no indication from Matt Gaetz’s career that he is just even competent enough to run an organization like this. One of the reasons the American people are so negative about American institutions is because of a sheer lack of competence that is consistently displayed in American institutions.

And the last name that I would think of to, say, right the ship on a massive, complex organization, to just make it competent and good at its job, that last name that comes to my mind is Matt Gaetz.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by George Douglas; source photograph by Bettmann/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2024

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[***For Black Women, ‘America Has Revealed to Us Her True Self’; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC5-3561-DXY4-X51J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2024 Thursday 11:34 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1615 words

**Byline:** Erica L. Green and Maya KingErica L. Green is a White House correspondent, covering President Biden and his administration.

**Highlight:** Kamala Harris’s resounding defeat affirmed the worst of what many Black women believed about their country, even as some looked to the future with a wary determination.

**Body**

Donald Trump has won the 2024 presidential election. [*Follow live updates here*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/08/us/trump-election-news).

From the moment Kamala Harris entered the presidential race, Black women could see the mountaintop.

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

The painful answer arrived this week.

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

Many Democrats saw the brutal political environment for the party, peppered with anger about President Biden’s leadership, as more to blame for Ms. Harris’s crushing loss than the double-edged sword of racism and sexism. But others, reflecting on a campaign devoid of controversy or obvious missteps by a qualified candidate who almost never held out her race or gender as reasons to vote for her, found it difficult to ignore suspicions about why Mr. Trump won with such ease.

“This isn’t a loss for Black women, it’s a loss for the country,” said Waikinya Clanton, the founder of the organizing group Black Women for Kamala. “America has revealed to us her true self,” she added, “and we have to decide what we do with her from here.”

It was the moment that Black female political leaders and organizers had feared most and worked hardest to avoid. Across battleground states, the Democrats organizing fund-raisers, door-knocking and other get-out-the-vote efforts were often Black women, motivated to campaign for a presidential candidate who was not just a member of their party but one of their own.

The tens of millions of voters who supported Ms. Harris saw her candidacy as a chance to usher in a new generation of leadership. (In one small bright spot for the party, two Black women will be in the next Senate for the first time ever.) But for Black women, the Democratic Party’s most active and loyal voting bloc, it was something bigger: a hard-fought recognition of the work they had done for a party that often failed to support them.

“The party has always wanted our output, not necessarily our input,” Marcia Fudge, a former housing and urban development secretary under Mr. Biden, said in an interview this year. “We have for a very long time been the people who did the work, but never been asked to sit at the table.”

‘It is not over, because we never go away.’

From the start of her first presidential campaign, Ms. Harris’s supporters saw her as the redemption for their party and vindication for the Black women who had come before her.

During her 2019 bid, she modeled much of her political persona after Shirley Chisholm, the first Black woman elected to Congress, in 1968, and the first Black woman to run for a major party’s presidential nomination, in 1972. Many of Ms. Chisholm’s acolytes became Ms. Harris’s advisers and closest confidants during her second presidential campaign.

But even Ms. Chisholm predicted a slow walk to progress. That was, in part, because of the intense sexism that she faced from men of all races, who believed that her campaign was too tailored to issues favoring women, people of color and the poor.

“This ‘woman thing’ is so deep,” [*she said of her presidential run*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/08/us/trump-election-news). “I’ve found it out in this campaign, if I never knew it before.”

“That I am a national figure because I was the first person in 192 years to be at once a congressman, Black and a woman proves, I would think, that our society is not yet either just or free,” she wrote in her autobiography, “Unbought and Unbossed.”

Maya Wiley, the chief executive of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, said there was deep anger about the license that Mr. Trump’s victory had given to continue to undercut Black women in politics, down to [*the derogatory ways*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/08/us/trump-election-news) he and his allies have described female leaders.

“Not only have we always been on the menu, but they have been eating us, and it’s been happening for generations,” Ms. Wiley said. “And what this represents for Black women right now is it has deepened and been given significantly more permission.”

Still, she added, “it is not over, because we never go away.”

The underappreciated heart of a party

Mr. Trump’s overwhelming victory leaves Democrats with a lot of work to do.

[*Nearly the entire country*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/08/us/trump-election-news) shifted sharply to the right as it returned him to power. Democrats watched as he won alarmingly high shares of the vote in blue states: 47 percent in Virginia and New Jersey. 44 percent in New York. 43 percent in Connecticut.

The night represented a striking rebuke of a Democratic Party that has grown more aligned with college-educated, wealthier Americans, and struggled to maintain support from ***working-class*** voters and people of color.

As the party picks up the pieces, preparing to oppose a second Trump administration and looking ahead to 2026 and 2028, Black women are likely to again play a central role. Long hailed as the backbone of the Democratic Party, they have supported liberal candidates in overwhelming numbers, organized political operations on the ground and fueled victory after victory.

Yet Black women running for office have often [*said that the party is not investing adequately*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/08/us/trump-election-news) in their campaigns, particularly those for higher positions like Senate and governor (there has still never been a Black female governor). Some candidates have argued that this dearth in support has been the difference between winning and losing in close races.

Ms. Harris had plenty of investment, hauling in more than [*$1 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/08/us/trump-election-news), but the circumstances of her candidacy were far from ideal.

Overnight, she had to resuscitate a dying campaign and re-energize a despairing Democratic base that had fallen into despondency over Mr. Biden’s poor debate performance and sinking political standing.

She stayed fiercely loyal to a boss who had grown widely disliked, and who [*at times privately doubted her chances*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/08/us/trump-election-news). She stayed a cheerleader for the administration even though some of its leaders spent the first half of her term undermining her to the point of rendering her invisible and ineffective. And she fired up a party whose leaders had only in July talked quietly about bypassing her to put a white man at the top of the ticket.

Ms. Harris worked feverishly to introduce herself and sell her political vision to an angry and exhausted American public — even as she [*struggled to separate herself*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/08/us/trump-election-news) from Mr. Biden. She built a multiracial, bipartisan coalition of supporters and allies.

And it wasn’t enough.

“She ran a damn good race, and we voted for white nationalism,” Melanie L. Campbell, the chair of the Power of the Ballot Action Fund, an advocacy group focused on policies for Black Americans, ​said of American voters. Ms. Campbell​ also served on a committee of women who advised Mr. Biden in choosing Ms. Harris as his running mate.

“This level of vote was not because they were worried about grocery prices,” she said of voters. “They were worried about white privilege, white status, and sent the message that a multiracial democracy is fine as long as they’re at the top.”

As Ms. Harris conceded, she tacitly acknowledged the challenge she had faced.

“Don’t you ever listen when anyone tells you something is impossible because it has never been done before,” she said.

Smaller progress on a disappointing night

There were some signs on Tuesday of political momentum for Black women down the ballot.

Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester of Delaware and Angela Alsobrooks, the Prince George’s County executive in Maryland, both won their races for Senate, giving the chamber two Black women for the first time — a long-sought goal for Black Democrats.

But for Black women in the party, the defeat of Ms. Harris will sting for a long time.

“The vice president said from the very beginning that she was going to be running this race as an underdog, when you have 107 days versus somebody who’s been running for nine years,” Senator Laphonza Butler of California, a close adviser to Ms. Harris, said on Tuesday night as the vice president’s prospects dimmed.

Citing the hundreds of Black women who were running in races across the country, Ms. Butler said that even if Ms. Harris lost, she would have proved to the Democratic Party and to the country that not only were Black women the beating heart of the party, “but we are ready to take our seat at the table.”

“The country better be ready for the future of Black women who are going to continue to show up and demand their seat,” she said.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

PHOTOS: Vice President Kamala Harris’s election-night party was at Howard University in Washington. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAANSI SRIVASTAVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester ran for Senate in Delaware, winning a seat in a safely Democratic state. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINE BREHMAN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK); Angela Alsobrooks won Maryland’s Senate race. It will be the first time two Black women serve in the Senate together. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Democrats have “always wanted our output, not necessarily our input,” said Marcia Fudge, an ex-Biden official. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES); In 1972, Shirley Chisholm became the first Black woman to run for president in a major party. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE LIEN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2024

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[***Some Black Voters Ask, What Have Democrats Done for Us?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD8-HWJ1-JBG3-64T0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1765 words

**Byline:** Troy Closson, Clyde McGrady and Rick RojasTroy Closson is a Times education reporter focusing on K-12 schools.

**Highlight:** In interviews, these voters, especially men, questioned what dividends have come from their loyalty: “I’m just kind of over it all.”

**Body**

In interviews, these voters, especially men, questioned what dividends have come from their loyalty: “I’m just kind of over it all.”

Jamaal Stokes’s quality of life in Milwaukee has declined over the past decade, just as it has for many other Black residents.

He lost his well-paying factory job in the mid-2010s, when his company left town. He spent the next several years toiling in temporary jobs as he searched for stable employment. Mr. Stokes, 44, now works as a security guard at a local supermarket, even as he struggles to afford groceries himself.

This presidential election, he paid little attention to Donald J. Trump or Vice President Kamala Harris, because national politics are “not the answer.”

“So what’s the point?” he asked. “I’m just kind of over it all.”

In the final weeks of the campaign, many Democrats hoped that signs of crumbling support among Black voters would not materialize at the polls.

The historic nature of the campaign, with the possibility of the country electing a Black and Indian American woman as its leader, inspired some confidence.

There was also an expectation that Mr. Trump’s baggage would be poisonous, as he was heavily criticized for trying to discredit Ms. Harris’s racial identity, spreading vicious disinformation about Haitians eating pets and accusing immigrants of taking “Black jobs.”

And for an overwhelming majority of Black Americans, those reasons were more than enough to justify supporting Ms. Harris. But her loss has illuminated a percolating sense of dissatisfaction and an increasingly conspicuous divide within the Black community, as a segment of Black voters rejected her campaign and the message of the Democratic Party more broadly.

Some of those voters, namely ***working-class*** Black men, said they doubted their circumstances would fundamentally change, regardless of who won. The dissatisfaction — evident in urban centers in swing states, like Milwaukee and Philadelphia, as well as remote reaches in the Mississippi Delta — was potent enough to depress turnout in some Democratic strongholds and even flip some majority-Black counties to Mr. Trump.

The outcome was less of a reflection of enthusiasm for Mr. Trump and more of an indication that some Black voters were questioning what dividends, if any, have come from their loyalty to the Democratic Party.

“I think the Democrats have abused us for years,” said Vincent Genous, 50, who lives in Yazoo City, Miss., and followed the guidance he grew up hearing — that the party was his only realistic choice — before he was swayed by Mr. Trump in recent elections.

Even some Harris voters were not enthused. In Philadelphia, David Childs, a 40-year-old vendor in the city’s downtown shopping district, said he would reluctantly vote for her, but that neither candidate really spoke to his concerns, and that he mostly heard about abortion and the southern border.

“Neither one of them is going to affect us down here directly,” he said.

Mr. Childs said he has not seen any money or direct assistance for small businesses like his and that the Biden administration did not do enough to help people like him.

For many Black Americans, the election was “not really a question of a choice between Harris and Trump,” said Christopher Towler, an associate professor of political science at Sacramento State and the director of the Black Voter Project, which studies political attitudes and engagement.

“It was a choice between participating at all or staying home,” Mr. Towler said.

For example, in Milwaukee, the heart of the Black population in Wisconsin, the city’s crucial base of Democratic voters seems to have steadily lost enthusiasm for the party.

The city’s majority Black wards saw a minor partisan shift away from Democrats in recent election cycles, said John D. Johnson, a researcher at Marquette University Law School. But those wards have seen a [*precipitous drop in turnout*](https://law.marquette.edu/assets/community/lubar/posts/MilwaukeeVoterTurnout_3-9-2023.html), which fell to 58 percent when President Biden ran in 2020 from 77 percent during Mr. Obama’s 2012 re-election.

Turnout for Ms. Harris did not appear to plunge even further, according to an initial analysis of election data from Mr. Johnson. But she also did not appear to make up much lost ground.

Mr. Stokes, the security guard, chose to stay home. “I said ‘Let the chips fall where they may,’” he said. “Nothing changes for Black folks, really.”

Some Black voters also voted — or considered voting — for Mr. Trump. In Nash County, N.C., a largely rural county east of Raleigh where roughly 40 percent of residents are Black, voters have sided with the winner of the last four presidential elections — including with Mr. Trump this month.

Linwood Yarborough, 43, who works part time fixing cars, said he thought Ms. Harris was “more for the people.” And he had a boss and others who lobbied for her.

But an uncle, a truck driver in the same county, revealed that he planned to vote Republican. Mr. Yarborough said that his uncle told him that life for Black people had been far better under Mr. Trump’s leadership than it was under President Biden’s.

“Gas prices were down when he was in office; groceries were cheaper,” Mr. Yarborough recalled his uncle saying.

“And I agree with that,” Mr. Yarborough acknowledged.

Mr. Yarborough ended up not voting.

In red states, voters also yearned for change.

Yazoo County, Miss., where Mr. Genous lives, is 60 percent Black. It’s in the poorest stretch of one of the country’s poorest states. Health outcomes have been dire. Yazoo City’s public school system was in such awful condition that it was taken over by the state. Only 12 percent of residents hold a college degree.

And Yazoo County flipped to Mr. Trump in 2024 from Mr. Biden in 2020. In this part of the world, where an inescapable history of slavery, segregation and disenfranchisement has taught many that the promise of America was more an ideal to chase than a reality to safeguard, the arguments that Mr. Trump posed grave peril to democratic institutions could only gain so much traction.

And to Mr. Genous, those arguments were overblown. Mr. Trump said he was not a politician, and he did not sound like one. He said things that were offensive or simply unbelievable — Mr. Genous never thought for a second that Mexico would pay for a border wall. But he was blunt, raw. And more and more, Mr. Genous agreed with his message.

“I just feel like some things need to be said and Trump is going to say it,” said Mr. Genous, who works as a supervisor for a discount retail chain.

Younger generations of Black voters lack the same loyalty to the Democratic Party as baby boomers and Gen Xers, said Alvin B. Tillery Jr., a political science professor at Northwestern who founded a political action committee to focus on Black swing state voters. The allegiance of older voters was often [*forged through the Civil Rights Movement*](https://law.marquette.edu/assets/community/lubar/posts/MilwaukeeVoterTurnout_3-9-2023.html) and from witnessing race relations in the 20th century.

Younger voters, however, need to be sold on their vote for Democrats, Mr. Tillery said, “but the campaign and the party did not do a good job of that. And that’s a big part of why they lost.”

Bobby Jackson, 28, an assistant director at a small private school in Yazoo City, Miss., was skeptical of Mr. Trump. But he was just as unsure about Ms. Harris. He did not know much about her when she entered the race in late July, and still felt as if he didn’t know her by Election Day.

He was put off by the celebrities — Beyoncé, Megan Thee Stallion, Bruce Springsteen and Oprah Winfrey — who endorsed her campaign.

He voted for Ms. Harris, but his enthusiasm for the Democratic Party has waned. He said the party was offering “a lot of promises, but not following through.”

Some younger Black men said that they were also frustrated by Ms. Harris’s emphasis on her law enforcement experience as a prosecutor — part of her appeal to moderate Democrats and disenchanted Republicans.

Ronnell Shaw, 36, lives in a section of Milwaukee’s north side, where incarceration rates are among the highest in the nation.

He said that he has cousins and friends who have faced harassment by the police. Mr. Shaw said that the focus of elected leaders should be on “making up for that history,” rather than “bragging about all the people they locked up.”

At the same time, Mr. Shaw was turned off by Mr. Trump’s brash demeanor and record. So Mr. Shaw, who said that he voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016, opted to sit out of this election.

“Why should I vote for someone who doesn’t care about people who look like me?” Mr. Shaw asked about both candidates.

In a crowded shopping center in Rocky Mount, N.C., the main city in Nash County, Carson Criswell, 35, said that while he voted for Ms. Harris, he was not entirely surprised that she did not receive more support among some Black men.

Voting for a woman of color was exciting, he said. “But the world ain’t always ready for that.”

That sexism has enraged some Black women voters, who are the backbone of the Democratic Party.

Linda Arrington, 59, a longtime resident of Nash County, said that as a Black woman, she never once considered anything other than voting for Ms. Harris.

As a substitute teacher, she said, the Republican goal of eliminating the Department of Education did not sit well with her. And she was anxious about the stability of Social Security under a Trump administration.

Ms. Arrington worried, though, that some younger Black men were too laser focused on the economy. “They don’t understand what will happen with everything else: Education, health care, taxes,” she said. “They’re in for a rude awakening.”

Donna Madden, 52, who identifies as a Black Latina, said she was “terrified” of the fallout.

“It’s like a betrayal,” she said. “It just makes me so mad. Are you really doing your research? Do you understand the type of person you’re actually voting for? What in the world is going on?”

Robert Gebeloff contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett and Susan C. Beachy contributed research.

Robert Gebeloff contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett and Susan C. Beachy contributed research.

PHOTOS: In the election’s final weeks, Democrats hoped that signs of crumbling support among Black voters would not materialize at the polls. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EMILY ELCONIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Linwood Yarborough, 43, said he thought Vice President Kamala Harris was “more for the people,” but ultimately declined to vote. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CORNELL WATSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Bobby Jackson, 28, voted for Ms. Harris, but said the Democrats were offering “a lot of promises, but not following through.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY RORY DOYLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2024

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[***In Michigan, Harris and Trump Fight for Blue-Collar and Arab Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6Y-FYP1-JBG3-62MD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 18, 2024 Friday 01:01 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1276 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas, Michael Gold and Katie GlueckNicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris.

**Highlight:** Campaigning in the battleground on the same day, Kamala Harris cast herself as a friend to union workers while Donald Trump sought to capitalize on anger over the war in Gaza.

**Body**

Campaigning in the battleground on the same day, Kamala Harris cast herself as a friend to union workers while Donald Trump sought to capitalize on anger over the war in Gaza.

Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald J. Trump converged on Michigan on Friday as they fought for the small pool of undecided voters and Arab Americans who could decide a battleground state that has shot toward the top of the priority list for both campaigns.

In Grand Rapids, Lansing and Oakland County, a pivotal Detroit suburb, Ms. Harris made explicit and extended overtures to blue-collar Americans as she campaigned in a state that has historically been [*the heart*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/us/the-2000-campaign-the-labor-vote-michigan-unions-push-hard-for-gore.html) of the nation’s labor movement, and as polls show her struggling with ***working-class*** voters.

“Donald Trump is no friend of labor — let’s be really clear about that, no matter what the noise is out there,” Ms. Harris said in Grand Rapids. She promised to “work with unions to create good-paying jobs, including jobs that do not require a college degree.”

Mr. Trump hit back by promising to revitalize the auto industry through a combination of tax incentives and tariffs. As he was proclaiming at length his fondness for tariffs, his microphone cut out, leaving him visibly frustrated as he paced onstage for nearly 20 minutes.

After the technical difficulties were resolved, Mr. Trump argued that his proposals would bring an economic boom to Detroit, a city he attacked last week and whose continuing rebound he has been skeptical of. He then suggested that Ms. Harris’s tax proposals were tantamount to “economic Armageddon for Detroit.”

Throughout her speech in Grand Rapids, in Kent County, Mich. — a place Mr. Trump won in 2016 and President Biden flipped in 2020 — Ms. Harris was by turns forceful in laying out the grave stakes of the election and almost gleeful in her efforts to cast Mr. Trump as unfit for office.

Appearing to refer to Politico’s reporting that Mr. Trump was dodging media appearances [*because of exhaustion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/us/the-2000-campaign-the-labor-vote-michigan-unions-push-hard-for-gore.html), she jabbed: “If you are exhausted on the campaign trail, it raises real questions about whether you are fit for the toughest job in the world. Come on. Come on.”

After stepping off his plane in Detroit, Mr. Trump called Ms. Harris a “loser” and insisted to reporters: “I’m not even tired. I’m really exhilarated.”

He then stopped by his campaign’s office in Hamtramck, Mich., a city with a significant Muslim and Arab American population whose Democratic mayor endorsed him last month.

The former president and his allies have been trying to capitalize on anger in Michigan from Arab American and Muslim voters toward the Biden administration’s support for Israel in the war in Gaza. Large numbers of these voters, as well as some progressives, say [*they may not vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/us/the-2000-campaign-the-labor-vote-michigan-unions-push-hard-for-gore.html) for Ms. Harris.

On Friday, Mr. Trump was greeted by Hamtramck’s mayor, Amer Ghalib, and dozens of supporters, many of them Muslim or Arab American men. “We had a history of disconnect and miscommunication with the Republican Party,” Mr. Ghalib said. “Now we are here to end that disconnect.”

Mr. Trump told his supporters that he wanted to urgently achieve peace in the Middle East. But earlier, he still offered praise for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s handling of the Gaza war, saying that he was “doing a good job.”

Ms. Harris began her remarks at an evening rally in Oakland County by saying the death of the Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar “must be a turning point.”

“Everyone must seize this opportunity to finally end the war in Gaza, bring the hostages home and end the suffering once and for all,” she said.

But in a sign of her weakness with the state’s Arab American voters, Ms. Harris named just one Arab American official — one who was appointed, not elected — who is supporting her.

Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump both held events in Oakland County, a suburban area that was once solidly Republican but, like many suburbs, has become gradually more blue as many educated and upscale voters who live there recoiled from Mr. Trump. Democrats are hoping to run up large margins in Oakland County and places like it.

Mr. Trump, after his visit to Hamtramck, took part in what was billed as an economic round-table in an Oakland County community, Auburn Hills. The participants spoke more about policing, education and concerns over fluoride in the water than about inflation.

But he opened his evening rally, in downtown Detroit at Huntington Place, with an appeal to Detroit’s economic potential. “They’ve been talking about comebacks for so long, but we’re going to bring it back, better than it ever was,” Mr. Trump said.

The remark felt like an effort to clean up the attack he lobbed at the city last week, when he said in another speech here that “our whole country will end up being like Detroit” if Ms. Harris won.

Mr. Trump also repeated his hard-line stance on immigration, including false and exaggerated claims about undocumented immigrants and crime. He stumbled reading the teleprompter, inaccurately referred to the number of days left until Election Day, and closed with an unusual aside exhorting his supporters to tell their friends to “get your fat husband off the couch, get that fat pig off the couch” and “vote for Trump.”

The Trump campaign has been hammering Ms. Harris over the economy in Michigan, with Mr. Trump repeatedly making promises to bring the auto industry and manufacturing back — claims he also made in 2016 but [*struggled to fulfill in office*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/us/the-2000-campaign-the-labor-vote-michigan-unions-push-hard-for-gore.html). His campaign has been focused on appeals to blue-collar workers and the middle class.

Ms. Harris tried to counter that outreach during an early-evening visit to a United Auto Workers union hall in Lansing.

Under Mr. Trump, she said, “thousands of Michigan auto workers lost their jobs,” adding, “And if he wins again, we can expect there will be more of the same.”

Michigan is among the states Ms. Harris must almost certainly win, alongside Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, to defeat Mr. Trump. The candidates are essentially tied, [*according to a New York Times polling average*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/us/the-2000-campaign-the-labor-vote-michigan-unions-push-hard-for-gore.html).

In interviews, Democrats say Michigan is as close as they have seen. Their efforts to capture the state, which Mr. Trump won in 2016 and lost in 2020, have been complicated by the war in Gaza and by the decisions of some national unions, like the Teamsters and the International Association of Firefighters, not to make an endorsement for president, after both groups backed Mr. Biden in 2020.

“I’m not used to it being this tight,” said Representative Haley Stevens of Michigan. “It’s close. It’s close.”

Ms. Harris’s campaign is open about its intent to peel away suburban voters from Mr. Trump. In a memo [*first reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/us/the-2000-campaign-the-labor-vote-michigan-unions-push-hard-for-gore.html) by CBS News, the campaign said it planned to capitalize on the former president’s “unprecedented weakness in the suburbs” to win Michigan. Ms. Harris leads Mr. Trump by five percentage points among suburban likely voters, [*according to a New York Times/Siena College poll of Michigan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/us/the-2000-campaign-the-labor-vote-michigan-unions-push-hard-for-gore.html). Exit polls from 2020 [*showed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/us/the-2000-campaign-the-labor-vote-michigan-unions-push-hard-for-gore.html) Mr. Trump winning that group.

Representative Debbie Dingell of Michigan, a Democrat, said the party had built a powerful campaign infrastructure, unlike Hillary Clinton’s operation, which many Democrats believe took the state for granted.

“It’s not like 2016,” Ms. Dingell said of the Clinton campaign. “They thought it was done. Now they know it’s not done.”

Reid J. Epstein contributed reporting from Washington.

Reid J. Epstein contributed reporting from Washington.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris speaking on Friday in Grand Rapids, Mich. Kent County, where the city is, tilted to Donald J. Trump in 2016 before President Biden flipped it in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 19, 2024

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[***With Teamsters Union Yet to Endorse, Its Chief Seeks to Speak at Both Conventions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C7B-Y7F1-JBG3-6020-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 11, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 803 words

**Byline:** By Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan

**Body**

Having Sean O'Brien at the Republican National Convention would be politically useful to former President Donald J. Trump, even absent an endorsement. The union has yet to back a candidate.

The president of the Teamsters union has asked for speaking slots at both the Republican and Democratic national conventions, at a time when President Biden and former President Donald J. Trump have pressed for support from rank-and-file members of organized labor.

The move by Sean O'Brien, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, underscores the fact that his group, unlike other influential umbrella unions that have backed Mr. Biden in the 2024 election, has yet to endorse in the presidential race. Mr. O'Brien has made clear he is delaying a decision until later this year.

Kara Deniz, a spokeswoman for the Teamsters union, confirmed that Mr. O'Brien, through aides, has told officials working on both conventions that he would be interested in speaking at their dayslong nomination events. The Republicans will hold their convention in Milwaukee in July, and the Democrats will hold theirs in Chicago in August.

It would be unusual in the current fractious political climate for someone to speak at both conventions.

Over the course of the year, Mr. O'Brien has invited several presidential candidates, including Mr. Biden, Mr. Trump and independent candidates like Cornel West and Robert F. Kennedy Jr., to speak before his group. But Mr. O'Brien has what people close to Mr. Trump believe is a developing relationship with the former president.

The Teamsters is one of the country's largest labor unions, with 1.3 million members in sectors like trucking and manufacturing. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the United Automobile Workers have backed Mr. Biden, and Shawn Fain, the president of the U.A.W., has been harshly critical of Mr. Trump.

Mr. O'Brien, however, has appeared more open to the former president.

Mr. O'Brien had a private meeting with Mr. Trump at the beginning of the year at Mar-a-Lago, shortly before the Iowa caucuses that the former president won handily, setting him on a path to become his party's nominee for a third time.

The following month, the Teamsters gave $45,000 to both the Republican and Democratic convention funds, with officials saying the goal was to make sure its rank-and-file members are heard at the convention.

Mr. Biden has described himself as the most pro-labor president in history. And in 2020, he cut into what had been Mr. Trump's advantage with ***working-class*** white voters in the 2016 presidential campaign against former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. That year, Mr. Trump's appeal to voters in the Rust Belt states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania was key to his victory.

Also that year, some of Mr. Trump's allies, including Paul Manafort, his onetime campaign chairman, tried working connections in the labor movement to see if they could peel off support for Mrs. Clinton from organized labor.

This year, as Mr. Biden has struggled in the Sun Belt swing states, such as Arizona, his path through white ***working-class*** states in the Rust Belt is seen as key.

While Mr. Trump's camp is hopeful for an endorsement, it has been decades since the Teamsters backed a Republican presidential candidate. But keeping the Teamsters neutral would be viewed as a victory for the Trump team. And even absent an endorsement, having Mr. O'Brien at the Republican National Convention would be politically useful to Mr. Trump, who often highlights relationships to score political points.

The Teamsters endorsed Mr. Biden in 2020, although their support came relatively late in the general election campaign, well after it was clear that the then-candidate would be the presumptive Democratic nominee.

A spokeswoman who represents both the Trump campaign and the Republican National Committee did not respond to a request for comment about whether the GOP will grant Mr. O'Brien a speaking slot.

Kevin Munoz, a spokesman for the Biden campaign, did not address whether the Democrats will give Mr. O'Brien a slot.

''There's only one candidate in this race fighting for American workers and creating good-paying union jobs here at home, and that's President Biden,'' Mr. Munoz said, saying that Mr. Trump ''has spent his entire life fighting against workers' rights'' and that Mr. Biden ''will continue to work to earn the Teamsters' support.''

Mr. O'Brien was elected president of the union on a wave of reformist energy in 2021. But unlike some umbrella unions that have backed Mr. Biden, Mr. O'Brien has a number of members in southern states who support the former president. And whatever his personal relationship with Mr. Trump, there is likely a benefit to Mr. O'Brien with his own members in being seen as open to talking to Republicans.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/10/us/politics/teamsters-president-conventions.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/10/us/politics/teamsters-president-conventions.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Sean O'Brien said he would delay backing a presidential candidate until later in the year. This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** June 11, 2024

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[***How Yale Propelled J.D. Vance’s Career***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH2-6XV1-DXY4-X37C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1662 words

**Byline:** Stephanie Saul Stephanie Saul reports on colleges and universities, with a recent focus on the dramatic changes in college admissions and the debate around diversity, equity and inclusion in higher education.

**Highlight:** The G.O.P. vice-presidential nominee is remembered as a warm and personable student. But some are perplexed by what they see as his shift in ideology.

**Body**

The G.O.P. vice-presidential nominee is remembered as a warm and personable student. But some are perplexed by what they see as his shift in ideology.

When J.D. Vance applied to law school, he viewed it as a pathway out of his chaotic upbringing in ***working-class*** Middletown, Ohio.

Then he won a spot at his dream school. Yale Law not only accepted him for the fall of 2010, but also offered a nearly full ride.

Over the next three years, Yale dramatically influenced the trajectory of his life, leading to important connections, a job in venture capital and marriage to a classmate.

Even his 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),” was partly the outgrowth of a paper he wrote in a Yale class. And he leveraged the story, which chronicles his childhood and the alienation of the ***working class***, into a best seller, a movie deal and a political career — winning election to the U.S. Senate in 2022, at age 38.

Despite Yale’s transformative role in his life, Mr. Vance’s relationship with the school could be summed up as conflicted.

Graduating from Yale was “the coolest thing” he had ever done, “at least on paper,” he wrote in his memoir. But he also portrayed himself as an outsider who flubbed law firm interviews and was baffled when asked whether he preferred chardonnay or sauvignon blanc — he had never heard of either. And his classmates remember his sarcasm and cynicism when discussing what he thought of as the school’s liberal bubble.

Recently, he has adopted a more oppositional tone, taking on tax breaks for top universities. “Elite universities have become expensive day care centers for coddled children,” he wrote on social media.

A close look at Mr. Vance’s record at Yale, though, shows that he adapted rapidly, taking advantage of the school’s heady social and academic opportunities. He cooked for charity fund-raisers, organized reading groups, doted on his German shepherd, Casper, and led The Yale Law Journal’s flag football team. He spent a summer working on Capitol Hill.

Many students and professors remember Mr. Vance as warm, personable and even charismatic. But several also said they were perplexed by what they saw as Mr. Vance’s profound ideological shift. They understood that he was conservative politically, but they viewed him as a Republican in the mold of John McCain or Mitt Romney.

Now, they say that he has abandoned his Never Trumper principles, taking hard lines against immigration and L.G.B.T.Q. rights, positions they believe he would not have previously embraced.

Sofia Nelson, a former classmate who is transgender and was once a close friend of both Mr. Vance and his wife, recalled that Mr. Vance delivered home-baked treats when they underwent top surgery. But years of friendship ended in 2021 over his support for an [*Arkansas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html) bill opposing transgender care for minors.

“It hurt my feelings when he started saying hateful things about trans people,” they said.

Another classmate, Josh McLaurin, no longer talks to him, either.

As apartment mates during their first year at Yale, Mr. McLaurin felt an affinity to Mr. Vance because they had both graduated from state schools. But their friendship began to fray, Mr. McLaurin said, after he chafed at what he viewed as Mr. Vance’s cynical and sarcastic jokes aimed at Yale elites.

Even so, the two stayed in touch after graduating in 2013. As the Republican presidential primaries were underway in February 2016, Mr. Vance discussed his dislike for Mr. Trump in a Facebook message. “I go back and forth between thinking Trump is a cynical asshole like Nixon who wouldn’t be that bad (and might even prove useful) or that he’s America’s Hitler,” Mr. Vance wrote.

Mr. McLaurin, disturbed by Mr. Vance’s shift to support Mr. Trump, [*disclosed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html) that message in 2022, during Mr. Vance’s campaign for U.S. Senate.

“He realized that the only way that he could realize and give effect to his own anger in politics was to identify with the MAGA movement,” said Mr. McLaurin, who is a Democratic state senator in Georgia.

In his memoir, Mr. Vance describes arriving at Yale, feeling like an “awe-struck tourist.”

“Yale Law, with its prestige and privilege, was a culture shock unlike anything I had ever experienced,” he wrote.

But he developed a cadre of confidants in a class of about 15 students assigned to remain together through the first semester. In his book, Mr. Vance describes his closest friends in that group as “misfit toys.”

In addition to Sofia Nelson, now a public defender in Detroit, the group included his future wife, [*Usha Chilukuri*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html), the daughter of Indian immigrants, and Jamil Jivani, a Canadian from a mixed-race family. (Mr. Jivani, now a Conservative member of Canada’s Parliament, remains a close friend to Mr. Vance, but would not comment for this article.)

Some who observed Mr. Vance in the group recall how he at first struggled with assignments. And his book describes comments he got that first year: “Not good at all,” one professor wrote. And on another paper: “This is a vomit of sentences masquerading as a paragraph. Fix.”

Amy Chua, a professor who taught his first-year contracts class, recalled in an interview that he scored near the top of 100 students on the exam, and that he admitted he had studied extra hard for the test.

It appeared, even to Ms. Chua, she said, that he lacked the intense interest in law exhibited by some students.

Mr. Vance worked in a highly regarded law clinic for veterans and drove to Washington to negotiate on behalf of a client, but he was not among the most engaged students. By 2011, he had mostly lost interest in practicing law, he would [*later write*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html).

George L. Priest, a Yale Law professor who has long identified as a Republican, recalled that Mr. Vance was good enough to be hired as his research assistant but not a standout. “He didn’t distinguish himself in any particular way in my view,” Mr. Priest said.

Mr. Vance won a spot on the staff of The Yale Law Journal — a prestigious position that is often a steppingstone to a coveted appellate court clerkship — but not as one of its top editors. He instead worked with a [*group of editors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html) whose primary job was to check citations.

An avid Ohio State football fan, he was better known for organizing the publication’s flag football team, which played against other law review teams. In a posting to the Wall, a Yale chat group, he tried to recruit other staff members to the team, dangling a trip to Boston to play The Harvard Law Review. Then, he resorted to self-deprecation.

“My name is JD Hamel,” he wrote on the Wall in September 2012, using the surname acquired from his stepfather, one of several paternal figures in his unstable childhood. “Many of you don’t know me. Those who do understand that I’m a little chubby and a lot slow. If I can play flag football, so can you.”

And in a paragraph that foreshadowed his political ambitions, he wrote: “Football is the most popular sport in America. Twenty years from now, when you’re at the county fair convincing Billy Bob and Gunther to support your fledgling campaign, you damn well better know the difference between offense and defense.”

In 2013, Mr. Vance, again posting as JD Hamel, complained on the Wall that he had filed his taxes in February but hadn’t received a refund by April.

“If I don’t get my refund by the time I graduate and go on vacation, I’ll be left to conclude that the Obama administration targets political enemies through tax laws,” he said, in a remark that appears to have been tongue-in-cheek.

One major influence at Yale, he has said, was a 2011 talk by Peter Thiel, the venture capitalist known for co-founding PayPal and [*supporting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html) hard-right political candidates.

Mr. Thiel spoke about elite professionals trapped in hypercompetitive but unrewarding jobs while innovation had stalled.

Mr. Vance would later [*write*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html) that the talk led him to forgo a law career; he would practice for less than two years.

“Peter’s talk remains the most significant moment of my time at Yale Law School,” Mr. Vance wrote. “He articulated a feeling that had until then remained unformed: that I was obsessed with achievement in se — not as an end to something meaningful, but to win a social competition.”

Inspired, Mr. Vance decided to track down the billionaire, according to Dan Driscoll, one of a small group of fellow veterans at Yale Law.

“I remember sitting at the kitchen table,” Mr. Driscoll said. “We Googled ‘Peter Thiel @’ for about two hours.” They finally located a Stanford University email address, and Mr. Vance sent him a note, according to Mr. Driscoll.

“Peter wrote back and said, ‘Stop by my house next time you’re out here,’” said Mr. Driscoll, a businessman who ran for Congress from North Carolina in 2022 as a Republican.

Mr. Thiel would become a major supporter of both Mr. Vance’s venture capital firm and his Senate campaign.

Professor Chua was another pivotal connection.

Mr. Vance’s contracts class with her coincided with the release of her book about tough-love parenting, “Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother.”

Toward the end of the semester, Mr. Vance, who had read the book, sent her an email, attaching a 20-page piece about growing up with a drug-addicted mother.

“You have a book in you,” she emailed back.

He continued to develop a 60-page manuscript in another class taught by Ms. Chua, international business transactions. Mr. Vance used his family’s story to discuss the ills befalling ***working-class*** white people, and infused personal stories with political theory.

“‘This grand theory is not working,’” Ms. Chua said she told him. “‘Turn this into your own memoir.’”

“I think he took another whole year,” she added. “He kept working on it. He did independent studies with me.”

Then she introduced him to her literary agent, Tina Bennett.

He was off.

Sharon LaFraniere contributed reporting.

Sharon LaFraniere contributed reporting.

PHOTO: When Yale Law accepted J.D. Vance for the fall of 2010, it offered him a nearly full ride. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Christopher Capozziello for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 18, 2024

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[***The Trump Era Never Really Ended; The Conversation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD0-YYN1-JBG3-64DX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2024 Monday 23:25 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1645 words

**Byline:** Gail Collins and Bret StephensGail Collins is a Times Opinion columnist focusing on domestic politics.

**Highlight:** Should we even call it a comeback?

**Body**

Bret Stephens: Hi, Gail. How are you feeling — despondent, energized, enraged, dumbstruck?

Gail Collins: Pretty much all of those, in 10-minute intervals. But I’ve got to add “scared” to your list. How about you?

Bret: Honestly?

Gail: No, Bret, in the spirit of the incoming administration, I want you to make up anything you feel like making up.

Bret: Hehehehe.

Gail: OK, honestly. Of course, I haven’t forgotten that you were the one who predicted Donald Trump would win, while I thought women voters would rescue Kamala Harris. Instead, Trump seems to have reduced the gender gap, compared with his run against Joe Biden.

Bret: We got through one Trump administration. We’ll get through another. What happened last week wasn’t the end of democracy. It was its reaffirmation. We’ll vote again in 2026, when the Senate map will be more favorable to Democrats. And we’ll vote in 2028, when Trump will be ineligible to run for re-election. Gnashing one’s teeth helps nobody, least of all the teeth. Life goes on.

Gail: Or at least staggers on.

Bret: Also, selfishly? I feel vindicated. I spent years warning that Biden should [*build the damn wall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html), that he [*wasn’t mentally fit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html) for a second term, that there was [*a credible case for Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html), that [*Harris would be a poor candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html) and that it [*wasn’t enough*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html) for her to run on being not Trump.

Gail: Pause for the sound of trumpets.

Bret: I’m nothing if not full of myself. One additional thought: Tuesday’s election was a blessing in disguise for Democrats. It’s the shock they needed to rethink how they conduct politics in a second Trump term.

Gail: Before we get to the cosmic question of Democratic rethinking, let’s spend a minute on Biden. Beginning by mentioning — just mentioning — that we were on the same side when it came to urging the president to acknowledge he was too old to run for another term. If Biden had done that in good time, the Democrats would have run primaries to see who would take his place at the top of the ticket and either picked a better candidate or given Harris time to learn how to run a strong campaign.

Bret: Agree. At a minimum, it would have given the Democrats a chance to have an honest-to-goodness primary contest and weed the weaker candidates from the stronger ones. I don’t think Harris would have emerged the winner, but if she had, she’d have been a more nimble candidate with a clearer articulation of what she meant to do with the presidency. Senior Democrats in Congress and the White House deserve a lot of blame for pretending that Biden’s health was fine — or fine enough. I’m looking forward to the tell-all memoirs when members of the president’s inner circle fess up to covering up the extent of his maladies.

Gail: The tell-all-ers are probably already typing away. They’ll certainly have a lot of time on their hands.

Bret: But I think it’s a mistake to suppose that Biden overstaying his welcome was the only or even the main reason Democrats lost last week. The party just lost touch with too much of America, including its traditional base.

Gail: I agree, but I suspect we’ll be coming up with very different solutions.

The Democrats devoted way too much time to attacking Trump and not nearly enough to acknowledging how many Americans are frustrated or scared by a rising cost of living for their families.

They should have focused on plans to raise taxes on the wealthy, increase spending on practical programs like preschool education and public building projects, like constructing new housing for low- and middle-income tenants.

Bret: I agree with the diagnosis part of your answer, though maybe not the prescription. The Biden team sold too many liberal pundits on the notion that times had never been so good, which, to ***working-class*** Americans struggling with the high cost of living, made the administration seem either hopelessly dishonest or completely out of touch. The problem for Harris, of course, is that she had no easy way to dissociate herself from the economy over which she and Biden had presided, which is yet another reason it was a mistake to anoint her as the nominee.

Gail: And so, what next?

Bret: A big part of the Democratic Party’s problem is that it’s become too associated with a type of cultural progressivism that rubs many people the wrong way. I mean things like the tedious and harmful D.E.I. pedagogical complex, bail reform, drug decriminalization, public encampments and so on. Democrats really need to jettison this part of the left, much in the way that Bill Clinton did in the early 1990s. Or do I have that all wrong?

Gail: Hey, I’d never call you all wrong. Mostly, sure.

The left is part of the Democratic Party, and the party is not gonna dump active members who want to prioritize issues like bail reform or L.G.B.T.Q. rights. But I think most Democrats, when they come out of shell shock, will realize that right now the central issue has got to be creating an economy that offers more people more ways to move up.

Bret: My view is that the next Democratic leader is going to have to have more than one Sister Souljah moment in order to regain lost trust. When will someone tell college students that it’s appalling and unacceptable to call for Israel’s destruction or be openly sympathetic to Hamas? Or that [*effectively decriminalizing shoplifting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html) in some blue states is an outrage to public order and an insult to law-abiding people? Or that it is absolutely not OK to have a biological male like the trans swimmer Lia Thomas [*change in a women’s locker room*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html) or for children to begin gender transitions [*without their parents being notified*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html)? Or that we can’t have any kind of immigration reform until there is good control over the border? The Democrat who does these things first is the one who’ll be able to defeat Trumpism.

Gail: But let’s move on to the new House and Senate. Looks like Trump will, in theory, control both — although a few of the House race counts aren’t completely over. What’s your prediction for 2025?

Bret: Wait, I have one more question for you before getting to that. What do you make of Trump improving his standing with ethnic minorities, particularly Latinos? Doesn’t exactly square with the expectation among some liberal pundits that the comedian making an anti-Puerto Rico joke at Trump’s Madison Square Garden rally would drive the Hispanic vote to Harris.

Gail: One more example of how the Democrats erred by stressing the awfulness of the opposition instead of the Harris agenda. I think the Latino vote was about dissatisfaction with the economy and not a rejection of the idea of a female president.

Bret: I think Latinos are no more enchanted by high inflation and uncontrolled immigration than anyone else struggling to make ends meet.

Gail: Sure hope it’s the economy. Although it’s hard to ignore the fact that the only two major-party female presidential nominees in history were both defeated by Donald Trump.

Bret: What does that say to you? Deep residual sexism in the American public? Or two really bad candidates who happened to be women?

Gail: The really-bad-candidate theory looks sort of shaky when their opposition is a felon with a long history of terrible sexual behavior.

If you want another sign of how tough it is for a woman to become a presidential nominee, consider the fact that the two women who’ve gotten the nod were both beneficiaries of … something else. Hillary Clinton was the wife of a former president, and Harris was Biden’s running mate.

Sigh. OK, Bret, give me one more thought on the subject, and then let’s move on to Congress.

Bret: I’ll refrain from opening my stupid man-mouth on this subject. Congress? I hope Democrats manage to at least hold the House, because it would provide a check on Trump and keep the Jim Jordans of the world from being even more unbearable. It’s also an opportunity for Democrats to elevate some of their smarter members to leadership positions. I’m thinking of Ritchie Torres, Seth Moulton, Ro Khanna, Tom Suozzi and Marie Gluesenkamp Perez — the House Reality Check Caucus. John Fetterman and Michael Bennet are their Senate companions.

Who do you favor as the next Democratic leaders?

Gail: Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, if he wants to keep chugging along, should keep his job as minority leader. He’s experienced, smart and sensible and a manic hard worker.

Bret: And someone who completely misread the political moment.

Gail: In the House, Hakeem Jeffries, the minority leader, can be pretty electric when he’s fighting and he wants to stay in charge. So I can’t imagine an overthrow.

Overall, we’ll just have to wait and see what happens, but I’m hoping that on crucial issues, sensible middle-of-the-road Republicans like Susan Collins and Lisa Murkowski will have the power to hold off the crazy right. They have the talent for it, even though they haven’t always exercised it.

Bret: Final question, Gail. Say what you will about Trump, he just had the most incredible political comeback in American history. Anything, you know, nice to say about him?

Gail: Hmm. For many pols, this would be the point when I’d say something like, “Well, he has a really nice pet spaniel.” But Trump, of course, hates dogs.

Think I’ll wait and see whether he rises above his destroy-all-enemies election night. What about you?

Bret: He’s resilient, intuitive and imaginative and saw political opportunities that I, like so many other supposedly smart people, wouldn’t or couldn’t see. Criticism? Later and plenty of it. For this week, respect and good will.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.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/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/opinion/biden-border-wall.html).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

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[***Trump’s Gains Among Latinos Push a Civil Rights Group to Reflect on Its Past***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD0-MSK1-JBG3-64CH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2024 Monday 23:08 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1783 words

**Byline:** Jazmine UlloaJazmine Ulloa is a national politics reporter for The Times, covering the 2024 presidential campaign. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** From its founding nearly a century ago, LULAC encouraged Hispanic people to embrace American identity even as it fought discrimination. The 2024 election result presents a dilemma on both fronts.

**Body**

On a cold and rainy Sunday in February 1929, a group of Latino men in dapper suits and boater hats gathered in a convention hall in Corpus Christi, Texas, to forge a new Latino civil rights group.

Most of the men, about 175 in total, were Mexican American veterans of World War I. They had returned home a decade earlier to a small but thriving Hispanic middle class in South Texas, where they had helped form three of the most prominent civil rights organizations in the region.

Now the men were merging their groups to form the League of United Latin American Citizens, or LULAC, in hopes of better leveraging their resources to combat racism and to elect political leaders who represented their families and interests.

These were radical notions. At the time, Jim Crow laws were in effect, poll taxes kept many Black and Mexican American voters from the ballot box and some restaurants hung signs outside their doors barring the entrance of dogs and Mexicans.

Nearly a century later, as President-elect Donald J. Trump is set to return to the White House, LULAC is preparing to stand on the front lines of clashes with the incoming administration over proposed mass deportations, voting access and issues involving education and the social safety net.

The group’s chief executive, Juan Proaño, said in an interview that its mission — protecting the rights of Latinos — was more critical than ever. But he said LULAC was also contending with election results in which many Latino voters, especially Latino men, gravitated toward Mr. Trump, suggesting they might no longer see themselves as part of the group’s fight.

“We’re going to have to decide where to build bridges,” Mr. Proaño said, calling Republicans’ potential capture of all three branches of government “worse than my worst-case scenario.” He acknowledged that Mr. Trump had outperformed past Republican presidents with Latino voters: “I will give Trump credit where credit is due,” he said.

Over the coming weeks, Mr. Proaño said, his group will sift through voter data to understand what led ***working-class*** Latinos to shift to the right. Their march toward Mr. Trump came despite his organization’s political action committee throwing its support behind Vice President Kamala Harris in August, the [*first formal endorsement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html) of a presidential ticket it had ever made.

Although the PAC’s leadership voted unanimously to endorse Ms. Harris, the group’s broader membership of nearly 325,000 people across 535 councils runs the spectrum of party affiliations and ideological beliefs. One of the councils, in the Houston area, objected to the endorsement. Now, the group’s bipartisan board will need to weigh how to engage the next administration in a way that reflects not only the broader Latino electorate, but also its own diverse membership.

Mr. Proaño said the stakes were higher than ever: Mr. Trump and his allies have [*drawn more support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html) from Latino voters, while at the same time, he said, Republicans have tried to restrain Latino voting power in recent years, in part by spreading conspiracy theories about noncitizens illegally casting ballots. Those falsehoods, Mr. Proaño said, laid the groundwork for an investigation into voter fraud by the Texas attorney general, Ken Paxton, that led to [*raids of some LULAC volunteers’ homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html) in the state over the summer.

Seeing the sweeps as part of far-reaching efforts by Republicans to limit activities [*of voting rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html) activists across the country, Mr. Proaño began cultivating relationships with leaders of Black and Latino civil rights organizations months before the election. LULAC said this month that it was [*teaming up with a pro-democracy group*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html) to challenge the conspiracy theories about voter fraud and Mr. Paxton’s inquiry.

“LULAC cannot go at this alone,” Mr. Proaño said.

Founded on an American promise

Mr. Proaño’s forceful stance in the face of conflicting dynamics is in keeping with his organization’s nearly century-long history. It has often been cast as one of the most conservative Latino civil rights groups, even as it has been part of some of the fiercest legal battles waged by liberals to desegregate schools and expand voting rights for Mexican Americans and other Latinos.

Some of its former presidents and lifetime members said they could not help but note the irony of the position it now finds itself in.

Ruben Bonilla, 78, who led the organization as president from 1979 to 1981, lamented that the raids in August were meant to attack the group as “being un-American,” though it was founded on the ideal of American virtue. “It is absolutely hideous and demonstrates the ignorance of public officials who do not understand our history,” he said of the voter fraud investigation.

When the three civil rights groups — the Order of the Sons of America, the Knights of America and the League of Latin American Citizens — united to form LULAC in 1929, the migration of hundreds of thousands of Mexicans after the Mexican Revolution was stirring fears among the Anglo American population of South Texas. To build political power and counter racism, the group encouraged Texans of Mexican descent to adopt an American way of life, become naturalized citizens and learn English.

With time, its members came to be seen as more interested in reforming rather than remaking American society, according to interviews with historians and some of its former leaders.

In those early decades, members tended to be doctors, lawyers and small business owners; pragmatists and capitalists. They expressed unwavering loyalty to the United States, though some hailed from families that had been in the region long before the southern border was drawn through their land. Some had endured years of racist terror. Through the 1910s, Texas Rangers raided the homes of Mexican Americans with impunity and lynch mobs killed [*Latinos across the West*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html).

LULAC still marks its reverence for the United States in its emblem, a three-point crest with red and white stripes and 13 stars representing each of the original colonies. Its councils recite a prayer by George Washington to open all of their meetings, asking God to protect the United States and bless it “with honorable industry, sound learning and pure manners.”

Benjamin Márquez, a political science professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison who wrote a book tracing the group’s history, said that while its members had never rejected their Mexican or Latino heritage, they had remained consistent in their American loyalty, regardless of whether the group’s president was a Republican or a Democrat.

“They were out to remove racist bias in American society, and beyond that to get out the vote, serve in the military, participate in elections and run for election themselves,” he said.

An unwritten past

Some historians argue that the group’s work has been incorrectly characterized as conservative as it has been compared to that of Chicano organizations that emerged during the civil rights movements decades later and were more left-wing and confrontational. “The history of LULAC is mostly unwritten, and people are not familiar with its liberal strengths,” said Cynthia E. Orozco, a historian and author of “[*No Mexicans, Women or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html).”

Mr. Bonilla and his brothers, William and Tony, recalled that the group became more aggressively political as Mexican Americans joined “Viva Kennedy” clubs to boost John F. Kennedy in 1960, and as the civil rights movement heated up. William Bonilla, 94, who served as president in 1964, remembers the earliest registration efforts focused on persuading Latino voters to pay their poll taxes. LULAC members drove through neighborhoods with loudspeakers to remind people to vote and to take them to the polls.

“It was from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., all day long during Election Day,” said William Bonilla, who drove a blue Lincoln convertible for such missions.

Mr. Proaño is now looking to draw from LULAC’s grass-roots strengths and confront the uglier parts of its past. Through the 1950s, fierce wage competition and divisions between Mexican migrants and Mexican American laborers [*initially led the group*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html) to support President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s mass deportations. (That stance was reversed after Mexican American neighborhoods and border regions were devastated.) Tensions sometimes arose between Black and Latino civil rights groups as they competed for limited resources.

Ruben Bonilla said in an interview that the 2024 election left him with mixed emotions as he recalled the group’s past struggles. He understood Republicans made a persuasive argument on the economy, but he said he was disappointed that so many people had voted for Mr. Trump, who made bigotry a central feature of his campaign and promised to revive Eisenhower’s mass deportations.

Mr. Bonilla also saw the reflection of another flaw in LULAC’s history: its failure to integrate women into its ranks from the start.

“Hispanic men were reluctant to vote for a woman — it is almost a throwback,” he said.

The next battle

Still, Mr. Proaño said he did see a slow awakening. In the five days after Mr. Trump held a rally at Madison Square Garden in New York at which a comedian described Puerto Rico as a “floating island of garbage,” LULAC’s membership increased by more than 53,000 people.

Mr. Proaño said he remained focused on the Texas voter fraud investigation that targeted LULAC members, and on conspiracy theories that he said Republican-led states were using to keep not only Latinos from voter rolls, but Black and Asian voters as well.

The inquiry is taking place under a restrictive voting law that Mr. Paxton helped pass in 2021, as Mr. Trump and his allies spread false claims that noncitizens were [*wrongfully voting in massive numbers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html). Republicans pushing similar restrictions across the country have said they are trying to ensure that the voting rights of citizens are not diluted.

Mr. Proaño cast the efforts as the latest volley in [*a yearslong conflict*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html) in Texas — where the Latino population has helped [*transform the state’s demographics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/politics/lulac-harris-endorsement.html) — between Republicans, who dominate state government, and Democrats, who control most of the largest urban areas.

“We are still fighting the same fight, and that is tough,” Mr. Proaño said.

PHOTOS: Tony, William and Ruben Bonilla at the brothers’ law office in Corpus Christi, Texas. Below left, Juan Proaño, chief executive of the League of United Latin American Citizens, or LULAC.; Below right, many of the earliest members of LULAC were Mexican American veterans of World War I. (PHOTOGRAPHs BY MEREDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; LULAC) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***Festival Winners Crowd New York Film Festival Main Slate Lineup***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNB-M561-DXY4-X042-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 6, 2024 Tuesday 22:59 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 564 words

**Byline:** Annie Aguiar Annie Aguiar is a reporter covering arts and culture and a member of the 2024-25 Times Fellowship class, a program for journalists early in their careers.

**Highlight:** Top titles from Cannes and Berlin, like Sean Baker’s “Anora” and Mati Diop’s “Dahomey,” join new work by Pedro Almodóvar, Steve McQueen and RaMell Ross.

**Body**

Top titles from Cannes and Berlin, like Sean Baker’s “Anora” and Mati Diop’s “Dahomey,” join new work by Pedro Almodóvar, Steve McQueen and RaMell Ross.

This fall’s New York Film Festival will feature celebrated prizewinners from Cannes and the Berlinale, organizers announced Tuesday, unveiling a main slate that will join new works from the filmmakers Pedro Almodóvar, Steve McQueen and RaMell Ross.

The festival, which runs Sept. 27 to Oct. 14, will screen films from 24 countries and include two world premieres, five North American premieres and 17 American premieres.

Ross’s film, “The Nickel Boys,” is an adaptation of Colson Whitehead’s Pulitzer Prize-winning 2019 novel about two Black teenagers in a Jim Crow-era Florida reform school. It’s the opening-night selection. Almodóvar’s “The Room Next Door,” about a rekindled friendship between women played by Julianne Moore and Tilda Swinton, will be the centerpiece. And the festival will close with Steve McQueen’s “Blitz,” starring Saoirse Ronan as a ***working-class*** single mother in London who gets separated from her 9-year-old son during World War II.

Winners from Cannes and the Berlin Film Festival feature heavily in the festival’s main slate lineup.

Cannes imports include the Palme d’Or winner “Anora,” from Sean Baker; the Grand Prix winner “All We Imagine as Light” from Payal Kapadia; best director winner Miguel Gomes’s “Grand Tour”; the two best-director winners from the Un Certain Regard section, Roberto Minervini with “The Damned” and Rungano Nyoni with “On Becoming a Guinea Fowl”; and special prize winner “The Seed of the Sacred Fig” from Mohammad Rasoulof.

Berlinale veterans playing in New York include the Golden Bear prizewinner “Dahomey,” a documentary from Mati Diop about the complicated postcolonial legacy of artifacts from the former African kingdom; Philippe Lesage’s Quebecois coming-of-age drama, “Who by Fire”; and the documentary “No Other Land,” about the destruction of West Bank villages by the Israeli military, made over five years by a Palestinian-Israeli collective.

Two festival mainstays, the filmmakers Hong Sang-soo and Wang Bing, will each have two films playing this fall.

Hong is bringing “By the Stream,” about a former film director, and “A Traveler’s Needs,” which won the Silver Bear Grand Jury Prize at the Berlinale and stars Isabelle Huppert as an inexperienced French teacher in a Seoul suburb. (Hong also showed two films last year.)

The second and third parts of Wang’s observational nonfiction “Youth” trilogy, titled “Youth (Hard Times)” and “Youth (Homecoming)” and focused on migrant textile workers in the Chinese district of Zhili, will also screen at the festival. The first part of the trilogy, “Youth (Spring),” was included in last year’s lineup.

“The most notable thing about the films in the main slate — and in the other sections that we will announce in the coming weeks — is the degree to which they emphasize cinema’s relationship to reality,” the festival’s artistic director Dennis Lim said in a news release. “They are reminders that, in the hands of its most vital practitioners, film has the capacity to reckon with, intervene in and reimagine the world.”

PHOTO: Tilda Swinton, far left, and Julianne Moore in Pedro Almodóvar’s “The Room Next Door.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY IGLESIAS MÁS/EL DESEO, VIA NEW YORK FILM FESTIVAL) This article appeared in print on page C2.

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**End of Document**



[***Mike Tyson, Marlon Brando, G.I. Joe: The Old-World Art of Pigeon Racing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9M-T711-JBG3-63BM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1476 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:** Dwindling open spaces and fast-fading traditions threaten a pursuit that can trace its roots back centuries. Animal rights activists would not be sad to see it go.

**Body**

At the Lyndhurst Homing Pigeon Club, it is said that all members are friends until race day. That’s when bragging rights and the potential for thousands of dollars in prize money unleash a fierce competitive streak.

And on a recent Saturday night, the first race of a new season was hours away.

Joe Esteves, the club’s president, toted a crate holding 25 pigeons into the clubhouse on the outskirts of the ***working-class*** township of Lyndhurst, N.J., 11 miles west of Manhattan.

Each of the birds had been raised from birth for the obscure yet centuries-old pastime of pigeon racing. And while the first race of the pigeons’ lives would be a 100-mile sprint, the margin of victory could be a matter of seconds.

Mr. Esteves, a 42-year-old father of four, was late. The room had already filled with the easy chatter of longtime club members and an undercurrent of unspoken, competitive grudges.

Similar scenes were playing out that night in the more than two dozen [*homing pigeon clubs*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) that still operate in New Jersey.

Mike Tyson, who [*traces his career*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) as a champion heavyweight boxer to a childhood incident involving a pigeon killed by a bully in Brooklyn, keeps pigeons behind a bar in Jersey City, N.J., making him the state’s [*most prominent*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) fan of the bird. Most other racers are far less famous but no less passionate.

“Tonight me, you, somebody else, goes to the club,” explained Mario Costa, 70, who owns the bar, the Ringside. “You bring your best birds. Whoever comes home first wins.”

It is rarely that simple. In recent years, dwindling open spaces and fast-fading traditions have winnowed the field of participants, threatening a pursuit that can trace its roots to ancient Egypt.

Animal rights activists, who consider the races abusive and unethical, say good riddance.

The liberator

In the Northeast, the racing season for pigeons born this year — a.k.a. young birds — begins in August and runs through late October. Birds more than 1 year old race in the spring and fly farther, sometimes 500 miles or more.

The sport is more prominent in warm-weather states like Florida and Texas. But the Central Jersey Combine, which coordinates the local [*competitions*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory), has clung to its standing as one of the country’s largest pigeon-racing organizations, said Gene Yoes, a retired lawyer who trains pigeons in Montana and publishes Racing Pigeon Digest, a national magazine.

The start of the competition — the so-called liberation — can be as tense as it is spectacular.

The birds soar and hook, undulating across the sky before orienting east toward home. On a good day, they will fly about 60 miles per hour, although champions with the benefit of a strong tailwind have reached speeds of nearly 100 m.p.h.

This year, Daniel Quinn is Central Jersey’s designated liberator, a title he said can draw quizzical looks.

“It sort of has its moments,” Mr. Quinn said of the $425 overnight gig, which he took on last year and which supplements his income hanging drywall. “I started out just emptying the old crates out of the trailer. The liberator that was there quit, so they asked me if I could go.”

On race-day Sundays, Mr. Quinn, 61, sleeps overnight in the cab of a truck that can hold crates for more than 4,000 birds. Soon after dawn, he and the driver use levers to release the contestants more or less at once during the roughly 20 races held each year.

The first race of the 10-week young bird season began at the Flying J truck stop in Frystown, Pa. From there, the pigeons traveled different routes and distances to reach their home coops.

An average flight speed is calculated with the individual distance traveled by a bird and the time it took. Birds with the fastest pace are crowned the winner.

“When they come home, it’s just a beautiful thing,” said Vinnie Torre, whose coop in Wayne, N.J., Hillside Loft, is named for his father’s old barbershop in Hoboken. “It’s therapy, actually.”

G.I. Joe’s legacy

Organized pigeon competitions began in Belgium in the early 1800s, and the first races in the United States were held decades later, in New Jersey and New York, where by 1883, pigeon racing news would appear as prominently as Page 3 in [*The New York Times*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory).

During World War I, the U.S. Army began training pigeons at [*Fort Monmouth*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory), on the Jersey Shore, to deliver battlefield messages. In the Second World War, a pigeon trained at the base, [*G.I. Joe*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory), saved the lives of [*1,000 Allied troops*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) by carrying an order to cancel a scheduled bombing.

The birds use a [*well-researched*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) yet still mysterious set of skills to find their way home. In unfamiliar territory, scientists have found that the birds are guided by smell, the earth’s magnetic field and the angle of the sun; over familiar turf, they rely on the landscape.

The sport remains most vibrant in Europe, where in 2020 a 2-year-old hen, New Kim, sold for [*$1.9 million*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) and premier races in [*Barcelona*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) draw more than 17,000 birds. In the United States, so-called [*one-loft*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) races — where birds compete only against pigeons housed in the same professionally managed coop — advertise winning pots as high as [*$1.2 million*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory).

At the Lyndhurst club, prizes are drawn from entry fees, and a premier long-distance race can net a first-place winner about $6,500, said Mr. Torre, who sold his salvage shop and used-car lot and retired years ago, giving him the flexibility to train his 80 birds most mornings at sunup.

He drives the birds a little farther away each week, building strength and navigational prowess during training runs known as tosses.

Immigrants from countries including Portugal, Poland and the Philippines have infused the sport with new energy. But modernity has taken a toll.

At 56, Wesley Wilczewski is the youngest member of the [*Queen City Pigeon Club*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) in Piscataway, N.J.

“It’s shrinking like crazy, year by year,” said Mr. Wilczewski, a plumber who learned the sport from his father in Poland. “Nobody wants to spend any time in the coop cleaning. They want to play on the phones.”

Hoboken, a mile-square commuter city across the Hudson River from Manhattan, was once home to hundreds of rooftop coops, a tradition [*memorialized*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) in the classic 1954 movie “On the Waterfront,” starring Marlon Brando. But many communities in New Jersey, including [*Hoboken*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory), have outlawed coops, bowing to concerns about rodents, the demand for luxury apartment buildings with [*rooftop decks*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) and pressure from animal rights organizations.

The birds are exposed during races and training tosses to the elements and to predators like hawks. Not all of them come home. Groups that include People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals have [*condemned the pastime*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) as cruel, saying it exploits animals for prize money and encourages illegal gambling.

“They don’t want to think of themselves as monsters,” Hannah Schein, vice president of investigations and research at PETA, said of pigeon racers, some of whom cull slow birds and separate mates to incentivize them to fly home quickly. “But to us it’s monstrous.”

“You’re using emotional manipulation to get them to come home faster,” she added, “so you can have a winning moment with your friends.”

New Jersey pigeon racers say they take pride in treating their animals well.

“They come home,” said Steven Costa, 34, a member of a [*racing club*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) in Perth Amboy, N.J. “That means I’m making them happy.”

‘Tyson’s Corner’

Mr. Tyson’s birds live behind the Ringside, across a busy truck route from Mr. Costa’s diner, the White Mana, which was built for the 1939 New York World’s Fair but found [*fame*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) in Jersey.

After the death of Camille Ward, Mr. Tyson’s [*surrogate mother*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory), Mr. Costa brought the pigeons living at the boxer’s childhood home in Catskill, N.Y., to Jersey City. Generations of their offspring have thrived on rooftops near the Ringside.

Birds that fly for “Tyson’s Corner” compete at the Lyndhurst club.

Mr. Esteves, the club’s president, said a love of animals first drew him to the hobby as a child after he found an injured pigeon and nursed it back to health.

“It kind of just takes you away,” he said, “from the rest of the world.”

He now works in medical equipment sales and with his wife buys and sells real estate and owns frozen dessert franchises, leaving little time for pigeon training.

Still, he fared well this season. The day of the first race, the fastest of Mr. Esteves’s pigeons flew home in two hours, 32 minutes and 47 seconds. That was good enough for second place at the Lyndhurst club, though a far more distant 116th-place finish among the [*combine entrants*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory).

Mr. Torre’s fastest bird clocked an average flight speed about four seconds slower, earning him [*third place*](http://www.cjccombine.com/directory) in the day’s club rankings.

Mr. Esteves said his club payout was about $50, less than the $80 entry fee for 25 pigeons.

“If you are looking to make money to support your hobby,” he said, “this is not the hobby for you.”

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

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Yes, Most People Probably Should Hold Off on Claiming Social Security; Peter Coy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDX-NB71-JBG3-623X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2024 Friday 14:16 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1874 words

**Byline:** Peter CoyPeter Coy is a writer for the Opinion section of The Times, covering economics and business. Email him at .

**Highlight:** Readers had a lot of thoughtful objections to this idea. I stand by it as a general rule.

**Body**

I got a ton of mail on my Monday [*newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html) about why so many people claim Social Security benefits early. A lot came from readers defending their decisions to start drawing benefits as early as age 62 rather than waiting until 70, the age that I wrote is actually ideal for many people.

“The reason people take Social Security ASAP is because they need the money!” Peggy Bishop of Carlsbad, Calif., wrote. “What’s so hard to understand about that?”

Todd Grant of Deming, Wash., wrote, “To insinuate that people are claiming early for reasons that are not well thought out or understood is shaming and stress-inducing.”

People get just 70 percent of their full Social Security benefit if they claim at 62, the full benefit at 67 and 124 percent of the benefit if they claim at 70, as I explained.

Many readers said that while they didn’t absolutely need to start collecting Social Security early, they calculated that they would come out ahead by investing some or all of their checks in the stock market rather than waiting. Several even sent me their spreadsheets. I’ll get to those in a minute.

I acknowledge that there are legitimate reasons to claim early, some of which I mentioned on Monday and some of which I found out about from your emails. (Thanks again to my smart readers.) But as a general rule, I stand by what I wrote. The most important reason is also the hardest to explain, so I’m going to leave it for the end. And I should say, if it’s not already clear, that I am not a financial adviser.

I agree with Peggy Bishop that some people simply have to collect Social Security at the first opportunity. Maybe they have big expenses, or heavy debts, or [*lost their jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html) or are burned out and need to retire. They don’t have enough savings to tide them over to age 70 without Social Security. Also, as I wrote Monday, if you have reason to think you will die young, collecting early makes perfect sense.

Saying you should delay claiming Social Security when possible is not the same as saying you should keep working past the breaking point of body and soul. I agree with the labor economist Teresa Ghilarducci, who in a book published this year (which I [*wrote about*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html)) said that the main solution to America’s retirement crisis isn’t working longer but shoring up retirement benefits. That said, if you can manage to delay claiming even though you’ve stopped working, you’ll likely come out ahead.

Readers brought up other cases where claiming early might be the right decision, although it’s impossible to generalize. One is if you have children living at home who can also collect benefits because you’re retired. Another is if you are the younger, lower-earning member of a couple; it might make sense for you to claim early while your spouse waits to 70. But it works only if your spouse dies first and is not very old.

Some people may choose to collect early because they want to travel and enjoy life while they’re still healthy. That’s fair, although it would be more profitable to scrounge up the travel money without starting Social Security, if possible. Likewise, if you can’t sleep at night worrying about the risk of delaying Social Security, then you need to do what’s right for your peace of mind and forget what the economists say.

Some readers said that if they wait until age 70, they’ll have only a few years to enjoy the checks. Life expectancy at birth was 73.5 years for men and 79.3 years for women in 2021, [*according*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html) to the Social Security Administration’s 2024 Trustees Report. But if you’ve managed to survive until 62, your odds are better: Life expectancy at that age was 81 for men and 84.1 for women.

A reason I heard again and again for collecting early is the fear that benefits will be cut to deal with the system’s [*financial imbalance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html). The Times published an [*article*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html) about those worries on Thursday. “I expect reduced benefits or means testing to be introduced at some point, so I might as well get what I can now,” Eric Eidsmoe of Midland, Mich., who just turned 62 and decided to take Social Security right away, wrote to me.

It’s plausible that Congress might increase taxation of Social Security benefits or apply a less favorable cost-of-living adjustment, for example. On the other hand, I don’t think any future Congress will drastically reduce benefits for current recipients. That would be political suicide — retirees are a powerful voting bloc — as well as unfair to people who are too old to go back to work to make up the difference. That’s why more of the burden of fixing Social Security is likely to fall on current and future generations of workers, who have more ability to absorb the hit — say, by working longer.

On the political point, another group of readers made clear just how risky it would be for Congress to reduce benefits for current recipients. They strongly disliked my line that Social Security is “the government’s money.” M. Scott Owitz of Shokan, N.Y., wrote: “I paid that money; it is my money, matched by my employer, sweated out over 41 years of nursing practice. Don’t believe for one second it’s the government’s money.” (I continue to insist that people don’t own their projected Social Security benefit the way they own the money in their 401(k). Each generation pays taxes to the government to cover benefits to their elders, not themselves. But that’s a topic for another day.)

Now let me get to the most common reason people gave for claiming early, and why I think that it’s attractive but wrong. It’s the idea of comparing the return on delaying your Social Security with the return on taking your checks early and investing them.

On this point I consulted with Laurence Kotlikoff, a Boston University economist who sells the financial-planning software Maximize My Social Security and MaxiFi Planner and was one of the authors of the [*2022 study*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html) that my Monday newsletter mentioned.

For starters, Kotlikoff said, investing in the stock market is highly risky, and the risk of a very large decline in your assets increases over time. It’s like the cone of uncertainty for a hurricane’s path: the farther into the future, the bigger the chance of an extreme deviation from the central tendency. In contrast, the check you get from Social Security gets about 8 percent bigger for each year you delay (versus roughly 10 percent annual gains for stocks), and that’s guaranteed, aside from the political risks I mentioned above. Plus the benefit is adjusted annually for inflation.

Instead of comparing the “yield” on Social Security with that of stocks, compare it with something that it more closely resembles: TIPS, or Treasury Inflation-Protected Securities, which are backed by the full faith and credit of the federal government and cover you against inflation. Thirty-year TIPS are currently yielding about 2.3 percent a year.

Another point in Social Security’s favor is that you are an individual, not an average. Yes, on average stocks do better. But if you personally run out of money before you die because you plowed more money into stocks instead of opting for a bigger Social Security benefit, it will be cold comfort that on average stocks tend to outperform.

Longevity matters a lot. As Suzanne Shu of Cornell and John Payne of Duke found in a [*paper*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html) last year, some people want to collect early to reduce the risk that they’ll die young and effectively get ripped off by the system. But as Mary Jo Napoli of Columbus, Ohio, astutely pointed out, if you die young, you won’t regret it because you’ll be dead.

The break-even point — where the money you get from delaying exceeds the money you get from collecting early — gets talked about a lot, but is the wrong framework for decision making. That’s because Social Security is old-age insurance, not an investment. (It’s right there in the [*official name*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html).) It keeps paying, no matter how long you live, even to 120, when your 401(k) is down to $4.01. “Economics says to value benefits through your maximum, not your expected, age of life,” Kotlikoff wrote in an email.

Think of Social Security like fire insurance. For most people, the premiums they pay for fire insurance will vastly exceed the benefits they collect, because their houses won’t burn down. That doesn’t make fire insurance a bad deal; people don’t feel cheated if their houses aren’t engulfed in flames. Similarly, giving up that early benefit is the price you pay for extra insurance — in the form of bigger checks later — against the risk of living a very long life. As I wrote Monday, it can even pay to use up some of your retirement savings now so you can delay claiming Social Security.

I realize that this isn’t what you hear from a lot of financial planners, or even from Social Security itself. Several readers told me that they went to Social Security offices to discuss when to start their benefits and were advised to claim early. Some said they were told that they could get tens of thousands of dollars if they backdated their claiming age to six months earlier. The lure of instant cash could cause a lot of people to make poor decisions. In an email to me, the Social Security media relations office said the claiming date is “a personal decision,” adding, “People should remember that by choosing to start their benefit earlier, their monthly benefit amount may be lower for the rest of their life.”

I like the way Jeffrey Horton of Green Valley, Ariz., summed things up in his email: “If recipients understood that they are in fact buying something valuable with their deferral at age 62 (not only receiving an increased payment at age 67, but also addressing their longevity risk), they might be persuaded to take advantage of what the government is offering.”

The Readers Write

You [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/social-security-age.html), “The Election’s Other Biggest Losers? Economists.” Not just economists, but physicians and scientists too — and diplomats and the intelligence community.

Russell Bell

Albuquerque, N.M.

Maybe the Democrats need to start moving left. You can’t deliver the goods by staying just one step to the left of the Republicans. Start with a campaign to raise the federal minimum wage?

Greg Talcott

Siler City, N.C.

Stock markets up across the board. If Trump’s policies are so bad, why? Give Trump 2.0 a chance; it may turn out better than you think.

Bill Hoke

Santa Fe, N.M.

I would be very interested in seeing you actually go live in and among the ***working class*** for a few months and read the articles you have to write from the other side. Now more than ever we need to try to understand each other rather than being reactionary, angry or God forbid indifferent.

Rose Anderson

Dallas

You wrote that one reason Warren Buffett sold shares this year was to beat a potential increase in the capital gains tax rate. He’s now likely to be wrong about that, isn’t he?

Dale Bratton

San Francisco

Quote of the Day

“America is, as we shall point out, conservative in fundamental principles, and in much more than that, though hopefully experimentalistic in regard to much of the practical arrangements in society. But the principles conserved are liberal and some, indeed, are radical.”

— Gunnar Myrdal, “An American Dilemma,” Vol. 1 (1944)

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Sam Whitney/The New York Times; source images by CSA Images/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2024

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[***What We’ve Heard From Teens About the 2024 Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4R-T8J1-JBG3-61CC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 8, 2024 Tuesday 12:12 EST

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**Section:** HEADWAY

**Length:** 1121 words

**Byline:** Matthew ThompsonMatt Thompson is the editor of , an initiative from The Times exploring the world&amp;#8217;s challenges through the lens of progress.

**Highlight:** Since September, the Headway team has been asking teenagers across the country for their thoughts on the election. Here’s what we’ve heard so far.

**Body**

Since September, the Headway team has been asking teenagers across the country for their thoughts on the election. Here’s what we’ve heard so far.

Early in 2024, the Headway team, along with [*Chalkbeat*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/), a nonprofit news organization focused on education in America, started talking with high school students about the upcoming presidential election. We wanted to understand how youth were processing an election in which age had become an issue, especially four years after young people turned out at among the highest levels since 18-year-olds received the right to vote.

In September, we started the Headway Teen Election Challenge, posing questions to teenagers across the United States. So far, we’ve heard from more than 500 teenagers in 37 states and Washington, D.C.

Most of our respondents have been individuals, but we’ve also received submissions from entire classes in cities like St. Louis, Philadelphia and New York City. We’ve heard from many teenagers who are starting to shape our political system in ways that go well beyond voting.

In every questionnaire we’ve sent to students, we’ve asked for questions too, and we’ve compiled the most frequently asked [*here*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/), along with pointers to relevant reporting from The New York Times.

Here are some of the main themes we’ve heard so far.

Most participants expect the election to have a major or moderate impact on their lives.

The election isn’t a distant concern to most of the teenagers we’ve heard from so far. Well over half of our respondents say they expect to feel the effects of the outcome in their lives or in their families’ lives.

The reasons they cite are not unfamiliar. The impact on the economy, immigration and abortion policy were all frequently mentioned. And unsurprisingly, the teenagers who described themselves as the most attentive to the election were also likely to expect it to affect them most.

Many teenagers mentioned class. Some respondents who said they expected the election to have a minimal impact on them cited their family’s wealth as a reason, and some who expected significant effects wrote that they came from a lower-income or a ***working-class*** background.

In a word, participants find the election “interesting.”

Asked to describe the election in a single word, “interesting” was the top response. “Chaotic” (or “chaos”) was the next most common description, followed by “confusing” and “informative,” which were tied in our unscientific sample.

When we asked teenagers how they were informing themselves and others about the election, we expected them to say that social media played a big role. And for some, it does. But most said it only slightly or moderately affected their views.

Most respondents said they were very or mostly comfortable talking about the election with peers and classmates. Some said they and their peers shared a bubble in which conflict over politics was relatively rare.

But many teenagers mentioned challenges in discussing the election with family members and in the classroom, even while they often described parents and teachers as key influences on their politics. This squares with what we’ve heard from teachers, many of whom express deep reluctance in broaching political subjects in the classroom, as things like book selections have become more deeply politicized.

A surprising number of participants mentioned Project 2025.

Mentions of [*Project 2025*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/), a set of sweeping conservative policy proposals compiled by the Heritage Foundation, were surprisingly frequent among the responses to our questionnaires. In fact, “2025” ranked higher among the words respondents used to describe the potential impact of the election than “Trump,” “Harris,” “economy” or any particular issue.

Even when we convened groups of high school students in person at The Times’s headquarters, Project 2025 came up without prompting, and most in attendance were at least somewhat familiar with it.

Many respondents feel they can make a difference in the election, even if they can’t vote.

Young people face constant skepticism of their role in electoral politics. Many teenagers and adults alike downplay the idea that there’s any reason for people who haven’t yet reached voting age to pay attention to the messy, complicated politics of the United States.

Most of the youth we’ve heard from cannot vote this year. But they and their peers have been central to some of the most contentious subjects relating to the election, such as abortion, gun violence and campus protests. And some have realized they can have an impact on the issues that matter to them beyond voting, even if they can’t vote themselves.

These teenagers are registering eligible voters and participating in protests. Many have said they pay as much or more attention to downballot races as they do to the presidential ticket. Ayaan Moledina, a sophomore in high school, is responsible for legislation that has passed the Texas House of Representatives.

We were especially interested in what motivated these highly politically engaged teenagers, and, in interviews, several shared a few common traits. They had supportive and inspirational adults in their lives encouraging them to use their voice. They had access to enough resources — whether rides to events or a stable internet connection — that allowed them to participate in ways some youth could not. And their growing sense of history has begun to teach them that rising generations can sometimes force change in a way their elders cannot.

For Mr. Moledina, 15, the awakening started in a discussion in a fourth-grade classroom focused on the threat of a school shooting — an experience he realized few adults have faced.

“I still get told to this day that, you know, oh, be a kid, go play some video games, go play some sports,” he said. “There are so many issues that affect us that it’s just not possible to leave it to the adults, because to be quite frank, the adults are screwing it up a lot. When you’re talking about things that affect us, then you better include us. Because we’re the ones living it.”

Are you a teenager? Tell us your thoughts!

If you are between 14 and 19, we would love to hear your thoughts. (And if you’re not, but know someone who is, feel free to send them this; it’s not behind The New York Times’s paywall.) Does what we’ve heard resonate with you? Have you had a different experience? Let us know.

Headway’s Teen Election Challenge will continue until the election. Over the next few weeks, we will continue posing questions to teenagers, and gathering [*moments to remember*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/) for a time capsule of the 2024 election.

Join the challenge by answering the questionnaire below, and stay tuned for more in the coming weeks.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY LeeAndra Cianci FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2024

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[***Why MAGA Nation Embraces Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH7-V0P1-DXY4-X3V4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 18, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 25; LETTERS

**Length:** 1177 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re ''The Deep Source of Trump's Appeal,'' by David Brooks (column, July 12):

I've always believed that the mass of Donald Trump supporters were fundamentally just ***working-class*** Americans who, as the country's wealth increasingly skewed to the 1 percent ever since President Ronald Reagan, found themselves running faster and faster to stay in the same place, and finally (and justifiably) started to fume about it.

While Mr. Brooks doesn't flat out say it, I take away from his article that, rather than viewing their plight as old-fashioned liberals used to -- as plain and simple economic class exploitation -- the white ***working class*** has been conned by demagogues like Mr. Trump into seeing it as existential, zero-sum identity politics.

If Mr. Brooks's suggestion is that religious leaders guide Americans back to some form of enlightened democratic civility, they're going to have to drop a bit more wealth redistribution into their message to the congregation.

Steven DoloffNew York

To the Editor:

It was only a matter of time before the voters who have become MAGA nation -- having been dismissed as ''deplorables,'' sniffed at as people who ''cling to guns or religion,'' and generally considered less worthy -- would decide to stand up for themselves and say, ''We matter, too, and as much as you do.''

For all his many shortcomings, Donald Trump does have a keen eye for a marketing opportunity, and he was happy to swoop in and exploit the concerns of this group.

Democrats may prefer to fault President Biden's frailty, but they have no one but themselves to blame for the burgeoning strength of the adversary they face.

Margaret McGirrGreenwich, Conn.

To the Editor:

I was surprised that David Brooks fails to mention the highly significant role of social media in his ruminations on the fractiousness that besets our democracy today.

The tendency toward an ''us versus them'' mind-set in society has been greatly driven and amplified by social media's algorithms.

These have been purposefully designed to drive us all deeper into our bunkers and undermine any sense of a societal collective.

The pervasiveness of social media dedicated to maximizing profit regardless of its malign impact on individuals and society is inimical to democracy and a major contributory factor to democracy being ''on thin ice.''

Louis BrennanDublin

To the Editor:

David Brooks takes a good stab at understanding the tensions between Enlightenment values and religiously grounded social mores, but the one thing he doesn't explain is how those who think we need a return to a more ''religious'' moral center are completely enthralled by the likes of Donald Trump, who, whatever else you can say about him, never expresses anything in word or deed that would suggest he has any moral grounding at all. I know of no religious tradition that features revenge as a central moral tenet.

Ken BlickenstaffDanville, Ky.

To the Editor:

David Brooks's column comes the closest I have seen to explaining the bizarre divisions in the country right now, and the incomprehensible appeal of Donald Trump. The identity politics of the day goes a long way to helping me understand why President Biden, who has experience, judgment and insight, is struggling to counter the fact-free and wildly unrealistic bombast of Mr. Trump.

Bruce BalfeStevensville, Mich.

To the Editor:

David Brooks states, ''The task, then, is to build a new cultural consensus that is democratic but also morally coherent.'' While I am not a religious person, there is wisdom to be had in some religious teachings.

So a place to start could be Matthew 7:12: ''In everything, do unto others what you would have them do to you.'' Most people want to be respected, listened to, acknowledged as worthwhile rather than to be reviled, called names and dismissed as unimportant.

If our political leaders from across the political spectrum could embrace the golden rule, if they could preach it before stating a position or starting an argument, if they could say I want to hear why you think as you do as much as I want to state what I think, perhaps we could start down the road to rebuilding a common culture as Mr. Brooks prescribes.

Richard D. MamelokPalo Alto, Calif.

Exit Menendez?

To the Editor:

Re ''Menendez Guilty in Scheme to Sell Political Favors'' (front page, July 17):

Senator Robert Menendez, Democrat of New Jersey, was found guilty on all 16 counts on Tuesday. Chuck Schumer, the Senate Democratic leader, called for his immediate resignation.

See how it works outside of a cult?

Vin MorabitoScranton, Pa.

Joe, Keep Your Dignity

To the Editor:

After reading the July 10 columns by Thomas L. Friedman and Bret Stephens and the editorial, ''The Democratic Party Must Speak the Plain Truth to the President,'' I am very sad.

If President Biden had dropped out of the presidential race right after the debate, his legacy would have been exemplary. He would have gone down in history as a president who accomplished many worthwhile things for our people and our nation.

Little by little he is now being stripped of his dignity! Every time an Opinion writer or a member of his own party requests that he step aside, the request contains negative comments about his current physical and mental state.

Please, Joe, leave before all your positive accomplishments have been negated. Keep your dignity!

Ruth MenkenMount Kisco, N.Y.

Spirituality in America

To the Editor:

Re ''Are We in the Middle of a Spiritual Awakening?,'' by Jessica Grose (Opinion, nytimes.com, July 3):

Despite the seemingly nebulous nature of many forms of spirituality, my research (with Prof. Evan Stewart of the University of Massachusetts Boston) suggests that spirituality is underrecognized for how important it continues to be in the United States. The spiritual are as civically and politically engaged as the religious.

Spirituality seems to be emerging for some as a substitute for religion, at a time when ''religion'' alienates a growing number of young people and political progressives, as well as some members of the L.G.B.T.Q.+ community, women and people of color.

These people are creating new forms of sacred togetherness, through dinner parties, Soul Cycle or diverse arts communities such as the Sanctuaries in Washington, D.C., and many other innovative, transcendent forms of gathering, as the Chaplaincy Innovation Lab at Brandeis University and the Sacred Design Lab at Harvard Divinity School document.

One reason, perhaps, that emerging forms of spirituality and their connections to community are harder to identify is that they don't have the obvious links to volunteer work and traditional civic religion.

Although spiritual practices, meanings and experiences may be important to many Americans, they may not always be accustomed to speaking about it with others in public.

Jaime L. KucinskasClinton, N.Y.The writer is an associate professor of sociology at Hamilton College and the author of ''The Mindful Elite: Mobilizing From the Inside Out.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/opinion/donald-trump-appeal-maga.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/opinion/donald-trump-appeal-maga.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A25.

**Load-Date:** July 18, 2024

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[***Democrats Walked Into a Trap Republicans Set for Them***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62F7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; OpEd; Pg. 5; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1886 words

**Byline:** By Ben Rhodes

**Body**

In December 2019, I traveled to Hong Kong, where a heavy unease hung in the air. For months, young people had taken to the streets to protest the encroachment of the Chinese Communist Party on what was supposed to be a self-governing, democratic system. On walls they had scrawled: ''Save Hong Kong! If we burn you burn with us!'' All the protesters I spoke to knew their movement would fail; it was a last assertion of democratic identity before it was extinguished by a new order that saw democracy as the enemy within.

I met with a government official preparing to resign and told him I was writing a book about the rise of authoritarian nationalism. ''The nationalism in the U.S. and Europe is somewhat different,'' he told me. ''Yours started with the financial crisis in 2008. That's when liberalism started to lose its appeal, when people saw this wasn't working. The narrative of liberalism and democracy collapsed. This spilled over into China, too. This is when China started to think -- should we really follow a Western model?'' We were sitting in a hotel lounge, the invisible forces he described surrounding us: capitalism, but not democracy; cultural elites cloistered away from the ***working class***. ''The nationalist movements in East and West were both a response to the collapse of the Western model,'' he added.

Everything I'd experienced told me he was right. Eight years serving in the Obama White House after the financial crisis felt like swimming upstream, against the currents of global politics. A radicalized Republican Party rejected liberal democracy at home, mirroring far-right leaders like Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary who spoke about installing ''illiberal democracy'' (a polite term for ''blood and soil'' nationalism) across Europe. In Russia, Vladimir Putin set out to undermine -- if not dismantle -- the liberal order helmed by the United States. In China, Xi Jinping began to shift Beijing's strategy from rising within that order to building a separate one, drained of democratic values. Barack Obama's political skills and cultural appeal allowed him to navigate those currents, but they didn't always transfer to other Democrats.

Donald Trump's first victory challenged my liberal assumptions about the inevitability of a certain kind of progress: ''The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.'' For eight years outside of government, I have talked to opposition figures around the world and heard versions of the same story everywhere. After the Cold War, globalization chipped away at people's sense of security and identity.

In the West, neoliberalism -- that blend of free trade, deregulation and deference to financial markets -- hollowed out communities while enriching a global oligarchy. Meanwhile, a homogenized and often crass popular culture eroded traditional national and religious identities. After 9/11, the war on terror was embraced by autocrats such as Mr. Putin, who used it as a frame to justify power grabs while forever wars fueled mass migration. The financial crisis came through like a hurricane, wrecking the lives of people already struggling to get by while the rich profited on the back end. Then social media's explosion offered a vehicle to spread grievance and conspiracy theories, allowing populist leaders to radicalize their followers with the precision of an algorithm.

The playbook for transforming a democracy into a soft autocracy was clear: Win power with a populist message against elites. Redraw parliamentary districts. Change voting laws. Harass civil society. Pack courts with judges willing to support power grabs. Enrich cronies through corruption. Buy up newspapers and television stations and turn them into right-wing propaganda. Use social media to energize supporters. Wrap it up in an Us versus Them message: Us, the ''real'' Russians or Hungarians or Americans, against a rotating cast of Them: the migrants, the Muslims, the liberals, the gays, George Soros and on and on.

The persistent anti-incumbent mood was so strong that it even (narrowly) swept Mr. Trump out of office in 2020, aided by his bungling of a pandemic. But even after the shock of Jan. 6, heavy unease hung over American politics: There was no return to pre-Trump normalcy.

As president, Joe Biden embraced protectionism, organized labor and industrial policy, and his administration made investments in hollowed-out communities through executive orders and legislation. Democrats relentlessly communicated the threat Mr. Trump posed to democracy, with the removal of abortion rights as proof. When they fought a mediocre collection of Republican candidates to a draw in the 2022 midterm elections, many in the party -- including Mr. Biden -- drew the lesson that this approach was working.

Yet now Mr. Trump has decisively won back the presidency. I would never claim to have all the answers about what went wrong, but I do worry that Democrats walked into the trap of defending the very institutions -- the ''establishment'' -- that most Americans distrust. As a party interested in competent technocracy, we lost touch with the anger people feel at government. As a party that prizes data, we seized on indicators of growth and job creation as proof that the economy was booming, even though people felt crushed by rising costs. As a party motivated by social justice, we let revulsion at white Christian nationalism bait us into identity politics on their terms -- whether it was debates about transgender athletes, the busing of migrants to cities, or shaming racist MAGA personalities who can't be shamed. As a party committed to American leadership of a ''rules-based international order,'' we defended a national security enterprise that has failed repeatedly in the 21st century, and made ourselves hypocrites through unconditional military support for Israel's bombardment of civilians in Gaza.

Democrats told true stories about Mr. Trump's unfitness, about the legislative achievements of the Biden-Harris administration, about bodily autonomy for women. But when talking about middle-class economics, it was often in the familiar poll-tested language of the consultant class.

As a former speechwriter, I am sympathetic to the challenge of weaving these threads together. But for all his many strengths, over the last four years, Mr. Biden -- in part because of his age, in part because of social media -- could not fill that intangible presidential role of narrating what was happening in our nation and world. Democratic leaders in Congress tended to be old hands who'd spent decades in Washington, making them imperfect messengers for an electorate demanding change. It is no coincidence that two outsiders as different as Mr. Obama and Mr. Trump have dominated politics for 20 years.

Kamala Harris brought new energy and remarkable discipline to the campaign's final months, revitalizing the collaborative joy essential to Democratic politics. But her ties to an unpopular incumbent -- and a global post-pandemic backlash against any incumbent -- held her back. Democrats understandably have a hard time fathoming why Americans would put our democracy at risk, but we miss the reality that our democracy is part of what angers them. Many voters have come to associate democracy with globalization, corruption, financial capitalism, migration, forever wars and elites (like me) who talk about it as an end in itself rather than a means to redressing inequality, reining in capitalist systems that are rigged, responding to global conflict and fostering a sense of shared national identity.

Yes, this is unfair: Republican policies from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush did far more than Democrats to create this mess. But Mr. Trump's crusade against the past elites of his own party -- from the Bush family to Mitch McConnell -- credentialed him with a public hungry for accountability, while the Harris campaign's embrace of Dick Cheney conveyed the opposite message.

Donald Trump has won the presidency, but I don't believe he will deliver on his promises. Like other self-interested autocrats, his remedies are designed to exploit problems instead of solving them, and he's surrounded by oligarchs who want to loot the system instead of reforming it. Mass deportation and tariffs are recipes for inflation. Tax cuts and deregulation will exacerbate inequality. America First impulses will fuel global conflict, technological disruption and climate conflagration. Mr. Trump is the new establishment in this country and globally, and we should emphasize that instead of painting him as an outlier or interloper.

Out of the wreckage of this election, Democrats must reject the impulse to simply be a resistance that condemns whatever outrageous thing Mr. Trump says. While confronting Mr. Trump when we must, we must also focus on ourselves -- what we stand for, and how we tell our story. That means acknowledging -- as my Hong Kong interlocutor said -- that ''the narrative of liberalism and democracy collapsed.'' Instead of defending a system that has been rejected, we need to articulate an alternative vision for what kind of democracy comes next.

We should merge our commitment to the moral, social and demographic necessity of an inclusive America with a populist critique of the system that Mr. Trump now runs; a focus more on reform than just redistribution. We must reform the corruption endemic to American capitalism, corporate malfeasance, profiteering in politics, unregulated technologies transforming our lives, an immigration system broken by Washington, the cabal of autocrats pushing the world to the brink of war and climate catastrophe.

After he lost an election in 2002, Mr. Orban spent years holding ''civic circles'' around Hungary -- grass-roots meetings, often around churches, which built an agenda and sense of belonging that propelled him back into power. In their own way, the next generation of Democratic leaders should fan out across the country. Learn from mayors innovating at the local level. Listen to communities that feel alienated. Find places where multiracial democracy is working better than it is in the rest of the country. Tell those stories when pitching policies. Foster a sense of belonging to something bigger, so democracy doesn't feel like the pablum of a ruling elite, but rather the remedy for fixing what is broken in Washington and our body politic.

We are not living in Hong Kong, where a democratic movement could be extinguished. A midterm election looms. Mr. Trump is term-limited. The next four years will be trying and dangerous -- especially for the more vulnerable among us. But if we understand the global trends that got us here, we can swing the political pendulum back in our direction and seize that moment with a new vision of liberalism and democracy.

Ben Rhodes was deputy national security adviser under President Barack Obama and author of ''After the Fall: The Rise of Authoritarianism in the World We Made.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/opinion/republicans-democrats-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/opinion/republicans-democrats-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PETERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR5.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2024

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[***Olive Kitteridge***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVW-CXV1-JBG3-604N-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; Pg. 36

**Length:** 766 words

**Body**

74

Olive Kitteridge

Elizabeth Strout

2008

When this novel in stories won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 2009, it was a victory for crotchety, unapologetic women everywhere, especially ones who weren't, as Olive herself might have put it, spring chickens. The patron saint of plain-spokenness -- and the titular character of Strout's 13 tales -- is a long-married Mainer with regrets, hopes and a lobster boat's worth of quiet empathy. Her small-town travails instantly became stand-ins for something much bigger, even universal.

Liked it? Try

Tom Lake, by Ann Patchett

75

Exit West

Mohsin Hamid

2017

The modern world and all its issues can feel heavy -- too heavy for the fancies of fiction. Hamid's quietly luminous novel, about a pair of lovers in a war-ravaged Middle Eastern country who find that certain doors can open portals, literally, to other lands, works in a kind of minor-key magical realism that bears its weight beautifully.

Liked it? Try

The Seven Moons of Maali Almeida, by Shehan Karunatilaka

A Burning, by Megha Majumdar

76

Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow

Gabrielle Zevin

2022

The title is Shakespeare; the terrain, more or less, is video games. Neither of those bare facts telegraphs the emotional and narrative breadth of Zevin's breakout novel, her fifth for adults. As the childhood friendship between two future game-makers blooms into a rich creative collaboration and, later, alienation, the book becomes a dazzling disquisition on art, ambition and the endurance of platonic love.

Liked it? Try

Normal People, by Sally Rooney

Super Sad True Love Story, by Gary Shteyngart

77

An American Marriage

Tayari Jones

2018

Life changes in an instant for Celestial and Roy, the young Black newlyweds at the beating, uncomfortably realistic heart of Jones's fourth novel. On a mostly ordinary night, during a hotel stay near his Louisiana hometown, Roy is accused of rape. He is then swiftly and wrongfully convicted and sentenced to 12 years in prison. The couple's complicated future unfolds, often in letters, across two worlds. The stain of racism covers both places.

Liked it? Try

Hello Beautiful, by Ann Napolitano

Stay With Me, by Ayòbámi Adébáyò

78

Septology

Jon Fosse

Translated by Damion Searls2022

You may not be champing at the bit to read a seven-part, nearly 700-page novel written in a single stream-of-consciousness sentence with few paragraph breaks and two central characters with the same name. But this Norwegian masterpiece, by the winner of the 2023 Nobel Prize in Literature, is the kind of soul-cleansing work that seems to silence the cacophony of the modern world -- a pair of noise-canceling headphones in book form. The narrator, a painter named Asle, drives out to visit his doppelgänger, Asle, an ailing alcoholic. Then the narrator takes a boat ride to have Christmas dinner with some friends. That, more or less, is the plot. But throughout, Fosse's searching reflections on God, art and death are at once haunting and deeply comforting.

Why I Love ItI had not read Fosse before he won the Nobel Prize, and I wanted to catch up. The critic Merve Emre (who has championed his work) is my colleague at Wesleyan, so I asked her where to start. I was hoping for a shortcut, but she sternly told me that there was nothing to do but to read the seven-volume ''Septology'' translated by Damion Searls. Luckily for me, I had 30 hours of plane travel in the next week or so, and I had a Kindle.

Reading ''Septology'' in the cocoon of a plane was one of the great aesthetic experiences of my life. The hypnotic effects of the book were amplified by my confinement, and the paucity of distractions helped me settle into its exquisite rhythms. The repetitive patterns of Fosse's prose made its emotional waves, when they came, so much more powerful.'' MICHAEL ROTH, president of Wesleyan University

Liked it? Try

Armand V, by Dag Solstad; translated by Steven T. Murray

79

A Manual for Cleaning Women

Lucia Berlin

2015

Berlin began writing in the 1960s, and collections of her careworn, haunted, messily alluring yet casually droll short stories were published in the 1980s and '90s. But it wasn't until 2015, when the best were collected into a volume called ''A Manual for Cleaning Women,'' that her prodigious talent was recognized. Berlin writes about harried and divorced single women, many of them in ***working-class*** jobs, with uncanny grace. She is the real deal. DWIGHT GARNER

Liked it? Try

The Complete Stories, by Clarice Lispector; translated by Katrina Dodson

The Flamethrowers, by Rachel Kushner

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/25/books/review/21cent\_74-79.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/25/books/review/21cent_74-79.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (BR36

BR37) This article appeared in print on page BR36, BR37.

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2024

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[***Trump Criticizes Harris on the Border and the Economy in Michigan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2J-WYS1-JBG3-6106-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 27, 2024 Friday 11:08 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1046 words

**Highlight:** Donald Trump used a pair of events to try to blame Kamala Harris for inflation and the migrant crisis, tapping into themes that helped him win Michigan in 2016.

**Body**

Donald Trump used a pair of events to try to blame Kamala Harris for inflation and the migrant crisis, tapping into themes that helped him win Michigan in 2016.

[*Follow live updates on the 2024 election here.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election)

Former President Donald J. Trump crisscrossed the battleground state of Michigan on Friday, casting himself as an economic protectionist to blue-collar voters while attacking Vice President Kamala Harris over immigration on the same day she visited the southern border.

Mr. Trump used a pair of events to try to blame Ms. Harris for inflation and the migrant crisis, tapping into some of the populist themes that helped him win Michigan — and the presidency — in the 2016 election. In 2020, the state flipped for President Biden.

In the afternoon, the former president visited a manufacturing facility near Grand Rapids before holding a town hall event in the Detroit suburbs that started around 90 minutes late and ended after just a half-hour.

At the second event, in Warren, Mich., Mr. Trump vowed, if Congress did not act, to use executive action to enact protective tariffs to limit the flow of imports from China and other countries that he said were killing jobs in the state.

“The word ‘tariff’ I love,” he said at Macomb Community College, where he was joined onstage by Senator Marsha Blackburn of Tennessee, one of his staunchest allies in the Senate who served as the town hall’s moderator.

Mr. Trump fielded a handful of friendly questions from his supporters that set up familiar talking points and lines of attack. He said Americans were forgoing certain comforts because they could no longer afford them under the Biden-Harris administration.

“We don’t order bacon anymore,” he said. “It’s too expensive.”

Macomb County, a ***working-class*** area north of Detroit, backed Mr. Trump in both 2016 and 2020. His visit to Michigan came one day after voters in the state began receiving absentee ballots.

Ms. Harris met with Border Patrol agents on Friday in Douglas, Ariz., her [*first visit to the U.S.-Mexico border*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) since she became the Democratic presidential nominee.

Hours earlier at his first Michigan event in Walker, Mr. Trump went on a 25-minute-long diatribe about the Biden administration’s immigration policy. Mr. Trump, who was convicted of 34 felony counts in Manhattan and whose 2020 election lies spurred an attack on the Capitol, called Ms. Harris’s border policy a “crime,” saying “there’s no greater act of disloyalty than to extinguish the sovereignty of your own nation.”

Mr. Trump once again broadly depicted immigrants as “killers” bent on invading the United States, a characterization that border authorities have said ignores that many migrants are families with children. He pointed to Immigration and Customs Enforcement data reported earlier on Friday by Fox News that found 662,566 noncitizens with criminal histories on the agency’s national docket.

But the data does not bear out many of Mr. Trump’s claims about immigration, including his insistence that undocumented immigrants are causing a crime spike in the United States, a contention that available national data does not support.

And at one point, Mr. Trump acknowledged that he has made some of his immigration claims — including his continued insistence that other countries are deliberately sending prisoners and the mentally ill across the southern border — without evidence, then maintained that he had not needed it anyway.

“They’re dumping them in our country, and I never had proof,” Mr. Trump told hundreds of people at a manufacturer in Walker. He added, “You know why? It’s common sense.”

Mr. Trump’s advisers have been eager to get him to focus on policy, particularly around immigration and the economy, two areas where polling has shown dissatisfaction with Democrats.

As he often does in Michigan, he singled out autoworkers and the auto industry, which have long been central to the state’s economy. He criticized Ms. Harris’s tax plans and once again promised to impose a tariff of 100 percent or more on every single car coming across the Mexican border, a proposal that could potentially violate the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement negotiated by his administration.

And as he was talking about his proposed tax cuts, he stopped briefly to acknowledge people leaving his event before he was finished, falsely insisting that people do not leave his rallies early and that “when they do, I finish up quick.”

At their debate, Ms. Harris rankled Mr. Trump when she suggested people were leaving his events early because they were bored and exhausted. On Friday, Mr. Trump told the crowd that those leaving early were headed backstage to take photos. Some of them likely were doing so, but the crowd behind the press riser had already thinned out well before he made that remark.

In a sign of Michigan’s importance, Ms. Harris issued a statement ahead of Mr. Trump’s visit in which she criticized him for favoring corporations over their workers and for failing to deliver on his promises about manufacturing while he was president.

Arguing that Mr. Trump’s trade deal cleared the way for companies to outsource jobs to Mexico, Ms. Harris said, “We’ve seen this movie before. Once again, he is repeating the same playbook and telling the same old lies about how he’ll fight for working people, including those in Michigan.”

According to New York Times [*polling averages in the state*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election), Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump remain in a tight race in Michigan. Still, Ms. Harris has held a narrow edge over the last month, and her replacing Mr. Biden on the Democratic ticket significantly cut into a lead that Mr. Trump seemed to hold for months.

At his town-hall event, Mr. Trump sat near a prop: a 1967 Chevrolet Camaro. He was asked by one of his supporters what was one of his favorite American-made cars. His answer: Cadillac. He said that his late father, Fred Trump, would buy a dark blue Cadillac every two years.

“I buy a lot of them for different clubs and things,” Mr. Trump said of Cadillacs, adding, “Great question.”

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump at a campaign event in Walker, Mich., on Friday. His visit to Michigan came one day after voters in the state began receiving absentee ballots. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2024

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[***Why MAGA Nation Embraces Trump; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH3-6B31-DXY4-X3CY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2024 Wednesday 20:22 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1163 words

**Highlight:** Readers discuss a column by David Brooks about the former president’s appeal. Also: Robert Menendez’s conviction; Joe Biden’s dignity; spirituality in America.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*The Deep Source of Trump’s Appeal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/opinion/trump-biden-authoritarianism.html),” by David Brooks (column, July 12):

I’ve always believed that the mass of Donald Trump supporters were fundamentally just ***working-class*** Americans who, as the country’s wealth increasingly skewed to the 1 percent ever since President Ronald Reagan, found themselves running faster and faster to stay in the same place, and finally (and justifiably) started to fume about it.

While Mr. Brooks doesn’t flat out say it, I take away from his article that, rather than viewing their plight as old-fashioned liberals used to — as plain and simple economic class exploitation — the white ***working class*** has been conned by demagogues like Mr. Trump into seeing it as existential, zero-sum identity politics.

If Mr. Brooks’s suggestion is that religious leaders guide Americans back to some form of enlightened democratic civility, they’re going to have to drop a bit more wealth redistribution into their message to the congregation.

Steven Doloff

New York

To the Editor:

It was only a matter of time before the voters who have become MAGA nation — having been dismissed as “deplorables,” sniffed at as people who [*“cling to guns or religion,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/opinion/trump-biden-authoritarianism.html) and generally considered less worthy — would decide to stand up for themselves and say, “We matter, too, and as much as you do.”

For all his many shortcomings, Donald Trump does have a keen eye for a marketing opportunity, and he was happy to swoop in and exploit the concerns of this group.

Democrats may prefer to fault President Biden’s frailty, but they have no one but themselves to blame for the burgeoning strength of the adversary they face.

Margaret McGirr

Greenwich, Conn.

To the Editor:

I was surprised that David Brooks fails to mention the highly significant role of social media in his ruminations on the fractiousness that besets our democracy today.

The tendency toward an “us versus them” mind-set in society has been greatly driven and amplified by social media’s algorithms.

These have been purposefully designed to drive us all deeper into our bunkers and undermine any sense of a societal collective.

The pervasiveness of social media dedicated to maximizing profit regardless of its malign impact on individuals and society is inimical to democracy and a major contributory factor to democracy being “on thin ice.”

Louis Brennan

Dublin

To the Editor:

David Brooks takes a good stab at understanding the tensions between Enlightenment values and religiously grounded social mores, but the one thing he doesn’t explain is how those who think we need a return to a more “religious” moral center are completely enthralled by the likes of Donald Trump, who, whatever else you can say about him, never expresses anything in word or deed that would suggest he has any moral grounding at all. I know of no religious tradition that features revenge as a central moral tenet.

Ken Blickenstaff

Danville, Ky.

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David Brooks’s column comes the closest I have seen to explaining the bizarre divisions in the country right now, and the incomprehensible appeal of Donald Trump. The identity politics of the day goes a long way to helping me understand why President Biden, who has experience, judgment and insight, is struggling to counter the fact-free and wildly unrealistic bombast of Mr. Trump.

Bruce Balfe

Stevensville, Mich.

To the Editor:

David Brooks states, “The task, then, is to build a new cultural consensus that is democratic but also morally coherent.” While I am not a religious person, there is wisdom to be had in some religious teachings.

So a place to start could be Matthew 7:12: “In everything, do unto others what you would have them do to you.” Most people want to be respected, listened to, acknowledged as worthwhile rather than to be reviled, called names and dismissed as unimportant.

If our political leaders from across the political spectrum could embrace the golden rule, if they could preach it before stating a position or starting an argument, if they could say I want to hear why you think as you do as much as I want to state what I think, perhaps we could start down the road to rebuilding a common culture as Mr. Brooks prescribes.

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Palo Alto, Calif.

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Scranton, Pa.

Joe, Keep Your Dignity

To the Editor:

After reading the July 10 columns [*by Thomas L. Friedman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/opinion/trump-biden-authoritarianism.html) and [*Bret Stephens*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/opinion/trump-biden-authoritarianism.html) and the editorial, “[*The Democratic Party Must Speak the Plain Truth to the President*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/opinion/trump-biden-authoritarianism.html),” I am very sad.

If President Biden had dropped out of the presidential race right after the debate, his legacy would have been exemplary. He would have gone down in history as a president who accomplished many worthwhile things for our people and our nation.

Little by little he is now being stripped of his dignity! Every time an Opinion writer or a member of his own party requests that he step aside, the request contains negative comments about his current physical and mental state.

Please, Joe, leave before all your positive accomplishments have been negated. Keep your dignity!

Ruth Menken

Mount Kisco, N.Y.

Spirituality in America

To the Editor:

Re “[*Are We in the Middle of a Spiritual Awakening?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/opinion/trump-biden-authoritarianism.html),” by Jessica Grose (Opinion, nytimes.com, July 3):

Despite the seemingly nebulous nature of many forms of spirituality, my [*research*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/opinion/trump-biden-authoritarianism.html) (with Prof. Evan Stewart of the University of Massachusetts Boston) suggests that spirituality is underrecognized for how important it continues to be in the United States. The spiritual are as civically and politically engaged as the religious.

Spirituality seems to be emerging for some as a substitute for religion, at a time when “religion” alienates a growing number of young people and political progressives, as well as some members of the L.G.B.T.Q.+ community, women and people of color.

These people are creating new forms of sacred togetherness, through dinner parties, Soul Cycle or diverse arts communities such as the Sanctuaries in Washington, D.C., and many other innovative, transcendent forms of gathering, as the Chaplaincy Innovation Lab at Brandeis University and the Sacred Design Lab at Harvard Divinity School document.

One reason, perhaps, that emerging forms of spirituality and their connections to community are harder to identify is that they don’t have the obvious links to volunteer work and traditional civic religion.

Although spiritual practices, meanings and experiences may be important to many Americans, they may not always be accustomed to speaking about it with others in public.

Jaime L. Kucinskas

Clinton, N.Y.

The writer is an associate professor of sociology at Hamilton College and the author of “The Mindful Elite: Mobilizing From the Inside Out.”

This article appeared in print on page A25.

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2024

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[***Teamsters’ Black Caucus Endorses Harris While Parent Union Stays Silent***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CR2-5PW1-JBG3-620N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 14, 2024 Wednesday 10:11 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 622 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 move aligns the caucus with other big organized-labor groups, but the Teamsters president, who spoke at the Republican convention, has indicated he is open to backing Trump.

**Body**

The move aligns the caucus with other big organized-labor groups, but the Teamsters president, who spoke at the Republican convention, has indicated he is open to backing Trump.

The National Black Caucus of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris for the presidency on Tuesday, setting it apart from its parent union, which has declined to make an endorsement and whose president spoke at the Republican National Convention.

“Their records reflect a deep dedication to advancing labor rights and supporting ***working-class*** Americans,” the caucus said of Ms. Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, in a statement announcing its endorsement. “As a key partner in leading the most pro-labor administration in our lifetimes, Vice President Harris has proven to be a tough and principled fighter for workers’ rights and a leader who delivers on her promises.”

The statement praised the bipartisan infrastructure bill President Biden signed, as well as steps his administration has taken to [*lower prescription drug costs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/30/us/politics/biden-medicare-drug-prices-2024-campaign.html) and increase wages. It also credited Ms. Harris with pushing to expand the child tax credit — which the pandemic relief bill Mr. Biden signed in 2021 did temporarily, but [*Congress declined*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/30/us/politics/biden-medicare-drug-prices-2024-campaign.html) to do permanently — and with helping to [*preserve union members’ pensions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/30/us/politics/biden-medicare-drug-prices-2024-campaign.html).

It said that former President Donald J. Trump’s administration “was one of the most antilabor in modern history,” citing among other things his loosening of workplace safety regulations and his opposition to raising the federal minimum wage. And it criticized Mr. Trump as “contributing to a hostile environment for Black Americans.”

“Trump showed us for over 40 years who he really is: someone who is not for us,” James Curbeam, the chairman of the caucus, said in the statement. “Endorsing a candidate with his history would be a betrayal of the values that we have fought to uphold.”

The decision to endorse Ms. Harris aligns the Teamsters’ National Black Caucus with other major organized-labor institutions, including the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the United Automobile Workers and the American Federation of Teachers. But the overall Teamsters union has not endorsed either party’s ticket.

The Teamsters president, Sean O’Brien, [*requested speaking slots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/30/us/politics/biden-medicare-drug-prices-2024-campaign.html) at both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions, and [*spoke at the Republican convention*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/30/us/politics/biden-medicare-drug-prices-2024-campaign.html) in Milwaukee last month. (The list of speakers for the Democratic convention next week has not been finalized.) Mr. O’Brien has indicated that he is open to endorsing Mr. Trump, with whom he met privately earlier this year, as the former president tries to win support from union members, a traditionally Democratic constituency.

Mr. Curbeam, who did not immediately respond to an interview request on Wednesday, [*has previously condemned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/30/us/politics/biden-medicare-drug-prices-2024-campaign.html) Mr. O’Brien’s overtures to Mr. Trump. The Harris and Trump campaigns also did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

The Teamsters have 1.3 million members in a wide range of industries, including manufacturing and construction.

Kara Deniz, a spokeswoman for the union, said it was still conducting its endorsement process and was polling its members this month about which candidate they preferred.

“The great thing about the Teamsters is that we do have a diverse membership, and we are a democratic institution,” Ms. Deniz said. “Unlike a corporation, we uplift the voices of our membership and represent them and listen to our members’ input, and that’s exactly what we are doing right now.”

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris received an endorsement from the National Black Caucus of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lynne Sladky/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2024

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[***Donald Trump’s Choice for V.P. ‘Is Not a Unity Pick’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH2-6XV1-DXY4-X383-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2024 Wednesday 12:26 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1042 words

**Byline:** Michelle Cottle and Derek Arthur Michelle 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:** Michelle Cottle on what to know ahead of J.D. Vance’s R.N.C. speech on Wednesday night.

**Body**

J.D. Vance has gone from a ***working-class*** memoirist to the Republican vice-presidential nominee. Here, the Opinion writer Michelle Cottle introduces listeners to the man whom Donald Trump has picked to be his running mate. Plus, hear what Republican National Convention attendees think of the winner of the Republican veepstakes so far.

Below is a lightly edited transcript of the audio piece. To listen to this piece, click the play button below.

Michelle Cottle: I’m Michelle Cottle, and I cover national politics for Opinion.

It’s Wednesday, which means, in convention terms, that’s traditionally when the V.P. candidate speaks. Tonight we’re going to get to hear from Senator J.D. Vance, who is Donald Trump’s pick for his running mate.

Following the horrific shooting at the Pennsylvania rally, Trump and his campaign team have been talking about calling for unity and saying they’re going to focus more on that. Vance is not a unity pick. He is not who you would reach for if you were really trying to bring together lots of different pieces of the electorate. He tends to be a partisan, feisty figure, so I will be interested to see how they balance these things in his speech.

I am not on site in Milwaukee this week. I’m watching it on TV, like God intended. But my colleague, Isaac Jones, has been trolling the floor —

Audio clip of Isaac Jones: Can I ask you a quick question? I’m here reporting for The New York Times.

Clip of Republican National Convention attendee: Sure.

Cottle: Getting insights from the different delegates and trying to just check out the vibe on site.

Clip of Jones: So if you could describe the V.P. candidate with Trump, J.D. Vance, in one word, what would you say?

Clip of convention attendee: J.D. Vance is a hero. I’m serious.

Clip of convention attendee: Well, not one word, but I would say American dream.

Clip of convention attendee: Christian.

Clip of convention attendee: Slightly above average.

Clip of convention attendee: Well, he’s vibrant for the ticket. He’s vibrant for the ticket.

Cottle: Vance is really young. And rarely has age been such an issue in a presidential race.

Clip of convention attendee: I think he’s a hard worker. And I like that he’s 39 years old. [Laughs.] He’s got his brain cells left.

Cottle: You’re looking at two really old nominees, which naturally has people thinking about, like, well, what happens if one of them can’t fill out their term? But even more immediately, you need some energy. You need some fresh blood.

The other thing you hear, which is what you frequently hear, is people don’t really know that much about him. But if Trump says he’s OK, or they know he has defended Trump very vigorously, then they’re cool with that.

Clip of convention attendee: Yeah. I don’t really know his V.P., but if he trusts him, I trust him.

Cottle: J.D. Vance was definitely the guy that the MAGA folks could get excited about. For one, he has been a staunch economic populist, with the same kind of “both parties have spent too much time worrying about rich folks — let’s get this back to the regular people” stance. He’s got his roots in white ***working-class*** America. He’s done his tour in the Marines. And for the part of the party that does not think that we should be spending a lot of money or time doing things like supporting Ukraine in the war with Russia, he is a big champion for isolationism.

Vance is also kind of this young model of traditional values. He talks about the importance of family and the importance of fertility. He is very conservative on questions not just of marriage but also, say, reproductive rights, which, among the conservative, socially conservative Republican base, it actually does play really well.

Now, that said, anybody who’s not of the MAGA base is going to have a lot to dislike, or at least be very nervous about. For more traditional Republicans, his economic populism doesn’t play that well among certain pro-business circles. Obviously, his social conservatism is going to freak out women voters who are upset about the eroding of abortion access.

There’s also some concern among conservatives who are anti-Trump that he is in the vein of being OK with a lot of Trump’s authoritarian impulses. He’s certainly been very aggressive about promoting the whole “stop the steal,” election fraud, “you gotta watch the Democrats for their electoral shenanigans” thing. There is plenty for people to dislike, or at least be very nervous about.

Back during his campaign, I went out on the trail and watched him on the stump. He’s big friends with Donald Trump Jr.; it’s one of the advantages he had in the veepstakes. He’s fine. He’s not super charismatic. He tends to be much better on TV. And then once he got into office, I sat down with him to talk after his first year of doing the legislative thing.

He is incredibly smart and incredibly ambitious. So if I were Donald Trump, I’d be sleeping with one eye open. Because the minute they’re in office, I suspect Vance will be kind of eyeballing the Oval Office, measuring for curtains. Now, Trump doesn’t worry about a lot of these things because he sees himself as a man of destiny, and of course nobody’s going to outshine him.

But with Trump, there’s always the possibility that it could turn dark very quickly. And that’s the kind of thing that I assume Vance has taken into account. And if not, he can always give Mike Pence a ring for some advice.

Thoughts? Email us at [*theopinions@nytimes.com*](https://twitter.com/mcottle).

This episode of “The Opinions” was produced by Derek Arthur. It was edited by Kaari Pitkin and Alison Bruzek. Mixing by Carole Sabouraud. Original music by Sonia Herrero, Pat McCusker and Carole Sabouraud. Fact-checking by Kate Sinclair and Mary Marge Locker. Audience strategy by Shannon Busta and Kristina Samulewski. Our executive producer is Annie-Rose Strasser. Special thanks to Isaac Jones.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photograph by Anna Moneymaker/Getty FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2024

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[***A Guide to Election Night***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBH-DH71-DXY4-X1HG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2024 Monday 16:59 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1712 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt and Ian Prasad PhilbrickDavid 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:** What to expect.

**Body**

What to expect.

Today’s newsletter offers a guide to election night, and we’ll start with a point that many people don’t seem to realize: The process of counting votes may happen more quickly this year than it did four years ago.

Why? The Covid pandemic is over, and fewer people are voting by mail. And some states have changed their procedures to count votes more quickly. Michigan, for example, now allows officials to start processing mailed ballots before Election Day, while Philadelphia has bought faster counting machines.

If the presidential race is extremely close — think Bush vs. Gore — we won’t know the winner by tomorrow night. But the chance that the result will be clear is higher than you may think.

The presidency

The final New York Times/Siena College polls, released yesterday, [*showed a virtually tied race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). Kamala Harris is clearly favored in states that account for 226 electoral votes, while Donald Trump is favored in states that account for 219. To win, Harris will likely need at least 44 combined electoral votes from the seven battleground states, while he will likely need 51:

But surprises remain possible. A highly regarded Iowa poll, for example, shocked many political analysts over the weekend [*by showing Harris ahead there*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) — a potential sign of her strength with white voters. Alaska is another state where she has a small chance for a big upset. Trump could pull off his own surprises in New Mexico or New Hampshire.

[*You can explore all of the combinations through this map*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Congress

Republicans are significant favorites to retake Senate control, [*as Friday’s newsletter described*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). The likeliest path to a Democratic-led Senate requires at least one upset victory in Montana, Nebraska or Texas.

Control of the House is a tossup. It could come down to districts in states that often need days to finish counting ballots, including Arizona, California and New York. Nate Cohn, The Times’s chief political analyst, doesn’t think we will know tomorrow night which party has won.

Among the House races we’re watching closely:

* For an early sense, look to the Second and Seventh Districts in Virginia (where polls close at 7 p.m.). One is a race to succeed Abigail Spanberger, a moderate Democrat resigning to run for governor. Our colleague Catie Edmondson describes that race as “a good test of how House Republicans are going to do in suburbs that aren’t in love with Trump.”

1. Seventeen Republicans represent districts Joe Biden won in 2020, including Mike Lawler in New York City’s suburbs. If you’re looking for something to listen to today, [*we recommend this “Daily” episode about Lawler’s race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).
2. Five Democrats are running for re-election in districts Trump won in 2020, including Marie Gluesenkamp Perez in Washington State. [*Here’s a Times profile of Gluesenkamp Perez*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html), who has appealed to ***working-class*** voters by combining economic progressivism with moderate stances on college debt, immigration and guns.

Ballot initiatives

Here are six questions about voter referendums:

* Will abortion rights remain undefeated in the post-Roe era? [*Ten states will vote on the issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). Six red and purple states — Arizona, Florida, Missouri, Montana, Nevada and Nebraska — are considering measures that would allow abortion until fetal viability. Florida’s version needs 60 percent support to pass.

1. Will marijuana’s winning streak continue despite new evidence of harms? Florida, North Dakota and South Dakota will vote on whether to legalize recreational marijuana, and Nebraska will vote on medical marijuana. (A recent Times investigation explained [*growing signs of addiction and health problems*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).)
2. Will affordable housing expand? Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, New Orleans and Rhode Island will vote on funding.
3. Will momentum for school vouchers continue? The educational turmoil of the Covid pandemic, including long school closures, has already led several red states to allow families to use tax dollars for private schools. Kentucky and Nebraska will vote on related measures.
4. Will progressive economic policies continue to fare well? Alaska (where the minimum wage is now $11.73) and Missouri ($12.30) will vote on increases — and also whether to expand paid sick leave. California ($16) will also vote on lifting the minimum wage.
5. Will ranked-choice voting grow — or shrink? Ranked-choice voting allows people to list several candidates in a preferred order, rather than choosing only one. As a result, advocates note, it can help candidates who appeal to the broad American middle, rather than partisan extremes. Critics point out that it can also be complicated. Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon and Washington, D.C., will vote on whether to establish such a system in at least some elections. Alaska will vote on whether to get rid of its ranked-choice system.

We recommend [*this nationwide election guide*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) from Daniel Nichanian of Bolts magazine. It includes information on referendums about climate, transportation, L.G.B.T.Q. issues and more.

For more

* Doug Mills, a Times photographer, will be with Trump on election night. He has covered every president since Ronald Reagan. [*See some of his iconic images*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

1. Readers asked questions about the election. [*Times editors answered*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

THE LATEST NEWS

Voting

* Nearly 75 million people [*have cast early ballots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) (that’s around a third of all eligible voters).

1. Overall turnout is expected to be slightly lower than in 2020, but will still be higher than most previous elections.
2. A group of uncommitted voters struggled for months with their decision. [*See them explain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) who they’re voting for.
3. The final polls are [*the closest in modern history*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). But a decisive win for either candidate is still possible, Nate Cohn writes.

More on the Campaigns

* At a rally in Pennsylvania, Trump said he [*shouldn’t have left the White House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) after the 2020 election. He also joked to supporters that he wouldn’t mind if reporters were shot.

1. At a Michigan rally, [*Harris vowed to end the war in Gaza*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html), a crucial issue in the state. She also visited a Black church in Detroit, where she invoked the words of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
2. In ads, Harris’s final message is focused on kitchen-table issues like the economy, while the Trump campaign has framed defeating Harris [*as a matter of life and death*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).
3. Both candidates will spend most of their final day in Pennsylvania. [*Follow the latest news here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Middle East

* Thousands of children in Gaza City [*received a second dose of polio vaccine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). The vaccination campaign was delayed because of fighting.

1. On Oct. 7, a college student in Israel shared posts on Instagram — and then the police arrested her for incitement. [*Read about her story*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

More International News

* In Colombia, a fossil-collecting rancher found [*a flightless killer bird from 13 million years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). It’s a missing link to the region’s evolutionary history.

1. The pro-Western president of Moldova, a former Soviet republic, won re-election against [*a Moscow-friendly rival*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).
2. A volcanic eruption in eastern Indonesia triggered several earthquakes and killed [*at least 10 people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html), officials said.
3. The language of the Indonesian Cia-Cia tribe has survived for centuries without a written form. To preserve it, the tribe [*has adopted the Korean alphabet*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Other Big Stories

* Quincy Jones, a giant of American popular music, [*died at 91*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). Starting in the late 1950s, he led bands, composed film scores and later produced the best-selling album of all time, Michael Jackson’s “Thriller.”

1. “A drop in the bucket”: Residents in Louisville expressed hope and concern after a police officer was convicted of using excessive force [*in the raid that killed Breonna Taylor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).
2. Weight-loss drugs and I.V.F. are expensive, and their popularity is [*raising the cost of health care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Opinions

[*House and Senate races*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) will decide whether Congress enables or restrains the next president, the Editorial Board writes.

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens discuss [*the political gender divide*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Here’s a column by Ross Douthat on why opposing Trump is [*not an obvious choice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

MORNING READS

What happens to your compost? [*Meet a man who manages it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Not so luxe: Consumers claim they were [*duped by a vacation club*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) managed by Hyatt. Some are locked into 40-year, $50,000 contracts that they say offer few rewards.

Metropolitan Diary: [*The Bird Man of Bryant Park*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Lives Lived: As a young public-health researcher in South Asia in the late 1960s, Richard Cash showed that a simple cocktail of salt, sugar and clean water could check the impacts of cholera and other diarrhea-inducing diseases. This innovation saved an estimated 50 million lives. Cash [*died at 83*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

SPORTS

Marathon: Abdi Nageeye and Sheila Chepkirui [*won the New York City Marathon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). Some [*celebrities also ran*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

N.F.L.: The Minnesota Vikings [*ended a losing streak*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) with a 21-13 win over the Indianapolis Colts.

N.B.A.: The Phoenix Suns star Kevin Durant [*called the ESPN personality Stephen Smith “a clown”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) in response to the analyst’s criticism of his leadership abilities.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Most new food celebrities get their start on social media, like front-seat food critics and TikTok bakers. Not Kwame Onwuachi, a chef with restaurants in New York City and Washington, D.C. His fame came primarily from working in a restaurant.

“His talent in the kitchen and his charisma outside it conspire with a rare ability, seen more often in pop stars than in chefs,” Pete Wells writes, noting that Onwuachi can identify and ride social currents. [*Read more about his new restaurant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

More on culture

* An editor is trying to refresh Town &amp; Country, a 178-year-old magazine, [*using social media*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

1. James Van Der Beek, the star of “Dawson’s Creek,” said he had been [*diagnosed with colorectal cancer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Add [*chicken meatballs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) to this soup with lemon and feta.

Spread [*the best butter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Take [*our election news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). Yesterday’s pangram was portrayal.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. —David and Ian

P.S. Ian wrote about what he heard from Trump supporters at his [*Madison Square Garden rally*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html) last week.

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/harris-trump-times-siena-poll.html).

PHOTO: In Philadelphia. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Matthew Hatcher/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Win or Lose, Trump Has Already Won; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBH-5M11-JBG3-61XM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2024 Monday 19:18 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1732 words

**Byline:** Matthew Schmitz

**Highlight:** On trade and immigration, he can claim a remarkable degree of vindication.

**Body**

Whether or not Donald Trump wins this election, he has already won a broader debate about whom our political system is supposed to serve.

In policy terms, Mr. Trump’s victory is especially clear on his two signature issues, trade and immigration. But what he has accomplished goes beyond any narrow matter of policy. Adopting his approach to those issues involves a change in the way political obligation is understood: It entails a clearer realization that it is permissible, and often essential, to give priority to one’s fellow citizens over those of other countries.

When Mr. Trump descended the golden escalator to announce his first presidential candidacy in 2015, his argument that free trade and mass immigration were hurting the United States was out of step with leading opinion in both political parties and with the academic consensus. But in the nine years since, with the help of these two issues, he has transformed American politics, not only remaking the Republican Party in his image but forcing Democrats to move in his direction as well.

Mr. Trump has noted this dynamic. Even as he paints Kamala Harris as a radical, he has joked that she has lately adopted so many of his policies he plans to “send her a MAGA cap.” He could say much the same about the Biden administration, with its continuation of his tariffs on Chinese goods and its recent efforts to project a tougher image on immigration, not least in the bipartisan border bill.

Even some experts are coming around. During the 2016 presidential campaign, a group of 370 economists, including eight Nobel laureates, signed a [*letter*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) accusing Mr. Trump of ignoring “the benefits of international trade” and of exaggerating the “modest” role that immigration has played in the stagnation of ***working-class*** wages.

But in March of this year, one of those economists, the Nobel laureate Angus Deaton, offered a much more negative assessment of free trade and immigration. “I used to subscribe to the near consensus among economists that immigration to the U.S. was a good thing, with great benefits to the migrants and little or no cost to domestic low-skilled workers,” he [*wrote*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf). “I no longer think so.” He added that he had also become “much more skeptical of the benefits of free trade to American workers” — and even of its role in reducing global poverty.

To be sure, the transformation that Mr. Trump has brought about has often been fitful and subject to resistance. Particularly on immigration, Mr. Trump’s polarizing approach at times drove immigration advocates to an opposite extreme. And important differences remain between the parties. But now, as he completes his third campaign, he can claim a remarkable degree of vindication.

Mr. Trump’s views on trade and immigration were set years before he entered politics. “I believe very strongly in tariffs,” he told the journalist Diane Sawyer in 1989. “America is being ripped off.” In his 2000 book “The America We Deserve” he wrote that “our current laxness toward illegal immigration shows a recklessness and disregard for those who live here legally.”

In that book, Mr. Trump also challenged the free-market assumption that “constructive engagement” with China would eventually push the country toward greater economic and political freedom. He argued that presidents from both parties had given China “far too easy a ride.”

During the 2016 campaign, Mr. Trump’s views on trade and immigration put him at odds not only with Democrats such as Hillary Clinton and Joe Biden but also with [*much*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) [*of*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) the Republican establishment. Though both parties had a record of objecting to unfair trade practices and enforcing border laws, these measures were often seen as mere stopgaps on the way to a world where people and goods moved more freely. In 2013, Mrs. Clinton, who that same year supported a Senate immigration bill that would fund an enhanced border-security plan, told a group of bankers that her “dream” was “a hemispheric common market, with open trade and open borders.”

After assuming the presidency in 2017, Mr. Trump directly challenged this view. He [*renegotiated*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) the North American Free Trade Agreement; withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the free-trade agreement brokered by Barack Obama; and placed tariffs on about $360 billion in Chinese goods. He also took more than 400 executive actions aimed at limiting immigration, part of a wide-ranging effort that significantly slowed the growth of the foreign-born population.

Mr. Trump’s approach to trade had many critics. “Trump doesn’t get the basics,” Mr. Biden said in 2019. “He thinks his tariffs are being paid by China. Any freshman econ student could tell you that the American people are paying.”

And much of the public recoiled from Mr. Trump’s approach to the border, especially his family-separation policy. Democrats not only rejected his most controversial measures, they also embraced ideas that once might have seemed outside the mainstream. Ms. Harris denounced Mr. Trump’s border wall as “un-American,” endorsed decriminalizing border crossings and supported government health care for undocumented migrants.

But in the nearly four years since Mr. Biden entered office, much has changed. Democratic opposition to Mr. Trump on trade and immigration has wavered and at times reversed itself.

Start with trade policy. Rather than undo Mr. Trump’s tariffs on Chinese goods, Mr. Biden kept them in place. A review of the tariffs published in September by the Biden administration [*concluded*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) that they had been effective in countering China’s hostile trade practices and had reduced U.S. reliance on Chinese imports and should be maintained. Mr. Biden has even decided to increase tariffs on about $18 billion in Chinese imports.

An embrace of tariffs is likely to continue if Ms. Harris is elected president. Though she has campaigned against Mr. Trump’s proposal to impose an across-the-board tariff of 10 percent to 20 percent, she is not seen by free-trade advocates as a consistent ally. In a recent poll, 56 percent of respondents [*said*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) they would be more likely to back a candidate who supported a 10 percent tariff on all imports. Domestic politics and geopolitical competition suggest that tariffs are here to stay.

One sign of Mr. Trump’s triumph is the eagerness of swing-state Democrats to invoke his name on trade. Last month, an ad for Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania brags that he “sided with Trump to end NAFTA and put tariffs on China to stop them from cheating.” Another advertisement last month, for Senator Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin, declares that she “got President Trump to sign her Made in America bill,” which strengthens requirements for federally funded projects to use domestically produced materials.

Another significant indication of Mr. Trump’s success in changing the conversation on trade was a speech last year by Jake Sullivan, Mr. Biden’s national security adviser, delivered at the Brookings Institution. In the speech, he [*declared*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) the arrival of a “new Washington consensus” that rejects free trade as an end in itself, defended tariff policies and observed that “economic integration didn’t stop China from expanding its military ambitions.”

Mr. Trump can also claim some measure of victory on immigration. As of July, 55 percent of Americans [*want*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) immigration to decrease, the highest percentage since 2001. Over the past year, the percentage of Democrats who want to see immigration decrease has [*risen*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) by 10 points. A striking 42 percent of Democrats say they would [*support*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf) “mass deportations of undocumented immigrants.”

In the current campaign, Ms. Harris has taken a much more restrictive view on immigration than she did several years ago. She has promised to sign the bipartisan border bill, which mandates spending hundreds of millions to extend the wall that she once called un-American. She not only opposes decriminalizing border crossings but has also promised to pursue “more severe criminal charges” against repeat offenders.

Old-line Democrats and new-wave progressives are associating themselves with Mr. Trump’s border policies. Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio has aired an ad boasting that he “wrote a bill that Donald Trump signed to crack down on drugs at the border.” Dan Osborn, a labor-backed independent candidate challenging one of Nebraska’s Republican senators, has said that “if Trump needs help building the wall, well, I’m pretty handy.”

To be sure, it is possible to exaggerate the agreement underlying this new consensus. The Biden administration frames its trade and industrial policy in terms of a transition to renewable energy sources, an enthusiasm that Mr. Trump does not share. Mr. Biden has also taken a softer line with Europe, rolling back Trump-era tariffs on European aluminum and steel. And though Democrats have adopted tougher border rhetoric and policies, their approach still contrasts with that of Mr. Trump, who has proposed mass deportations.

In retrospect, the Biden years may be seen as an attempt to accept and extend elements of Mr. Trump’s critique of U.S. trade policy, while conceding less to him on immigration. But Democrats’ recent change in tone suggests that this strategy has failed, and they may continue to move closer to Mr. Trump’s restrictive border policies. If that occurs, it will be a sign of a more profound transformation.

Underlying our debates over immigration and trade is something deeper than any analysis of economic benefits. As Mr. Deaton, the economist, put it, his change of mind on these issues was accompanied by a realization that “we have additional obligations to our fellow citizens that we do not have to others.” One can agree with this statement without supporting any of the policy proposals of Mr. Trump, or feeling any attraction to his personality. (Mr. Deaton, for his part, has endorsed Ms. Harris.) But if Mr. Trump has forged a new consensus, it is because he forced people to confront this truth.

Matthew Schmitz ([*@matthewschmitz*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf)) is a founder and an editor of the magazine [*Compact*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf).

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.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.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/EconomistLetter11012016.pdf).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***What Happened When Chicago’s Mayor Followed a Teachers’ Union Playbook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D98-C6T1-DXY4-X0TH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2024 Tuesday 22:52 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1508 words

**Byline:** Dana GoldsteinDana Goldstein covers education and families for The Times.&amp;#160;

**Highlight:** In Chicago, the mayor and the teachers’ union are tightly connected. The relationship has ushered in generous spending and led to political turmoil.

**Body**

In Chicago, the mayor and the teachers’ union are tightly connected. The relationship has ushered in generous spending and led to political turmoil.

For years, Chicago was ground zero for the Democratic Party’s big transition on education.

With the support of longtime resident Barack Obama, who was in the White House, and his close ally Rahm Emanuel, then in the mayor’s office, the city turned away from policies favored by teachers’ unions and toward policies meant to provide families with choices and accountability, like charter schools and school-grading systems based on student test scores.

That was then.

Now, Chicago is in the midst of a radically different experiment: What would happen if one of the nation’s feistiest teachers’ unions was able to [*elevate the mayor of its choice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/22/us/brandon-johnson-chicago-mayor-runoff-teachers.html?searchResultPosition=7), who then embraced the union’s agenda almost unequivocally?

On one hand, results have been good. The district’s 300,000 students have demonstrated unusually [*strong recovery*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/22/us/brandon-johnson-chicago-mayor-runoff-teachers.html?searchResultPosition=7) from pandemic-era learning loss in reading, and more students than ever are enrolling in college-level courses.

On the other hand, there has been financial and political turmoil. The school district used federal Covid-19 relief money to hire thousands of teachers, instructional coaches, counselors, nurses and social workers, even as student enrollment shrunk.

That money is now running out, and the system is hundreds of millions of dollars in the red. Mayor Brandon Johnson, a former social studies teacher and teachers’ union organizer, has been [*trying to oust*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/22/us/brandon-johnson-chicago-mayor-runoff-teachers.html?searchResultPosition=7) the schools chief executive, Pedro Martinez, who resisted the mayor’s proposal for the district to take out a high-interest loan to help cover the gap.

Amid this dispute, the entire school board [*resigned en masse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/22/us/brandon-johnson-chicago-mayor-runoff-teachers.html?searchResultPosition=7) this month, and was replaced by a new group of mayoral appointees.

The dynamic could shift again in the coming weeks. On Election Day, voters will have their first chance to elect 10 school board members, after the Chicago Teachers Union lobbied for years to end mayoral control of the school system.

“The Chicago Teachers Union has really become the political machine in Chicago,” said Paul Vallas, a former schools superintendent in the city and a longtime critic of the union. He ran against Mr. Johnson for mayor last year and lost.

The mayor’s critics say he should be willing to say “no” to the union: to close under-enrolled schools, reduce the size of the staff and refuse the union’s demand for a 9 percent raise.

But Mr. Johnson says he has little reason to say no, because he believes the agenda he and the union share is the right one. He argued that children in Chicago’s low-income neighborhoods have never had equal access to school libraries or robust programs in the arts, languages, athletics, advanced academics or quality career training.

Adversarial relationships between past mayors and teachers’ union officials led to poor outcomes for Black and Hispanic students, he said, and the loss of Black teaching jobs.

“What are we going to lean into and say yes to?” Mr. Johnson asked in an interview. “I was elected to invest in people. Guess what I’m doing? I’m investing in people.”

As a former educator with a strongly pro-union approach to education policy, Mr. Johnson is part of a rising group of Democrats that includes the party’s vice-presidential candidate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota.

Their prominence has been all the more notable because the unions’ support for lengthy pandemic school closures caused deep division in liberal parts of the country.

But the political salience of that debate faded when schools reopened. For big cities like Chicago, New York and Los Angeles, one of the most pressing issues now is maintaining services as student populations decline in size, since schools are funded on a per-pupil basis.

Families have left big-city school systems over the past decade for a variety of reasons, including high housing costs, frustration with virtual learning during the pandemic and the draw of charter and private schools.

Enrollment numbers have ticked up in Chicago and other cities over the past two years, but still remain well below prepandemic levels.

But in the view of Mr. Johnson and his close ally — the Chicago Teachers Union president, Stacy Davis Gates, another former social studies teacher — fewer students should not mean fewer schools.

They point to [*research suggesting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/22/us/brandon-johnson-chicago-mayor-runoff-teachers.html?searchResultPosition=7) that when Mr. Emanuel closed 50 schools in 2013, the financial benefits were modest, while students who had attended the shuttered schools seemed to suffer academic setbacks in subsequent years.

Mr. Johnson and Ms. Davis Gates are instead suggesting putting more money into schools that few families currently attend. An example is [*Frederick Douglass Academy High School*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/22/us/brandon-johnson-chicago-mayor-runoff-teachers.html?searchResultPosition=7) on the city’s West Side, which served more than 500 students in 2007, and now has only 34 enrolled.

Mr. Johnson and Ms. Davis Gates speak in sweeping, historical terms, casting their agenda as a form of “reconstruction” for Black and Latino students.

“The goal of Chicago Public Schools in its inception was to do two things: to maintain segregation and to offer the ***working class*** an entry into the stockyards and the factories,” Ms. Davis Gates said.

What’s needed in 2024, she argued, is a wholesale rethinking of the system’s purpose, which she defined as providing every Chicago student with a high-quality school they can walk to, rich with bilingual programs, extracurricular activities and the arts.

The mayor, she said, is rightfully “impatient and intolerant about waiting longer.”

The two of them are personal friends, Ms. Davis Gates noted. She and the mayor have both said their commitment to preserving every neighborhood’s school was informed by the compromises they have made in their own lives as Black parents living in historically Black neighborhoods with struggling institutions.

Mr. Johnson’s oldest son travels to a magnet school in a different neighborhood, attracted there by its orchestra and Advanced Placement classes, he said.

Ms. Davis Gates said one of her three children had enrolled in a private school because it had stronger athletics.

Mr. Martinez, the schools chief executive, also has his own children enrolled in the district. He said he agreed with the goal of creating new programs to draw students back to under-enrolled schools, and noted that Black students travel farthest across the city to find a school they prefer.

The core of his disagreement with the mayor, Mr. Martinez said in an interview, is that while the mayor has said no funding stream should be left off the table, Mr. Martinez believes taking out a loan would replicate past mistakes and leave the district saddled with debt. Instead, he would like the city to tap property tax surpluses and lobby for greater state and federal investment.

Andrew Broy, president of the Illinois Network of Charter Schools, said that instead of flooding low-performing, under-enrolled schools with more money, Chicago school leaders should support policies that allow more parents to make the choices they have made — picking high-quality schools that work for their families.

He argued that students were losing out because two parties that typically sit across the negotiating table — the mayor and the teachers’ union president — are so closely allied.

“When you have two people on the same side of the table, the only ones not represented are students and taxpayers,” he said. “When they’re not at the table, they end up being on the menu.”

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Chicago and several other cities transitioned away from elected school boards to mayoral control of schools, part of a national movement meant to streamline accountability for public education. But academic and political results were mixed. Illinois Gov. JB Pritzker, a Democrat, signed a bill in 2021 transitioning Chicago to an elected board. Now, with the first vote to seat new board members approaching on Election Day, the union and its critics in the charter-school world are pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars into direct mail.

Union allies have accused their Democratic critics of embracing a Trump-like agenda. Charter school supporters are pushing back against Mr. Johnson’s promise to prioritize traditional neighborhood schools over charters, magnet schools and selective enrollment options.

The union has long seen the elected board as a way to influence the system’s governance. But shifting to elections also means its opponents could gain seats.

Even some left-leaning members of the Chicago City Council have become skeptical of the mayor’s budget strategy, worrying about piling up new debt when the district cannot afford its existing pension commitments.

Andre Vasquez, a City Council member, noted that he, like the mayor, had come into elected office with a background in progressive activism. But the two roles, he argued, were fundamentally different.

“A lot of us are used to holding up picket signs,” he said. “Now you have to deliver the results. You start realizing it’s a lot more nuanced.”

This article appeared in print on page A30.

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2024

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[***Harris Casts Herself as a Pro-Business Pragmatist in an Economic Pitch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D25-T6G1-JBG3-6183-00000-00&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. 18

**Length:** 1081 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas and Reid J. Epstein

**Body**

Declaring ''I am a capitalist'' in a speech in Pittsburgh, Kamala Harris promised not to be ''constrained by ideology'' even as she said she would fiercely defend unions and the middle class.

Vice President Kamala Harris laid out a broad vision of her economic plan on Wednesday as she sought to bridge the political divide between the progressive senator who ran for president in 2019 and the pragmatic, pro-business candidate she is presenting herself as now.

During a speech in Pittsburgh in which she declared ''I am a capitalist,'' Ms. Harris promised to protect and expand U.S. manufacturing as she tried to convince voters that she will defend and lift up the middle class.

''From our earliest days, America's economic strength has been tied to our industrial strength,'' she said. ''The same is true today. So I will recommit the nation to global leadership in the sectors that will define the next century.''

Speaking not with the trappings of a raucous campaign rally but in front of the sober signage of the Economic Club of Pittsburgh, Ms. Harris delivered remarks seemingly tailored to voters sitting in wood-paneled offices reading the print edition of The Wall Street Journal. Such voters may have supported John McCain and Mitt Romney, and might believe the economy was better four years ago, but the Harris campaign appears to be hoping that many will now have trouble stomaching the idea of voting for former President Donald J. Trump.

Ms. Harris revealed little new about her economic plans in her 39-minute speech, but she reiterated many of the populist themes of her economic agenda. She promised tax increases on the largest corporations while pledging tax breaks for small businesses and homebuilders.

She also pledged to invest in what she described as some of the most promising industries of the 21st century: bio-manufacturing, aerospace, artificial intelligence, blockchain technology and clean energy.

The goal, she said, should be that ''the next generation of breakthroughs -- from advanced batteries to geothermal to advanced nuclear -- are not just invented but built here in America by American workers.''

Ms. Harris made her pitch in a Democratic stronghold that was once a capital of American industry, in a top battleground state that could determine the winner of the presidential election. She has previously given economic addresses on her plans to lower costs and to help small businesses. Her emphasis on manufacturing on Wednesday was a return to a more traditional Democratic talking point, one often highlighted by President Biden before he dropped out of the race in July.

Her speech tried to weave her economic themes together into a broader vision. She said she was ''not constrained by ideology,'' an apparent response to polls that show some voters consider her too liberal. And she quoted the words of the investor Warren E. Buffett as the billionaire Mark Cuban, a Pittsburgh native and Harris supporter, listened from the fifth row of the audience. But she also pointed to her efforts as attorney general of California to hold corporate bad actors accountable.

Ms. Harris suggested that she would join a continuum of presidents who left legacies of major infrastructure improvements for the nation. She invoked Abraham Lincoln and the transcontinental railroad, Franklin D. Roosevelt and ''bold persistent experimentation,'' Dwight D. Eisenhower and the interstate highway system, and John F. Kennedy and the space program.

She did not once mention Mr. Biden.

Along with the recitation of her economic agenda, Ms. Harris delivered a searing critique of Mr. Trump's policies. She said tariffs he has proposed would cost an average American family nearly $4,000 a year -- an estimate that Mr. Cuban, who went from endorsing Nikki Haley in the Republican primary race to becoming a Harris campaign surrogate in the general election, repeated on MSNBC shortly after Ms. Harris concluded her remarks, pronouncing her ''better for business'' than Mr. Trump.

Ms. Harris also called Mr. Trump ''one of the biggest losers ever on manufacturing,'' said he had been ''played by China'' and accused him of allowing American manufacturing jobs to be moved to other countries.

And she tried out a new line in her long-running effort to define her opponent as a friend of billionaires and giant corporations, not the ***working class***.

''For Donald Trump, our economy works best if it works for those who own the big skyscrapers,'' she said. ''Not those who actually build them. Not those who wire them. Not those who mop the floors.''

The Trump campaign was not impressed. It called her remarks ''full of lies.''

''Every time Kamala speaks, it becomes increasingly clear that only President Trump will make America wealthy again,'' said Karoline Leavitt, a spokeswoman for the former president's campaign.

Mr. Trump has eaten into Democrats' support among union members in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, long known as the party's blue wall of crucial Northern presidential battlegrounds. Many voters say they trust Mr. Trump more than Ms. Harris to handle the economy, after several years of high inflation under the Biden administration, although some polls show a shrinking gap between the two candidates on the issue. Americans typically rank the economy as their top priority in this election.

At one point on Wednesday, Ms. Harris shouted out both the rank-and-file labor movement members who traditionally back her party and the city where she spoke. As president, she promised to offer tax credits for ''expanding good union jobs in steel and iron and manufacturing communities like here in Mon Valley,'' short for the Monongahela Valley, an industrial region south of Pittsburgh that has suffered as American industry declined.

And she said she would ''always be a strong supporter of workers and unions,'' adding that corporations needed to ''respect the rights of workers and unions'' or else face the threat of consequences from a Harris White House.

The Pittsburgh remarks were the third time since Ms. Harris became the Democratic presidential nominee that she has given what her campaign advertised as a major speech on the economy. Last month in North Carolina, she framed the campaign as a choice between what she cast as her forward-looking vision and Mr. Trump's backward-looking one, a theme she returned to in Pittsburgh.

''The best way to predict the future,'' she said on Wednesday, ''is to invent it.''

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** September 27, 2024

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[***Do Careerism and College Mix?; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-V6S1-DXY4-X367-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 6, 2024 Sunday 23:51 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1135 words

**Highlight:** Readers respond to a guest essay by a recent college graduate. Also: New York City’s new outdoor dining program; how immigrants built America.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*Our Culture of Careerism Is Ruining the College Experience*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/opinion/college-linkedin-finance-consulting.html),” by Isabella Glassman (Opinion guest essay, Sept. 29):

The author is spot on about the pre-professional pressures students face and how this contributes to mental health challenges.

As a psychiatrist working with college students for 30 years, I have seen students sink into a depression if they are not achieving the perfect 4.0 to get into medical school, or hired by the finance or high-tech job leading to the most lucrative jobs.

The author rightly points out that parents have a big influence on their child’s career choice, and they should be most concerned about their child finding a career that makes them happy. I would add: a job that also pays the bills.

Young people are under increasing pressure now because of the high cost of living and housing, but they can still have a good and rewarding life with a job they love, and most important, a strong support system.

Marcia Morris

Ocala, Fla.

The writer is the author of “The Campus Cure: A Parent’s Guide to Mental Health and Wellness for College Students.”

To the Editor:

Isabella Glassman actually experienced what college should be all about: gaining knowledge to better shape life experiences — and good for her.

She is right, of course, about pre-professional pressure culture driving current college experiences and outcomes. But she nevertheless turned her college experiences into better life choices.

Phil Roberts

Hayward, Calif.

To the Editor:

Isabella Glassman’s essay laments the culture of pre-professional pressure at universities. It is no wonder, with an average yearly tuition and fees of [*about $47,000*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/opinion/college-linkedin-finance-consulting.html) at ranked private universities. Many students have loans to reimburse upon graduation.

Furthermore, the names of blue-chip firms on a résumé, as well as the networks developed at those employers, give a leg up on someone’s entire career.

As someone who majored in French and worked in management consulting, I can attest that it is still possible to major in the humanities and get a job, but it would have been a whole lot easier had I majored in business.

Also, more than $200,000 for all-in tuition seems a lot to pay for fluency in French, n’est-ce pas?

Shayna Silverman

Amsterdam

The writer is an American expatriate.

To the Editor:

Careerism has an important place on college campuses. A campus completely chock-full of financiers and consultants is not conducive to fostering meaningful academic discourse nor representative of the American reality. However, one solely composed of moralists and completely lacking in pre-professional culture is equally devoid of academic richness and equally disconnected from the experiences of ***working-class*** Americans.

Some young people, such as Isabella Glassman and me, deeply value the impact of their careers. Others, including many of my peers at Georgetown University and Ms. Glassman’s peers at the University of Pennsylvania, value the material benefits and prestige they will receive from their work.

A university must have students who represent the incredible diversity of opinions and perspectives about the value and morality of work in America. Doing so is critical to furthering meaningful discourse both inside and outside the classroom.

To thrive, a university needs both. Encouraging a diversity of perspectives on campus means a diversity of perspectives on all topics, including work. The wannabe Goldman Sachs bankers and Deloitte consultants hold a meaningful place in academia, right alongside the aspiring lawyers, doctors and public-school teachers.

Zane Nagel

Washington

To the Editor:

Uh-oh! We live in an ever-changing, complex, diverse and interdependent world facing challenges we’ve never faced before. So will our children (who are the future) trained only in mergers and acquisitions be equipped to help us survive and thrive?

Meanwhile, I just need a qualified plumber to show up.

Susan B. West

Athens, Ohio

New York City’s New Outdoor Dining Program

To the Editor:

Re “[*The Death of Outdoor Dining Is a Blow to New York’s Vitality*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/opinion/college-linkedin-finance-consulting.html),” by Parker Richards (The Point, Opinion, nytimes.com, Sept. 24):

The headline wrongly declares that New York City’s new law governing outdoor dining is a “blow to New York’s vitality.”

New Yorkers came to enjoy outdoor dining during the pandemic, and the Adams administration has made it a permanent part of our city’s streetscapes. To achieve this, we needed clear and consistent rules that work for restaurant owners and the communities they serve.

That is why, with support from leading restaurant associations, I was proud earlier this year to launch [*Dining Out NYC*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/opinion/college-linkedin-finance-consulting.html), the nation’s biggest and best outdoor dining program. The program preserves the best parts of outdoor dining, addresses important quality of life concerns and adheres to City Council legislation that made outdoor dining seasonal.

Six months before the launch of the program’s first season, three times as many restaurants signed up for outdoor dining as participated in the previous prepandemic outdoor dining program largely limited to sidewalks in Manhattan.

We are also making it easier to participate. Our Dining Out NYC Marketplace offers one-stop shopping for restaurant owners to find compliant dining setups, as well as rental and storage solutions.

I am excited that we have an outdoor dining program that is built for the long haul and reimagines our streets as vibrant public spaces that meet the needs of all New Yorkers. I encourage restaurants to sign up.

Ydanis Rodriguez

New York

The writer is commissioner of the New York City Department of Transportation.

To the Editor:

I’m not sure where in Brooklyn Parker Richards lives, but in my corner of the borough the rats certainly enjoy eating in outdoor dining sheds more than I do. After four years of watching the slow deterioration of these wooden structures, I found their removal a relief.

Don’t get me wrong. I enjoy eating outside for the few months of the year when it is warm enough to do so. But eating on a dilapidated wooden platform with walls just isn’t “it” for me.

Allowing people to eat in the open air, away from the potentially deadly germs of others, was an important lifeline for New York’s residents and restaurants during the era of Covid limitations. As pandemic restrictions have all but gone away, it’s time for the year-round sheds to go, too.

I hate to agree with the just indicted Mayor Eric Adams, but on this issue, I do.

Amelia Kingston

Brooklyn

Immigrants Built America

To the Editor:

The immigration views of the MAGA folks ignore that America was made great by the immigrants to begin with. That’s right: The immigrants built our railroads, they built our bridges and they worked in just about every manufacturing job that made us the envy of the world.

George Kafantaris

Warren, Ohio

This article appeared in print on page A21.

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**End of Document**



[***An Artist’s Work Finds a Lasting Home***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7R-CNP1-JBG3-6091-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 1491 words

**Byline:** Alix Strauss and Rebecca Kiger

**Highlight:** A new permanent exhibition in a house in Pittsburgh displays the creativity and artistry of Mark Dion.

**Body**

A new permanent exhibition in a house in Pittsburgh displays the creativity and artistry of Mark Dion.

This article is part of the [*Fine Arts &amp; Exhibits*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/fine-arts-special-section) special section on the art world stretching boundaries with new artists, new audiences and new technology.

The artist Mark Dion stood in the hallway of a three-story house in Troy Hill in Pittsburgh recently, ruminating on what was about to become a unique home for his wildly unusual array of creations.

From 1956 through 2018, the modest house in a ***working-class*** neighborhood belonged to the Christopher family. But after the matriarch, Margaret Christopher, died in 2017, it was offered by her two sons to Evan Mirapaul, a philanthropic art collector and local resident.

Over the past two years, the house was gutted, rebuilt and meticulously transformed into a permanent installation to showcase Dion’s work, which opens to the public on Saturday.

It combines the Massachusetts native’s fascination with obsessive collecting, ordering and the preservation of things, with questions over how natural history is understood in the Western world.

[*Mrs. Christopher’s House*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/fine-arts-special-section) is the fourth art house in the Troy Hill Art Houses series, a project led by Mirapaul, 65, whose inspiration, he said, came from a trip he took in 2007 when he visited repurposed homes on the island of Naoshima in Japan.

Dion, 63, is no stranger to fleeting art exhibitions. Over the past 30 years he has produced a glow-in-the-dark pack-rat skeleton sculpture for the La Brea Tar Pits &amp; Museum in Los Angeles; bears in caves in the remote Norwegian mountainside; and an enormous fish fountain in the coastal town of Stavoren, the Netherlands.

There were group shows, at Documenta in Kassel and the Sculpture Projects in Münster, both in Germany; and solo ones at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston and the Whitechapel Gallery in London. But none “have created a permanent, immersive experience,” he said.

Until now. “I do projects where I knock myself out for years, and it only exists in an exhibition for months,” he said, explaining that many of his works were discarded when an exhibit ended or were placed in storage. “Nothing in this house is temporary. The idea of having something that can be a permanent reference point is exciting.”

Dion is an unassuming man with salt-and-pepper hair who favors black-framed glasses. Dressed during a recent interview in a sky-blue button-down shirt, khakis and sneakers, he seemed to blend into the furniture, almost as if he was part of the house he created.

As a nod to his past work, everything here purposely refers to something Dion has created before, giving the house a “retrospective feel, so that each room is a predecessor to the next,” he said.

The experience begins on the first floor in the living room, which has been transformed into Christmas Eve circa 1961. A huge plate of glass separates the onlooker from the room, which meticulously depicts a blue-collar, upwardly mobile family while exploring the idea of the American dream.

Dion amassed thousands of objects to tell his artistic story, and that of the people who lived here. Vintage liquor bottles were tracked down. Handmade felt socks created in the ’50s and ’60s, which hang from the repurposed fireplace, took hours of detective work to find. Same for the “picture of the Kennedys, and a white Jesus purposely placed so you can only see his reflection in the mirror,” Dion added.

A skeletal, silver Christmas tree, surrounded by presents underneath, resides in one corner. Beautiful handmade wallpaper exuding a blue hue covers the walls; the doors and frames, piped in dark wood, match the furniture.

On the second floor, an enormous sleeping bear in a brick dungeon — reminiscent of a bear Dion exhibited at the Storm King Art Center in New York’s Hudson Valley in 2019 — commandeers the location once occupied by a remodeled 1970s bathroom.

The next room is a Lower East Side gallery in the 1990s, complete with a concrete floor, cheap lighting, a situation desk and 28 images of polar bears, which Dion photographed in various museums.

“The polar bear is a nod to a body of work I’ve been serious about and catalogs the change in our attitude from being a predatory and frightening animal, to something fragile,” Dion said. “A victim of climate change. Something that needs protection, that’s sweet and cuddly.”

A darkened room, illuminated by objects painted with phosphorescent paint, leads to the Extinction Club room, featuring handmade periwinkle-colored wallpaper peppered with an array of animals (rhinoceroses, pheasants, elephants); worn leather chairs; and curiosity cabinets filled with fossils, keys and mini liquor bottles.

“Downstairs is petrified. The Extinction Club welcomes your participation. You can sit in these chairs and embrace a fictionalized conversational space,” Dion explained, pausing to adjust a bird in a brass cage. “I want to keep the viewer excited and curious, experiencing wonder at every turn.”

If the first and second floors highlight humans’ relationship to the natural world, the attic speaks to our collecting obsession, wonder and the power of stuff — Dion’s sweet spot.

More than 400 jars in a range of sizes — a microcosm from high culture to low culture, from the highly natural to highly artificial — are filled with a menagerie of items: seaweed, Monopoly hotels, chicken feet, a possum head and Paris subway cards. Most are personal: The broken eggshells, for example, are discards from his omelets.

On the opposite wall reside just as many customized cigar boxes, many of which, he said he designed and produced and for which he printed the paper that lines them.

“Visitors are encouraged to unscrew the jars and open the cigar boxes,” he said. “That’s the payoff,.”

Dion spent two years locating these objects. Some were found at flea markets, church sales and antique malls; others came from internet sleuthing. Some belonged to him and are “hard to part with — a raggedy doll I found in a flea market in Brazil, a celluloid object that I got in Paris,” he said, admitting that his own home resembles this room.

“We love home because it’s a reflection on us,” he said. “This is a material catalog of my life. If you cut me open, this is what you would see.”

The tour ends with an outside experience, the Confectionary Conservatory of Wonder, a glass cagelike case filled with, at first glance, gorgeous little desserts. “As you get closer you realize they’re covered with dead insects,” Dion said of the installment he created with his wife, the artist Dana Sherwood, with whom he often collaborates from their home in Copake, N.Y.

“Their beauty attracted the insects, ruining the desserts and killing the bugs,” he added. “We started making these pieces after we went to art fairs and we saw how people were drawn to vapid, beautiful, decorative things that weren’t very good for them.”

The desserts might not be; the house and this project, however, have been good for Dion, who said he had felt “freer working here versus working with institutions, where many constraints coming from different departments exist.”

“This is authored,” he said. “It’s an impactful, intimate, fertile and truthful space. You can keep returning to this. I want to have a serious catalog that represents my body of work. I’m not interested in an online presence because I find that incredibly ephemeral.”

If the interior is transformative, the exterior is not. All four Troy Hill Art Houses in this collection have purposely remained untouched. Rather than reflect the huge occurrence inside, they seamlessly, quietly, live among neighboring homes occupied by longtime residents.

“Some people have no idea these houses are here,” Mirapaul said, noting that all four are within 150 yards from where he lives. “There’s no real border between the thing that is contemporary art and the thing that is people living their lives.”

Over the past 11 years, other artists have left their own, specific thumbprints on these houses, including Thorsten Brinkmann, Robert Kusmirowski, Lenka Clayton and Phillip Andrew Lewis.

“It’s unusual for an artist to have the opportunity to think about an entire structure,” Mirapaul said, adding that these are not galleries or spaces to put art. “The artists I’ve invited understand it’s an opportunity to make the house the art. Their art is inextricably united with the structure of the house.”

PHOTOS: Top, the artist Mark Dion displays a wall of jars in the attic of a house that serves as a permanent installation of his creations. Above, the house is one of four Troy Hill Art Houses founded and owned by Evan Mirapaul; one room was transformed into a living room on Christmas Eve circa 1961. Bottom left, Dion creating a sculpture. Bottom right, desserts covered with dead bugs are among the items on display in an outdoor structure. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY REBECCA KIGER) This article appeared in print on page F28.

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**End of Document**



[***Millionaires' Mile, Glittering on the 'Street of Dreams' for Over a Century***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFF-NSV1-JBG3-63SN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1987 words

**Byline:** By Charles V. Bagli

**Body**

In 1916, Marjorie Merriweather Post, heir to the Postum cereal fortune, moved into her new home, a five-story, 54-room mansion at the southeast corner of Fifth Avenue and 92nd Street.

This was Millionaires' Mile, a stretch of Fifth Avenue where the neighbors living in block after block of mansions were the richest, most powerful and socially prominent people in America. It could be a tough neighborhood. The social strictures were suffocating, while the reach for grandiosity knew no bounds.

Money had become more important than pedigree. And competition was fierce to build the biggest, most lavish home, borrowing English, French or Italian architectural styles while incorporating modern technology and dozens of servants.

Andrew Carnegie lived across 91st Street and Ms. Post's neighbors included James Duke, F.W. Woolworth, the Astors, the Vanderbilts, Whitneys, Belmonts and Fishes.

Ms. Post was equal to the task of decorating a manse with 17 bathrooms, a wood-paneled dining room, a marble stairway, two elevators, a glassed-in breakfast room and a gown closet. She filled her mansion's 54 rooms with Louis XVI furniture, Beauvais tapestries, Sèvres porcelains, Aubusson rugs, antique lace and paintings by Thomas Gainsborough.

''She wasn't afraid to be rich,'' as one of Ms. Post's biographers put it. Ms Post, who was married to her second husband, E.F. Hutton, would eventually acquire the Birdseye frozen food business, turning her father's company into the behemoth General Foods Corporation.

She was also not alone. For a relatively brief time during the Gilded Age in the late 1800s and early 1900s, there were anywhere from 182 to 400 of these flamboyant ''statement homes'' -- above and below 59th Street -- on what Mosette Broderick, a New York University art historian and the author of ''Fifth Avenue,'' calls ''America's Street of Dreams.''

Old-money families and newly minted railroad barons, mining tycoons, bankers, department store owners and industrialists from across the country all wanted a spot on Fifth. Andrew S. Dolkart, a Columbia University professor of historic preservation, estimates that ''95 percent of the land on Fifth Avenue between 59th and 96th Streets was occupied by mansions.''

''Fifth Avenue pulled Manhattan northward,'' Ms. Broderick said. ''It dragged New York up with the rich in the middle. Everyone else was off to the side.''

But in the incredibly short life of the mansions on Fifth Avenue, north of 59th Street, Ms. Post's house and most of the ostentatious private homes along Millionaires' Mile would come crashing down after World War II to make way for private clubs, museums and the next big thing: luxury apartment houses like the one that now sits on the site of Ms Post's mansion at 1107 Fifth.

Another century would go by before New Yorkers would see anything like it, though not on Fifth. Beginning in the 2010s, during what some historians have called the second Gilded Age, a handful of supertall towers along Billionaires' Row -- generally, the 57th Street corridor -- became homes for the international superrich: tech giants, hedge funders, metal barons from Russia and tycoons from Latin American countries.

Through the decades, Fifth Avenue never lost its luster. It remains home to some of the most expensive and sought-after apartments on the planet.

Last month, New York City officials announced plans to make the avenue friendlier to pedestrians with the widening of sidewalks and the removal of two lanes of traffic between Bryant Park and Central Park.

The street that bisects Manhattan island was originally known as Middle Road. It provided access to the undeveloped land that the city fathers had ordered surveyors in 1785 to subdivide into five-acre parcels to be sold to support the local government.

Middle Road morphed into Fifth Avenue under a subsequent commission's plan in 1811 for the city's future expansion along (north-south) avenues and (east-west) cross streets.

Before that, most people lived downtown, a hub for finance, wholesale goods, and commodities that flowed from piers to warehouses and factories. The neighborhood was noisy, crowded and perfumed with eau de manure from the 40,000 horses hauling those goods around downtown, according to the first volume of ''Gotham'' by Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace.

Very little development had taken place on the then rural land to the north, where there were some scattered wood-frame houses.

The march up Fifth began in 1834 when Henry J. Brevoort erected a three-story Greek Revival house with a large garden on his father's farm at the west corner of Ninth Street. The Brevoorts and other farm owners began building houses that would serve as anchors for other houses to be built and sold on the vacant lots laid out along the avenue and radiating down the adjoining side streets.

''In the 1830s,'' said Horatio Joyce, a former fellow at the New-York Historical Society, ''you begin to see the estrangement of the elite from the rest of society and the development of class consciousness and the creation of these enclaves.''

In 1850, Hart M. Shiff built a house at the southwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 10th Street that had a grand staircase, hot and cold running water and central heating, topped off with what was possibly the first mansard roof in the city.

Federal rowhouses were replaced by tidy and relatively understated brownstones as development moved up Fifth at the rate of about a block a year.

In 1856, William Backhouse Astor Jr. and his wife, Caroline Astor, built a four-story brownstone at 350 Fifth Avenue and 34th Street (where the Empire State Building now stands). William was a businessman and yachtsman who died in 1892. But his wife became the reigning ''Mrs. Astor,'' presiding over high society in New York and Newport, R.I.

Edith Wharton, the novelist who chronicled the upper class life in Manhattan, bewailed the lack of towers, porticoes and fountains in a city studded with four-story brownstones enshrined in a ''chocolate-colored coating of the most hideous stone ever quarried.''

New York's spectacular growth was propelled by the unrelenting flow of immigrants and migrants from other states, with the population jumping from 60,515 in 1800, to 515,547 in 1850, to 3.4 million by the end of the century. But Fifth Avenue's prominence was also a matter of geography and topography. The avenue was far from the piers on the East and Hudson Rivers that served brick yards, breweries, lumberyards, factories and machine shops. The land sat on bedrock and was relatively easy to clear.

As department stores (Altman's, Lord & Taylor), hotels and office building also moved onto Fifth Avenue, wealthy families continued moving farther north, finally breaching 59th Street in the 1890s as the ostentatiously grand mansions became the fashion. Middle class townhouses lined the side streets as well as tenements and ***working class*** housing closer to the piers.

Private schools like St. Bernard's and Brearley also moved to new homes on Fifth Avenue and the Upper East Side, as well as the elite University, Union, Harmonie, Knickerbocker and Colony clubs.

By 1880, The New York Times was reporting that certain ''capitalists and builders'' were buying up land at low prices between 50th and 80th Streets, in particular, the Vanderbilts. In what was sometimes referred to as Vanderbilt Alley, William K. Vanderbilt and his wife, Alva Vanderbilt, built their mansion, a break with the brownstone trend and an adaptation of the Château de Blois, in 1882, decorating it with tapestries, armor and Renaissance and medieval furniture.

William Henry Vanderbilt bought the block between 51st and 52nd Streets and built brownstone palaces for himself and for each of his daughters, Emily and Margaret. Still, Edith Wharton found the Vanderbilt mansions distasteful.

Nevertheless, Alva Vanderbilt used her palatial home as a sledgehammer to break Mrs. Astor's position as the imperial arbiter of high society and the exclusive ''Four Hundred'' on its roster. Soon after completion Alva sent invitations out to new- and old- money families, but not Mrs. Astor, whose young daughter Caroline had her heart set on attending. In the end, Caroline went to the ball and Mrs. Astor's grip on high society gradually melted away.

The push northward along Fifth continued, as wealthy families overcame their initial reluctance to move opposite the newly created Central Park. By 1915, palatial mansions covered most of the avenue frontage as far north as 96th Street.

Henry Flagler, a Standard Oil mogul, took the southeast corner of 54th Street and Fifth, while William Rockefeller built his mansion on the northeast corner. Andrew Carnegie plunged farther north, buying a broad swath of land centered around 91st Street and Fifth, where he built a 64-room Georgian Revival mansion at 91st Street, while evicting shantytown residents and selling his remaining sites to those worthy enough to be his neighbors.

The lure of Fifth Avenue proved irresistible for William A. Clark, the ''Copper King'' of Montana and a newly elected U.S. Senator. Mr. Clark bought a vacant parcel at the northeast corner of 77th Street in 1897 and spent the next 14 years building what was regarded as the most expensive home in the world. It was a feat that entailed buying a granite quarry in Maine, a bronze foundry in Manhattan for the metal fittings and importing marble from Italy, oak from Sherwood Forest and pieces of a château from France.

Mr. Clark's mansion comprised 120 rooms, four art galleries, a marble swimming pool, Turkish baths, one of the largest pipe organs in the world and an underground rail line to shuttle in coal.

But the flamboyant mansion-building craze on Fifth Avenue was nearing an abrupt end. The introduction of an income tax, the cost of land and maintaining a small army of servants had grown burdensome, while luxury apartment buildings, once eschewed by the rich, grew increasingly attractive.

By 1924, Marjorie Merriweather Post had become weary of the noisy street traffic, the fumes and the Fifth Avenue Coach Company double-decker buses roaring past her limestone and red brick mansion. She was also building a 115-room home in Palm Beach called Mar-a-Lago.

She was approached by the George A. Fuller Company about buying the property so it could erect a more profitable 14-story luxury apartment house on the site. She and her husband had no intention of giving up their Manhattan address, according to her biography, ''American Empress: The Life and Times of Marjorie Merriweather Post.''

So Ms. Post cut a deal: The builder could buy the 19 year-old house and demolish it. But, she insisted, the builder had to recreate her 54-room home in a triplex atop the new apartment house. Further, she wanted a private entrance for her exclusive use at 2 East 92nd Street.

She got her wish, which included a wraparound terrace, 12 wood-burning fireplaces, 17 bathrooms and two kitchens. Thus was born a new and enduring signifier of wealth and prestige: the penthouse.

Senator Clark, the copper king, lived in his 12-story mansion for only 14 years, the same amount of time it took to build it. He died at home in 1925 of pneumonia. A year later, the house was sold for less than $3 million and quickly demolished, replaced by a 12-story luxury co-op designed by Rosario Candela.

The ''relics'' on Fifth Avenue today mostly serve as museums. Andrew Carnegie's house at 2 East 91st Street is now home to the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum. Willard and Dorothy Whitney Straight's house at 1130 Fifth Avenue, which was completed at the northeast corner of 94th Street in 1915, was the International Center of Photography and is now a private residence. And the Payne Whitney House at 972 Fifth Avenue, at the corner of 79th Street, serves as the Cultural Services Center of the French Embassy.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/realestate/millionaires-mile-fifth-avenue-gilded-age.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/realestate/millionaires-mile-fifth-avenue-gilded-age.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Architecture varied through the years as old- and new-money families borrowed from English, French or Italian architectural styles while incorporating modern technology when building their mansions. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY COLIN CLARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (RE6)

Above, Broadway and Fifth Avenue at Madison Square and 23rd Street circa 1898. Upper row, Fifth Avenue circa the 1910s around 87th Street, left, and Fifth Avenue today, near 93rd Street. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HERITAGE ART/HERITAGE IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES

GEO. P. HALL & SON/THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (RE7)

From left: a brownstone mansion at 34th Street and Fifth Avenue that was home to Caroline Astor and later the site of the old Waldorf Astoria Hotel and now of the Empire State Building

Fifth Avenue between 60th and 61st Streets in 1900

the mansion owned by William A. Clark, the Copper King of Montana, at Fifth Avenue and 77th Street, seen here in 1895

the modern shopping corridor of Fifth Avenue, seen here at 51st Street

and a corner of Fifth Avenue and 92nd Street. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK/GETTY IMAGES

GEO. P. HALL & SON/THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VIA GETTY IMAGES

COLIN CLARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Andrew Carnegie's residence at Fifth Avenue and East 91st Street, seen in the early 20th century. The mansion is now home to the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY WURTS BROTHERS/MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, VIA GETTY IMAGES

COLIN CLARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (RE6-RE7) This article appeared in print on page RE6, RE7.

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**End of Document**



[***Testing Strangers' Beliefs for Fun and Fame***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFF-NSV1-JBG3-63SK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 11

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**Byline:** By Reggie Ugwu

**Body**

Earlier this year, the comedian and media personality Kareem Rahma decided to double the output of his internet talk show, ''Subway Takes,'' from two episodes per week to four. What he couldn't remember was why.

''Ummm, I kind of was like ...'' Rahma said, trailing off during an interview at his home in Brooklyn this summer. ''I don't know,'' he concluded with a laugh.

In his defense, it was a busy time. Including ''Subway Takes,'' a series of train-car conversations about people's peculiar personal beliefs, Rahma, 38, is the creator and host of three web series, fronts a rock band and stars in, co-wrote and co-produced a feature film that premiered last month. In March, he welcomed his first child -- a daughter -- which, now that he thinks of it, had been the motivation for doubling down on ''Subway Takes.''

''I thought, 'I need to turn this into something that might actually benefit me,'' he said. ''Both financially and in terms of, like, a proper career.''

The gambit paid off. In May, ''Subway Takes'' was a moderately successful but niche production, with about 300,000 followers across TikTok and Instagram. Now that following has more than tripled -- over 928,000 -- and both the show and Rahma have entered a new stratum of viral fame.

New Yorkers can be heard on the street and in bars auditioning their own ''Subway Takes.'' Brands including H & M, Urban Outfitters, KOTN and J. Crew have paid to outfit Rahma and his guests. And the status symbol of the season came in August -- an invitation to interview both Vice President Kamala Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota.

As he has gained access to famous names, Rahma has also faced new challenges, including how to preserve the populist spirit of his creation while building a successful business and tangling with more powerful partners. A ''proper career'' is a noble goal. Surviving in the content industry is a grind.

The Allure of the Take

The premise of ''Subway Takes'' is simple. Rahma, wearing a signature, oversized suit and sporty sunglasses, rides the train with a guest who offers, and then must defend, an unusual or provocative viewpoint. The 'takes' are generally entertaining and often absurd (''abolish shorts''), eccentric (''America has gotten soft since we stopped drinking whole milk'') or incendiary ('''Ghosting' is fine'').

But the essence of the show is the defense. In 90 seconds or less, ''Subway Takes'' (and, to an even greater degree, its half-hour YouTube spinoff, ''The Last Stop'') routinely captures something that the average cry for attention on the internet never does -- an actual human being mapping the nonsensical course of a train of thought.

On the day that I first met Rahma, he was preparing to fly to Pittsburgh to interview the vice president and her running mate. Although Rahma felt gratified to have the attention of a potential future president, he also had reservations.

Excepting the occasional celebrity (Olivia Wilde, Charli XCX), the majority of guests on ''Subway Takes'' had been relative unknowns by design. The engine of the show, Rahma pointed out, is the take, not the take artist.

Rahma also had policy concerns. As a Muslim and an Arab, he objected to the Biden administration's support for Israel's war in Gaza, which has killed more than 41,000 Palestinians -- including many women and children -- since Hamas's attack on Israel last October, in which 1,200 people were killed and over 200 were kidnapped. In three phone calls with Harris's staff and the Democratic National Committee, he said, he had proposed raising the conflict with the vice president -- perhaps at the end of the episode -- but was rejected.

Because he is not a professional journalist, Rahma, like other content creators who have interviewed presidential candidates, isn't beholden to common editorial standards enforced by traditional news media outlets, including rules against the exclusion of topics as a precondition for an interview. He ultimately agreed to the campaign's terms, reasoning that he could choose not to publish the video if it made him feel uneasy.

Rahma is 6 feet tall, with a head of buoyant black curls, and in near-constant motion -- either walking, talking, using his hands, or some combination of the three. ''Subway Takes'' is the second series he has created with transportation at its center. The first, ''Keep the Meter Running,'' in which he hails a cab and asks the driver to take him to his or her favorite place in the city, has nearly 500,000 followers.

Rahma considers that show -- a compendium of life-affirming conversations with ***working-class*** and immigrant New Yorkers -- to be his true calling. (The comedian and actor Ramy Youssef has signed on to produce a television adaptation.)

He started ''Subway Takes'' almost as a whim, after a conversation in the spring of last year with his friend Andrew Kuo -- the show's co-creator. Rahma wanted a platform for his comedian friends, and Kuo suggested setting it on the subway.

''It makes the subway and New York seem as interesting as you hope they would be,'' Kuo said.

''Subway Takes'' shares some DNA with a genre of ''man-on-the-street'' video that has proliferated on social media. A person with a microphone interrogates passers-by about their outfits, or their jobs, or their favorite place to buy a bagel. Often, the ultimate beneficiary of these videos is consumerism -- viewers learn new and more exquisite ways to spend their money. But the revelations on ''Subway Takes'' are internal. In some ways, it is a closer relative of the ''home tour'' genre. In lieu of granting a peek at a stranger's quirky bedroom, it shines a light on the dark corridors of their mind.

Rahma employs an assistant producer and typically hires two cameramen and an editor for his shows. He has been making ''Keep the Meter Running'' at a loss, he said. But, this year, sponsorships for ''Subway Takes'' have earned enough to support his family.

The Striver's Inheritance

Rahma was born in Cairo to Egyptian parents and raised in a suburb outside St. Paul, Minn. His mother ran a day care out of his childhood home and his father was a serial entrepreneur. In Rahma's memory, his father -- who worked at various times as a gas station owner, a truck driver, an exporter and a vegetable farmer -- was always one step away from his big break.

''I remember going to Egypt with him and carrying duffel bags full of Levi's jeans or stacks of oil paintings that he wanted to sell,'' he said. ''He was trying to achieve the American dream and it never really panned out.''

Youssef, who was born in New York to Egyptian immigrants, said he recognized the Rahmas' blend of optimism and hustle.

''It's called being Egyptian,'' he said. ''In Cairo, there's so much happening around you that it always kind of feels like you're on this surfboard of life, just trying to grab whatever wave is coming your way.''

In high school, Rahma worked as a telemarketer for a furnace and duct cleaning company, at McDonald's and as a busboy at the Pool and Yacht Club in St. Paul. While in college at the University of Minnesota (he studied journalism and advertising), he started a side business flipping motorcycles that he bought with student loan money.

After his father died, in 2007, Rahma stayed home to help his mother and two younger siblings. He left for New York in 2012 and pursued a corporate life in social media marketing at Vice and The New York Times. (In an April post on Instagram, Rahma accused a Times Cooking video of mimicking ''Keep the Meter Running.'' The Times said in a statement that the video had not been based on Rahma's concept or work.) He later ran his own business -- a video content company with 20 employees called the Nameless Network -- but wound it down after a pandemic-inspired epiphany.

''I was depressed and I realized that I had been searching for a way to express myself,'' he said. ''In high school, I worked. In college, I worked. I never went to Europe for five months and meandered around or did any of the things that people do when they're trying to figure out what they want to do.''

Effectively unemployed at 33, Rahma rolled the dice on a long-suppressed passion -- stand-up comedy. One early supporter was Nicolas Heller, the film director and social media personality known as New York Nico, whose Instagram chronicles of the city's colorful characters inspired Rahma to create a signature franchise of his own.

''I had had all of these ideas in my notes app,'' he recalled. ''One was, 'A show where you hang out with cabdrivers.'''

Dreams Versus Reality

Two-and-a-half weeks after our initial meeting, I visited Rahma again. He seemed harried and wore a faded T-shirt and relaxed-fit jeans. The interview with Harris hadn't gone as planned.

What happened was a dispute over Harris's take. Rahma said he had been told that the vice president would be taking a stand against removing one's shoes on airplanes. When they sat down, however, Harris had surprised him with a different take: ''Bacon is a spice.'' (Two senior campaign officials said this topic had been raised in advance. Rahma and his manager dispute this.)

Rahma, who doesn't eat pork for religious reasons, was taken aback. ''I don't know,'' he says, in an unpublished video recording of the interview, his voice rising to an unusually high pitch. Harris elaborates that bits of cooked bacon can be used to enhance a meal like any other seasoning. ''Think about it, it's pure flavor,'' she says.

Rahma asks Harris if he can use beef or turkey and what kinds of dishes would benefit from bacon. He then pauses the interview and tells her that he doesn't eat it. He asks if they can do the airplanes take instead. But, on the advice of a staffer, Harris decides to declare her love of anchovies on pizza -- an alternative the campaign had floated earlier in an email. Rahma wraps the discussion one minute later.

''Well,'' he says, with an awkward laugh. ''I'm 100 percent unsure on both of those.''

The Walz interview, in which the governor deplored the national decline of home gutter maintenance, went more smoothly. Afterward, Rahma said, he felt unsure of what to make of the sit-down with Harris. He had been apprehensive about potential criticism from other Muslims, and the bacon talk had thrown him off.

''It was so complicated because I'm Muslim and there's something going on in the world that 100 percent of Muslims care about,'' he said. ''And then they made it worse by talking about anchovies. Boring!''

The campaign apologized for the bacon take and proposed a reshoot. But, after publishing the Walz interview, Rahma ultimately decided not to move forward with it.

''I never wanted to be a politics person,'' he said. ''The more I think about it, the more I feel like I got lucky.''

On the afternoon of our second meeting, Rahma was returning to his comfort zone by filming an episode of ''Keep the Meter Running.'' He and two cameramen piled into the yellow Nissan minivan of a cabdriver named Afo, who planned to take them to his favorite Ghanaian restaurant in the Bronx.

Afo said he had emigrated from Accra in 1987. His first years in the city were rough -- two men robbed and assaulted him with a tire iron at his job as a gas station attendant -- but he found better employment as a carpet installer. Now 60, Afo had raised two children and worked as a taxi driver seven days a week for the past 17 years. He dreams of returning to Ghana and retiring on a small farm.

''I just want to live a simple life,'' he said. ''No more rushing, no stress, just relax.''

Noise from a dump truck in the next lane began seeping through the windows. Rahma, nervous about the audio recording, paused the conversation and asked Afo to pull away. His own simple life was still a distant fantasy. The cameraman next to him shifted his weight, stretching a leg that had fallen asleep. After nearly an hour, Afo exited the freeway in the South Bronx near Yankee Stadium. Rahma relaxed into his seat and looked at his watch.

''All right,'' he sighed. ''Let's cut.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/arts/kareem-rahma-subway-takes.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/arts/kareem-rahma-subway-takes.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Kareem Rahma, a comedian and media personality. He is the creator and host of three online talk shows, including ''Subway Takes'' and ''Keep the Meter Running.'' (AR11)

By expanding the output of his internet talk shows in the past few months, Kareem Rahma has significantly increased his following on TikTok and Instagram. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIAN KARLSSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR18) This article appeared in print on page AR10.

**Load-Date:** November 17, 2024

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[***Muslim Mayor Backs Trump, and Roils His City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D90-VF81-DXY4-X42S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1534 words

**Byline:** By Kurt Streeter

**Body**

The endorsement has roiled Hamtramck, Mich., angering many in the Muslim community, as well as longtime residents who welcomed the newcomers.

Amer Ghalib has made a lot of national news as the leader of a small, Midwestern city.

His election in 2021 as mayor of Hamtramck, Mich., was itself a headline. Mr. Ghalib, who is from Yemen, became the first Arab American and first Muslim to govern the city. And he was working with what was believed to be the first all-Muslim City Council in the country.

Two years later, Mr. Ghalib created another stir when he and other socially conservative Muslims banned the L.G.B.T.Q. Pride flag from publicly owned flagpoles, alarming liberals who said the move was discriminatory and harmful to the city's welcoming reputation.

Their fears only heightened last month, after Mr. Ghalib endorsed Donald J. Trump, who as president had ushered in what is known as the Muslim ban, blocking immigrants from seven majority-Muslim nations, including Mr. Ghalib's home country. Adding to the tensions was a visit by Mr. Trump, who hoped the mayor's support could peel off a meaningful number of Muslim voters in Michigan, a swing state.

Explaining his support, Mr. Ghalib pointed to a distaste for liberal social views, anger at President Biden's support of Israel and a belief that Mr. Trump will end the conflict in the Middle East.

In Hamtramck (pronounced ''ham-tram-ick''), many longtime liberal residents, including members of the L.G.B.T.Q. community, say they were dejected.

Over the years, they had actively encouraged the city of 30,000 residents, just north of downtown Detroit, to welcome immigrants. When Muslims won a majority of seats in the six-member City Council in 2015, they cheered the change as a rebuke to the anti-immigrant rhetoric used by Mr. Trump.

They had not expected this outcome.

In this election year, when immigration has been debated, distorted and vilified, Hamtramck offers an example of how the issue can cut in politically complex and surprising ways. The city's longtime residents, committed to diversity and liberal values, celebrated the newcomers. But Mr. Ghalib, along with some other immigrants, brought to Hamtramck their own principles, priorities and ambitions.

Mr. Ghalib, in particular, found more in common with MAGA Republicans, who actively courted him, than with Democrats.

''Languages and cultural distinctions create their own barriers,'' said Saeed Khan, a professor of Near East and Asian studies at Wayne State University in Detroit.

''In Hamtramck, you have people from Bangladesh who have a particular cultural perspective, as do the Yemenis, as do the Bosnians,'' he said. ''And because their experiences as immigrant communities differ so widely, that plays out on the streets when it comes to civic and political engagement.''

On the surface, Hamtramck's infighting is hard to see.

It is a humble place. ***Working class***. In every neighborhood within the city's two square miles, people of all backgrounds live side by side, their narrow homes packed tightly together like well-worn novels on a bookshelf.

The Muslim call to prayer mixes easily in the air with church bells. Women in hijabs buy potato pancakes at a Polish restaurant, and tattooed hipsters eat murtabak -- bread stuffed with beef, tomatoes and onions -- at a Yemeni cafe.

Karen Majewski, the former mayor, is partly responsible for the city's vibe.

In 2004, she was sworn into the City Council as part of a liberal movement wresting government control from a long-established, Polish American power base that was solidly Democratic, but also more socially conservative. Elected mayor in 2005, she maintained control for 16 years and was the last of a continuous, century-old line of ethnic Poles to hold the office.

In an interview at her home, Ms. Majewski recalled how white progressives in Hamtramck welcomed Arabs and Muslims with open arms. Today, the city swells with Muslims from Yemen, Bangladesh, Bosnia and Albania. About a quarter of residents have roots in Yemen. Nearly another quarter are from Bangladesh.

''This was part of Hamtramck's identity,'' she said. ''We've always prided ourselves on immigration as a source of our identity and distinctness, on being a place that welcomed people from all over the world.''

In the early 2000s, Ms. Majewski was a member of the City Hall leadership that codified the right of mosques to broadcast the call to prayer outdoors, for all to hear.

After Mr. Trump won the 2016 presidential election with a promise to get tough on immigration, Ms. Majewski, as mayor, posted a message underscoring that Hamtramck would remain a safe place for everyone. ''And most specifically,'' Ms. Majewski recalled, ''the Muslim community.''

When Mr. Trump announced the Muslim ban in 2017, liberals in Hamtramck were part of local protests.

How do she and her friends feel now that their Yemeni-born mayor has gotten behind the former president?

''Disillusioned, pissed off,'' Ms. Majewski said. ''There's a lot of outrage and a lot of disgust.''

Later, she noted that liberals have largely stopped going to City Council meetings because their voices were not being adequately heard. ''The feeling is pretty much, why bother?'' she said.

For his part, Mr. Ghalib, 44, said he hoped his endorsement, and Mr. Trump's visit, would ''help the Muslim community come together and stop negative rhetoric toward Republicans.''

But shortly after the mayor's endorsement, Mohammed Hassan, a city councilman and a leader within the city's Bangladeshi Muslim community, publicly backed Vice President Kamala Harris.

Mr. Hassan rallied two others from the City Council to the cause. He also held a Harris rally, filling a local restaurant with dozens of Muslim voters.

The councilman noted he works with the mayor on many issues. But not this time. He vowed to energize most Bengalis to vote for Ms. Harris, while picking off votes from the mayor's base. ''One-third of Yemenis listen to me all the time,'' Mr. Hassan said.

Democratic policies, he said, help the poor and middle class, while Mr. Trump scapegoats immigrants. Mr. Hassan also believes Ms. Harris would better handle negotiations over the war in the Middle East, partly because of her composure: ''She is not crazy like him,'' he said.

Mr. Ghalib has been the center of controversy before, mainly over social media posts that he now disavows or says were taken out of context by liberals.

He told The Times that he began turning toward Republicans when, as mayor, he faced bitter division in his city over social issues, mainly over L.G.B.T.Q. rights.

He noted that in 2022, he stood behind conservative Muslim parents who complained about L.G.B.T.Q. books in school libraries. The books, he said, were part of the ''gay agenda.''

The Pride flag, Mr. Ghalib said, needed to be taken down in the name of neutrality, so the city could avoid being forced to fly banners from hate groups.

Ms. Majewski, the former mayor, called its removal ''completely about bigotry.''

Republicans seized on the infighting by reaching out to Mr. Ghalib.

In July 2023, Mr. Ghalib appeared on a podcast hosted by Tudor Dixon, the evangelical conservative Republican who had recently lost the Michigan governor's race to Gretchen Whitmer. On the podcast, Mr. Ghalib complained about aggressive behavior and abusive attacks from liberal opposition. He sent a warning: If you ''discontinue supporting me, why do you think I'll continue to support you?''

Then Mr. Ghalib led a meeting with Muslim leaders and Gen. Michael T. Flynn, the conservative firebrand and conspiracy theorist who briefly served as national security adviser during the Trump presidency. Mr. Flynn, who had previously called Islam ''a cancer,'' now spoke of forming a conservative coalition between Christians and Muslims.

Soon, emissaries for Mr. Trump were reaching out to the mayor. Eventually, Mr. Ghalib said, the two had a private conversation at a Trump rally.

Mr. Ghalib told The Times that he and other Muslim Americans feel dismissed and overlooked by Democrats. He cited the Biden administration's support for Israel in its war with Hamas, and noted that more than 100,000 people protested by voting uncommitted in Michigan's Democratic presidential primary. But, he said, ''nothing changed'' in terms of Mr. Biden's policies.

Mr. Ghalib, smiling proudly, said Mr. Trump showed him respect.

Mr. Trump has denigrated Palestinians, called Middle Eastern immigrants ''known terrorists'' and encouraged Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel to ''finish the job'' in Gaza.

None of that swayed Mr. Ghalib's confidence in the former president. ''He kept repeating to me that his goal is to end the chaos in the Middle East,'' the mayor said.

Though he does not agree with Mr. Trump on everything, Mr. Ghalib called him a ''decisive and family-oriented person'' who is ''very principled.''

Reminded of Mr. Trump's frequent spreading of disinformation, as well as his conviction for covering up an affair with a porn star, Mr. Ghalib said such matters were in ''the media,'' but ''who knows?''

''I hope he will not disappoint me,'' Mr. Ghalib said. ''We'll see.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/us/hamtramck-michigan-ghalib-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/us/hamtramck-michigan-ghalib-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mayor Amer Ghalib of Hamtramck, Mich. He is the first Arab American and Muslim to govern the city of 30,000 residents.

After the mayor endorsed Donald J. Trump, Mohammed Hassan, a city councilman, backed Vice President Kamala Harris.

KAREN MAJEWSKI, the former mayor of Hamtramck, on how many residents feel about the current mayor's support for Mr. Trump. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL RIBAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2024

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[***I Study Guys Like Trump. There’s a Reason They Keep Winning.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCC-2FH1-DXY4-X1KB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1889 words

**Byline:** Ben Rhodes

**Highlight:** Democrats walked into the trap of defending the very institutions most Americans distrust.

**Body**

In December 2019, I traveled to Hong Kong, where a heavy unease hung in the air. For months, young people had taken to the streets to protest the encroachment of the Chinese Communist Party on what was supposed to be a self-governing, democratic system. On walls they had scrawled: “Save Hong Kong! If we burn you burn with us!” All the protesters I spoke to knew their movement would fail; it was a last assertion of democratic identity before it was extinguished by a new order that saw democracy as the enemy within.

I met with a government official preparing to resign and told him I was writing a book about the rise of authoritarian nationalism. “The nationalism in the U.S. and Europe is somewhat different,” he told me. “Yours started with the financial crisis in 2008. That’s when liberalism started to lose its appeal, when people saw this wasn’t working. The narrative of liberalism and democracy collapsed. This spilled over into China, too. This is when China started to think — should we really follow a Western model?” We were sitting in a hotel lounge, the invisible forces he described surrounding us: capitalism, but not democracy; cultural elites cloistered away from the ***working class***. “The nationalist movements in East and West were both a response to the collapse of the Western model,” he added.

Everything I’d experienced told me he was right. Eight years serving in the Obama White House after the financial crisis felt like swimming upstream, against the currents of global politics. A radicalized Republican Party rejected liberal democracy at home, mirroring far-right leaders like Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary who spoke about installing “illiberal democracy” (a polite term for “blood and soil” nationalism) across Europe. In Russia, Vladimir Putin set out to undermine — if not dismantle — the liberal order helmed by the United States. In China, Xi Jinping began to shift Beijing’s strategy from rising within that order to building a separate one, drained of democratic values. Barack Obama’s political skills and cultural appeal allowed him to navigate those currents, but they didn’t always transfer to other Democrats.

Donald Trump’s first victory challenged my liberal assumptions about the inevitability of a certain kind of progress: “The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.” For eight years outside of government, I have talked to opposition figures around the world and heard versions of the same story everywhere. After the Cold War, globalization chipped away at people’s sense of security and identity.

In the West, neoliberalism — that blend of free trade, deregulation and deference to financial markets — hollowed out communities while enriching a global oligarchy. Meanwhile, a homogenized and often crass popular culture eroded traditional national and religious identities. After 9/11, the war on terror was embraced by autocrats such as Mr. Putin, who used it as a frame to justify power grabs while forever wars fueled mass migration. The financial crisis came through like a hurricane, wrecking the lives of people already struggling to get by while the rich profited on the back end. Then social media’s explosion offered a vehicle to spread grievance and conspiracy theories, allowing populist leaders to radicalize their followers with the precision of an algorithm.

The playbook for transforming a democracy into a soft autocracy was clear: Win power with a populist message against elites. Redraw parliamentary districts. Change voting laws. Harass civil society. Pack courts with judges willing to support power grabs. Enrich cronies through corruption. Buy up newspapers and television stations and turn them into right-wing propaganda. Use social media to energize supporters. Wrap it up in an Us versus Them message: Us, the “real” Russians or Hungarians or Americans, against a rotating cast of Them: the migrants, the Muslims, the liberals, the gays, George Soros and on and on.

The persistent anti-incumbent mood was so strong that it even (narrowly) swept Mr. Trump out of office in 2020, aided by his bungling of a pandemic. But even after the shock of Jan. 6, heavy unease hung over American politics: There was no return to pre-Trump normalcy.

As president, Joe Biden embraced protectionism, organized labor and industrial policy, and his administration made investments in hollowed-out communities through executive orders and legislation. Democrats relentlessly communicated the threat Mr. Trump posed to democracy, with the removal of abortion rights as proof. When they fought a mediocre collection of Republican candidates to a draw in the 2022 midterm elections, many in the party — including Mr. Biden — drew the lesson that this approach was working.

Yet now Mr. Trump has decisively won back the presidency. I would never claim to have all the answers about what went wrong, but I do worry that Democrats walked into the trap of defending the very institutions — the “establishment” — that most Americans distrust. As a party interested in competent technocracy, we lost touch with the anger people feel at government. As a party that prizes data, we seized on indicators of growth and job creation as proof that the economy was booming, even though people felt crushed by rising costs. As a party motivated by social justice, we let revulsion at white Christian nationalism bait us into identity politics on their terms — whether it was debates about transgender athletes, the busing of migrants to cities, or shaming racist MAGA personalities who can’t be shamed. As a party committed to American leadership of a “rules-based international order,” we defended a national security enterprise that has failed repeatedly in the 21st century, and made ourselves hypocrites through unconditional military support for Israel’s bombardment of civilians in Gaza.

Democrats told true stories about Mr. Trump’s unfitness, about the legislative achievements of the Biden-Harris administration, about bodily autonomy for women. But when talking about middle-class economics, it was often in the familiar poll-tested language of the consultant class.

As a former speechwriter, I am sympathetic to the challenge of weaving these threads together. But for all his many strengths, over the last four years, Mr. Biden — in part because of his age, in part because of social media — could not fill that intangible presidential role of narrating what was happening in our nation and world. Democratic leaders in Congress tended to be old hands who’d spent decades in Washington, making them imperfect messengers for an electorate demanding change. It is no coincidence that two outsiders as different as Mr. Obama and Mr. Trump have dominated politics for 20 years.

Kamala Harris brought new energy and remarkable discipline to the campaign’s final months, revitalizing the collaborative joy essential to Democratic politics. But her ties to an unpopular incumbent — and a global post-pandemic backlash against any incumbent — held her back. Democrats understandably have a hard time fathoming why Americans would put our democracy at risk, but we miss the reality that our democracy is part of what angers them. Many voters have come to associate democracy with globalization, corruption, financial capitalism, migration, forever wars and elites (like me) who talk about it as an end in itself rather than a means to redressing inequality, reining in capitalist systems that are rigged, responding to global conflict and fostering a sense of shared national identity.

Yes, this is unfair: Republican policies from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush did far more than Democrats to create this mess. But Mr. Trump’s crusade against the past elites of his own party — from the Bush family to Mitch McConnell — credentialed him with a public hungry for accountability, while the Harris campaign’s embrace of Dick Cheney conveyed the opposite message.

Donald Trump has won the presidency, but I don’t believe he will deliver on his promises. Like other self-interested autocrats, his remedies are designed to exploit problems instead of solving them, and he’s surrounded by oligarchs who want to loot the system instead of reforming it. Mass deportation and tariffs are recipes for inflation. Tax cuts and deregulation will exacerbate inequality. America First impulses will fuel global conflict, technological disruption and climate conflagration. Mr. Trump is the new establishment in this country and globally, and we should emphasize that instead of painting him as an outlier or interloper.

Out of the wreckage of this election, Democrats must reject the impulse to simply be a resistance that condemns whatever outrageous thing Mr. Trump says. While confronting Mr. Trump when we must, we must also focus on ourselves — what we stand for, and how we tell our story. That means acknowledging — as my Hong Kong interlocutor said — that “the narrative of liberalism and democracy collapsed.” Instead of defending a system that has been rejected, we need to articulate an alternative vision for what kind of democracy comes next.

We should merge our commitment to the moral, social and demographic necessity of an inclusive America with a populist critique of the system that Mr. Trump now runs; a focus more on reform than just redistribution. We must reform the corruption endemic to American capitalism, corporate malfeasance, profiteering in politics, unregulated technologies transforming our lives, an immigration system broken by Washington, the cabal of autocrats pushing the world to the brink of war and climate catastrophe.

After he lost an election in 2002, Mr. Orban spent years holding “civic circles” around Hungary — grass-roots meetings, often around churches, which built an agenda and sense of belonging that propelled him back into power. In their own way, the next generation of Democratic leaders should fan out across the country. Learn from mayors innovating at the local level. Listen to communities that feel alienated. Find places where multiracial democracy is working better than it is in the rest of the country. Tell those stories when pitching policies. Foster a sense of belonging to something bigger, so democracy doesn’t feel like the pablum of a ruling elite, but rather the remedy for fixing what is broken in Washington and our body politic.

We are not living in Hong Kong, where a democratic movement could be extinguished. A midterm election looms. Mr. Trump is term-limited. The next four years will be trying and dangerous — especially for the more vulnerable among us. But if we understand the global trends that got us here, we can swing the political pendulum back in our direction and seize that moment with a new vision of liberalism and democracy.

Ben Rhodes was deputy national security adviser under President Barack Obama and author of “After the Fall: The Rise of Authoritarianism in the World We Made.”

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PETERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR5.

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[***Harris Casts Herself as a Pro-Business Pragmatist in a Broad Economic Pitch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D22-74K1-DXY4-X3CK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Declaring “I am a capitalist” in a speech in Pittsburgh, Kamala Harris promised not to be “constrained by ideology” even as she said she would fiercely defend unions and the middle class.

**Body**

Declaring “I am a capitalist” in a speech in Pittsburgh, Kamala Harris promised not to be “constrained by ideology” even as she said she would fiercely defend unions and the middle class.

Vice President Kamala Harris laid out a broad vision of her economic plan on Wednesday as she sought to bridge the political divide between the progressive senator who ran for president in 2019 and the pragmatic, pro-business candidate she is presenting herself as now.

During a speech in Pittsburgh in which she declared “I am a capitalist,” Ms. Harris promised to protect and expand U.S. manufacturing as she tried to convince voters that she will defend and lift up the middle class.

“From our earliest days, America’s economic strength has been tied to our industrial strength,” she said. “The same is true today. So I will recommit the nation to global leadership in the sectors that will define the next century.”

Speaking not with the trappings of a raucous campaign rally but in front of the sober signage of the Economic Club of Pittsburgh, Ms. Harris delivered remarks seemingly tailored to voters sitting in wood-paneled offices reading the print edition of The Wall Street Journal. Such voters may have supported John McCain and Mitt Romney, and might believe the economy was better four years ago, but the Harris campaign appears to be hoping that many will now have trouble stomaching the idea of voting for former President Donald J. Trump.

Ms. Harris revealed little new about her economic plans in her 39-minute speech, but she reiterated many of the populist themes of her economic agenda. She promised tax increases on the largest corporations while pledging tax breaks for small businesses and homebuilders.

She also pledged to invest in what she described as some of the most promising industries of the 21st century: bio-manufacturing, aerospace, artificial intelligence, blockchain technology and clean energy.

The goal, she said, should be that “the next generation of breakthroughs — from advanced batteries to geothermal to advanced nuclear — are not just invented but built here in America by American workers.”

Ms. Harris made her pitch in a Democratic stronghold that was once a capital of American industry, in a top battleground state that could determine the winner of the presidential election. She has previously given economic addresses on her plans to [*lower costs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/16/us/politics/kamala-harris-raleigh-nc-economy.html) and to [*help small businesses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/16/us/politics/kamala-harris-raleigh-nc-economy.html). Her emphasis on manufacturing on Wednesday was a return to a more traditional Democratic talking point, one often highlighted by President Biden before he dropped out of the race in July.

Her speech tried to weave her economic themes together into a broader vision. She said she was “not constrained by ideology,” an apparent response to polls that show some voters consider her [*too liberal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/16/us/politics/kamala-harris-raleigh-nc-economy.html). And she quoted the words of the investor Warren E. Buffett as the billionaire Mark Cuban, a Pittsburgh native and Harris supporter, listened from the fifth row of the audience. But she also pointed to her efforts as attorney general of California to hold corporate bad actors accountable.

Ms. Harris suggested that she would join a continuum of presidents who left legacies of major infrastructure improvements for the nation. She invoked Abraham Lincoln and the transcontinental railroad, Franklin D. Roosevelt and “bold persistent experimentation,” Dwight D. Eisenhower and the interstate highway system, and John F. Kennedy and the space program.

She did not once mention Mr. Biden.

Along with the recitation of her economic agenda, Ms. Harris delivered a searing critique of Mr. Trump’s policies. She said tariffs he has proposed would cost an average American family nearly $4,000 a year — an estimate that Mr. Cuban, who went from endorsing Nikki Haley in the Republican primary race to becoming a Harris campaign surrogate in the general election, repeated on MSNBC shortly after Ms. Harris concluded her remarks, pronouncing her “better for business” than Mr. Trump.

Ms. Harris also called Mr. Trump “one of the biggest losers ever on manufacturing,” said he had been “played by China” and accused him of allowing American manufacturing jobs to be moved to other countries.

And she tried out a new line in her long-running effort to define her opponent as a friend of billionaires and giant corporations, not the ***working class***.

“For Donald Trump, our economy works best if it works for those who own the big skyscrapers,” she said. “Not those who actually build them. Not those who wire them. Not those who mop the floors.”

The Trump campaign was not impressed. It called her remarks “full of lies.”

“Every time Kamala speaks, it becomes increasingly clear that only President Trump will make America wealthy again,” said Karoline Leavitt, a spokeswoman for the former president’s campaign.

Mr. Trump has eaten into Democrats’ support among union members in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, long known as the party’s blue wall of crucial Northern presidential battlegrounds. Many voters say they trust Mr. Trump more than Ms. Harris to handle the economy, after several years of high inflation under the Biden administration, although some polls show a shrinking gap between the two candidates on the issue. Americans typically rank the economy as their top priority in this election.

At one point on Wednesday, Ms. Harris shouted out both the rank-and-file labor movement members who traditionally back her party and the city where she spoke. As president, she promised to offer tax credits for “expanding good union jobs in steel and iron and manufacturing communities like here in Mon Valley,” short for the Monongahela Valley, an industrial region south of Pittsburgh that has suffered as American industry declined.

And she said she would “always be a strong supporter of workers and unions,” adding that corporations needed to “respect the rights of workers and unions” or else face the threat of consequences from a Harris White House.

The Pittsburgh remarks were the third time since Ms. Harris became the Democratic presidential nominee that she has given what her campaign advertised as a major speech on the economy. Last month in North Carolina, she framed the campaign as a choice between what she cast as her forward-looking vision and Mr. Trump’s backward-looking one, a theme she returned to in Pittsburgh.

“The best way to predict the future,” she said on Wednesday, “is to invent it.”

This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2024

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[***Trump Did Nothing to Stop the Mob; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D44-W5G1-DXY4-X29P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 5, 2024 Saturday 11:23 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1085 words

**Highlight:** “Stop the Steal” is about not trusting voters.

**Body**

One of the key points [*in the unsealed legal filing*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235) presented by the special counsel Jack Smith in the criminal case against Donald Trump for conspiracy to subvert the 2020 presidential election is that both Trump and his allies were well aware that he had lost the election. The evidence, Smith says, shows that Trump knew he didn’t have a case. But rather than accept the verdict of the voting public, Trump led the effort to pressure officials to overturn election results.

“With private co-conspirators, the defendant launched a series of increasingly desperate plans to overturn the legitimate election results,” Smith’s prosecutors wrote. “The throughline of these efforts was deceit: the defendant’s and co-conspirators’ knowingly false claims of election fraud.”

Smith shows that Trump did nothing to stop the mob from forming on Jan. 6 and was indifferent to the safety of both Vice President Mike Pence, presiding over the Electoral College count at the Capitol, and members of Congress. Using evidence collected through interviews with people working in the White House at the time, prosecutors recreated a key moment during the chaos, when Trump was sitting alone in the White House dining room, watching Fox News.

“It was at that point — alone, watching news in real time, and with knowledge that rioters had breached the Capitol building — that the defendant issued the 2:24 p.m. tweet attacking Pence for refusing the defendant’s entreaties to join the conspiracy and help overturn the results of the election,” prosecutors wrote. “One minute later, the Secret Service was forced to evacuate Pence to a secure location in the Capitol.”

I don’t want to rehash the events of Jan. 6 here — although if JD Vance’s refusal to state the outcome of the 2020 presidential election is any indication, we have no choice but to rehash those events again and again between now and Nov. 5 — but I will say this: It is a misunderstanding of Donald Trump to say that he did this because he rejected his defeat at the hands of Joe Biden. It is probably better to say that Trump tried to overturn the election results because he simply does not accept the idea that voters should be allowed to defeat him.

We saw some of this in 2016, when he refused to say whether he would accept the election results, and we’re seeing it now, when Trump has openly said that whether he accepts the results is contingent on whether he wins. Of course, Trump’s allies in states such as Georgia and Arizona are also working incessantly to sabotage the process as much as possible and give the former president some basis for rejecting the results should he lose.

Which is to say that the basic problem with Donald Trump runs deeper than a contempt for the truth. Trump rejects the very basis of democracy or republicanism or whatever you want to call it — that the people are sovereign and the people decide. And if there is a single reason to keep him out of office, it’s that the kind of person who rejects the right of the people to choose their leaders is the kind of person who will not give up power when his term ends and the people say his time is past.

What I Wrote

I contributed to [*the Opinion post-debate roundup*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235). Here was my main takeaway. On Vance, I wrote:

has spent most of his adult life selling himself to the wealthy, the powerful and the influential. He is as smooth and practiced as they come. He has no regard for the truth. He lies as easily as he breathes. We saw this throughout the debate. He told Americans that there are 20 million to 25 million “illegal aliens” — a lie. He told Americans that Mexico is responsible for the nation’s illegal gun problem — a lie. He told Americans that Trump actually tried to save the Affordable Care Act — a lie. If Vance had to sell the benefits of asbestos to win office, he would do it well and do it with a smile.

And my [*Friday column*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235) was on the economics of mass deportation:

I’ve been discussing mass deportation as if it’s actual policy — as if it’s just one option among many for tackling the nation’s many challenges. But that’s absurd. Whether or not it works to fix the problems at hand, and it doesn’t, the mass deportation of 20 to 25 million people — which is to say the forced detention and relocation of about 6 to 8 percent of the current U.S. population — is a human rights abuse. It would make the United States a pariah state. And it would violate the fundamental principles of the American creed, the core belief that “all men are created equal,” that they are “endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

Now Reading

[*Meredith Shiner*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235) on Ta-Nehisi Coates’s new book “The Message” for The New Republic.

[*Rachel Kleinfeld and Brendan Hartnett*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235) on party realignments for Democracy.

[*Gabriel Winant*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235) on nativism, Springfield and the ***working-class*** for The New York Review of Books.

[*Rebecca Mead*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235) on Maggie Smith for The New Yorker.

[*Alan Sepinwall*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235) on John Amos for Rolling Stone.

Photo of the Week

Another photo from my stay in Cambridge , in the United Kingdom, this year. I took it on a morning walk through a 19th-century cemetery near the city center.

Now Eating: Three-Cup Chicken

I have no notes! This is a great recipe that is very easy to put together. Recipe [*from New York Times Cooking*](https://www.politico.com/news/2024/10/02/jack-smith-trump-court-filing-election-00182235).

Ingredients

* 3 tablespoons sesame oil

1. 1 2- to 3-inch piece of ginger, peeled and sliced into coins, approximately 12
2. 12 cloves of garlic, peeled
3. 4 whole scallions, trimmed and cut into 1-inch pieces
4. 3 dried red peppers or 1 teaspoon red-pepper flakes
5. 2 pounds chicken thighs, boneless or bone-in, cut into bite-size pieces
6. 1 tablespoon unrefined or light brown sugar
7. \xC2 cup rice wine
8. ¼ cup light soy sauce
9. 2 cups fresh Thai basil leaves or regular basil leaves

Directions

Heat a wok over high heat and add 2 tablespoons sesame oil. When the oil shimmers, add the ginger, garlic, scallions and peppers, and cook until fragrant, approximately 2 minutes.

Scrape the aromatics to the sides of the wok, add remaining oil and allow to heat through. Add the chicken, and cook, stirring occasionally, until it is browned and crisping at the edges, approximately 5 to 7 minutes.

Add sugar and stir to combine, then add the rice wine and soy sauce, and bring just to a boil. Lower the heat, then simmer until the sauce has reduced and started to thicken, approximately 15 minutes.

Turn off the heat, add the basil and stir to combine. Serve with white rice.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nina Berman/Redux FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 5, 2024

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[***Harris Wants Moderate Republicans to Back Her. Are They Out There?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7N-W5T1-DXY4-X31X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 21, 2024 Monday 20:44 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1391 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:** It’s an unusual effort that reflects just how close the race is.

**Body**

It’s an unusual effort that reflects just how close the race is.

Stella Sexton, a lifelong Democrat, did something yesterday that at another time in American political history might have felt kind of weird.

She removed one of the “Pennsylvania Democrats” campaign signs from the wall of the local party’s subterranean office in Lancaster County and, in its place, taped up one that said “Republicans for Harris.”

It was one little gesture that reflects an unusual effort by Vice President Kamala Harris’s presidential campaign, one that is increasingly becoming a defining piece of her strategy in the race’s homestretch: persuading Republicans to vote for her.

As Harris’s campaign [*tries to win every possible vote on a swing-state battlefield that is essentially tied*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/trump-harris-undecided-voters.html), her campaign is hoping that Republicans alienated by Donald Trump — especially women in the suburbs — can be persuaded to cross party lines and cast a vote to stop him. She spent today traveling to narrowly divided suburbs in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin with former Representative Liz Cheney, her most prominent Republican supporter, making that pitch.

“I don’t know if anybody’s more conservative than I am, and I understand that the most conservative value there is, is to defend the Constitution,” Cheney said this afternoon in Royal Oak, Mich., after describing Trump as a grave threat to democracy and urging Republicans to support Harris [*even if they disagree with her in some policy areas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/trump-harris-undecided-voters.html).

The strategy, which Harris ramped up last week when she [*campaigned with Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/trump-harris-undecided-voters.html) in Pennsylvania’s purple Bucks County and appeared on Fox News, is a bet that Trump’s bombastic and divisive cannonball into the Republican Party has displaced just enough voters to help her.

It’s an at-times uncanny play for a vanishingly narrow slice of Republicans whose most prominent members, including Cheney, have found themselves decidedly out of power. The campaign is under no illusion that it will win them all — and the fact that they see it as a play worth making reflects just how close they believe the race to be.

“It’s not a fool’s errand,” said Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster who estimates that about 10 to 12 percent of his party are so-called Never Trumpers. “Those folks aren’t going to vote for Trump. The question is whether they skip the presidential ballot or whether they vote for Harris.”

A small group

One thing we know is this: The universe of gettable Republicans is very small. The last national poll by The New York Times and Siena College found that [*9 percent of Republicans planned to support Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/trump-harris-undecided-voters.html) — a group that was slightly more likely to be female than male, and a bit more likely to be older than younger.

Late last year, the Pew Research Center found that just 11 percent of Republican voters were considering supporting former Gov. Nikki Haley of South Carolina, who ran as a moderate Republican and Trump critic, in the primary, and whose level of support is often viewed as a proxy for Republicans who are willing to break with Trump.

When they reached back out to those same voters in August, they found she had the support of 18 percent of those voters, compared with 78 percent for Trump.

That would be a meaningful share for Harris to pull away — but it amounts to just 1 percent of the electorate.

Trump has done little to engage moderate Republicans and Haley supporters, and earlier this year he suggested that anyone who donated to Haley was unwelcome in his political movement. The Harris campaign, by contrast, has worked hard to engage them.

Harris has rolled out endorsements from Republicans including Mayor John Giles of Mesa, Ariz., and the son of the late Senator John McCain. A Harris official said the campaign had spent seven figures communicating directly with Republicans, including through advertisements that feature former Trump voters explaining why they are now backing Harris.

The battle for Lancaster

The battle for moderate Republicans is playing out especially intensely in places like [*Lancaster County*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/trump-harris-undecided-voters.html), a swath of southeastern Pennsylvania that Trump won handily in 2020 — but where 20 percent of Republican primary voters in April cast ballots for Haley, even though she was no longer in the race.

On Sunday, as Sexton hung up her sign, out-of-state Republicans who once worked for the likes of President George W. Bush filed into the Democrats’ basement to knock on doors in the area.

“I don’t recognize the Republican Party anymore,” Olivia Troye, a former national security official during the Trump administration, told the assembled volunteers.

A few minutes away, a river of MAGA-hat wearing Trump supporters was materializing outside the Lancaster County Convention Center before a town-hall event that the former president was holding that afternoon, throwing the David-vs.-Goliath nature of this effort into sharp relief.

“We’re going to communities all over Pennsylvania to show there’s more of us than you think,” said Ann Womble, the former head of the Republican Committee of Lancaster County who is now the co-chair of Pennsylvania Republicans for Harris. The goal, she said, is to encourage Republicans that “when you go in that voting booth and you are looking at that secret ballot, it’s OK to vote for Harris.”

With the smell of pizza wafting in the air, Morris Meyer, a Democratic volunteer, was dispatching the Republican volunteers to nearby Manheim Township, a Lancaster suburb with the kind of highly educated population they believe includes Republicans willing to support Harris.

Meyer himself knows well how hard it can be to persuade Republicans to vote for a Democratic presidential candidate. He has been trying to urge his 87-year-old mother, Janice Meyer, a registered Republican who lives in nearby Lititz, Pa., to do just that.

As Meyer dispatched volunteers, I called his mom. She voted for Trump in 2016 and 2020, she said, but she has been turned off by what she called his “baggage” and “drama.” Her son has not been able to sway her to vote for Harris, she said, but she told me she was considering not voting for a presidential candidate at all.

“I don’t think I’m going to make up my mind until I walk in there,” Janice Meyer said.

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

In Nevada, housing costs are hurting Democrats

Part of the reason Democrats are so focused on winning over moderate Republicans may be that they are trying to make up for losses elsewhere. My colleague [*Jennifer Medina*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/trump-harris-undecided-voters.html) has spent weeks this year reporting in Las Vegas and found that [*the high cost of housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/trump-harris-undecided-voters.html) is turning off voters who were once crucial to Democratic victories. I asked her to tell us what she found.

Nevada is an important prize for both Democrats and Republicans this year — and not just for the state’s six Electoral College votes. It is a symbol of one of the biggest political struggles of 2024: Both parties are trying to win over more ***working-class*** Black and Latino voters.

These are the very voters who are least likely to pay attention to the ins and outs of political drama and more likely to be frustrated over the economy. They make up a significant share of the tiny sliver of still-persuadable voters the campaigns are furiously focusing on in the final days of the presidential election.

In the past year, I’ve spoken to plenty of these voters in and around Las Vegas. Without exception, when they list their concerns, the cost of housing is chief among them. They describe the way their rents have increased at hundreds of dollars a month for years. They see owning a home as an impossibly out-of-reach dream. Even older voters who comfortably own their homes fret that their adult children may never have the kind of middle-class security they managed to find in the expansive desert sprawl of Nevada.

Now, many of these voters are turning their back on Democrats, who they believe have promised much but done little to improve their day-to-day lives. They believe they have little to lose by either sitting the election out or, in some cases, voting for Donald Trump. Voting for Democrats hasn’t worked for me, they reason, so why not try something different?

[*Read more here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/trump-harris-undecided-voters.html).

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Supporters of Vice President Kamala Harris during a campaign rally in Washington Crossing, Pa., last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ruth Fremson/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 21, 2024

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[***Literary Destinations / Read Your Way Through New Orleans***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0PH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 20, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1476 words

**Byline:** By Maurice Carlos Ruffin

**Body**

New Orleans is a thriving hub for festivals, music and Creole cuisine. Here, the novelist Maurice Carlos Ruffin shares books that capture its many cultural influences.

Read Your Way Around the World is a series exploring the globe through books.

New Orleans is a tourist destination frequented as much for its local dishes (gumbo, jambalaya, among others) as for the spectacle that is Mardi Gras -- where you may run into drunk college students on spring break, but could also bump into the Grammy Award-winning artist Jon Batiste. By some counts, it's one of the most festive cities in America, with a party or two happening almost every week.

Behind all the festivities, though, is a rich and dark history. The city is an eclectic mix of Caribbean, French, Spanish and Native American cultures, and, depending on which neighborhood you encounter, you may feel a sense of disorientation. Historically, enslaved people from other states were sometimes sent to New Orleans as punishment, but the city also served as a home base for many Haitians seeking a new life after their country gained independence in 1804.

The literature of New Orleans is an important supplement to your experience of the city. These books are both a compass to guide you through its many different influences and a celebration of the free spirit that has made the city a haven for itinerant artists, writers and travelers in search of a new perspective.

What should I read before I pack my bags?

''Economy Hall: The Hidden History of a Free Black Brotherhood,'' by Fatima Shaik, provides a fascinating look at the city from the slavery era through the Jazz Age. Using primary documents that her father rescued from a trash hauler's pickup truck, Shaik builds a nonfiction narrative that's both illuminating and compulsively readable.

''New Orleans Griot: The Tom Dent Reader,'' a collection of Dent's writings edited by Kalamu ya Salaam, covers the life of an important literary figure. These pieces provide an insider's view of the city's legendary Mardi Gras Indians, as well as Mississippi's Free Southern Theater during the Black Arts movement. In many ways, modern New Orleans writers are descendants of Dent and his cohort.

Also consider a Pulitzer Prize-winning cult classic: John Kennedy Toole's ''A Confederacy of Dunces.'' It is somewhat of a riff on Don Quixote and captures the cockeyed whimsy that helps natives live in a city that is below sea level and perpetually threatened with destruction by the forces of nature.

What books or authors should I bring along with me?

''Unfathomable City: A New Orleans Atlas,'' by Rebecca Solnit and Rebecca Snedeker, is a collection of essays that touches on almost every neighborhood in the city. Published in 2013, several years after the catastrophic damage caused during Hurricane Katrina and the government's response, these snapshots will help orient the reader as they travel from place to place. One essay, for example, traces the connection between the city's vibrant marching band culture and how those young members go on to become professional musicians.

Definitely read Sarah M. Broom's memoir, ''The Yellow House,'' the 2019 winner of the National Book Award for nonfiction. This book deftly weaves the history of one family with the development of a neighborhood called New Orleans East, depicting life outside of the tourist districts where many ***working-class*** locals live. It's about the dreams we have and the way those dreams do and don't come true.

If I have no time for day trips, what books could take me farther afield instead?

Do a double header of Ernest J. Gaines classics, ''Bloodline'' and ''A Lesson Before Dying.'' Both books focus on the rural Black community in Pointe CoupÃ©e Parish, La., where he was raised. His ability to compellingly render that community, which was otherwise ignored by history, is one of the many reasons he earned fellowships from the MacArthur Foundation and the Guggenheim Foundation, among other accolades.

Before Hurricane Katrina, there was another natural disaster that redefined New Orleans: the Great Mississippi Flood of 1927. John M. Barry's ''Rising Tide'' examines, in enthralling prose, the flood's consequences for the people who lived in the rural parts of Louisiana that lacked levee protection. The book is a tale of government mismanagement and neglect that foreshadowed the arrival of Katrina many decades later.

What books can take me behind closed doors?

Jarvis DeBerry was an opinion columnist for The Times-Picayune and NOLA.com for 21 years. His excellent collection of essays, ''I Feel to Believe: Collected Columns,'' covers virtually every topic that was important to the life of the city between 1998 and 2019. Fearless in DeBerry's explorations of race, policing, education, politics and the quirkiness of New Orleans, this book is a must read.

''1 Dead in Attic: After Katrina,'' by Chris Rose, is often called the definitive book about life in the city at the time of Katrina. With gallows humor and a keen eye, Rose gives the ultimate local's perspective. For many residents who lost loved ones or property and felt abandoned by the government, this book offered catharsis.

Also, Mona Lisa Saloy has a wonderful book of poetry called ''Black Creole Chronicles'' that captures so much of the linguistic cadence and rhythm of locals who are heavily influenced by both African American and Francophile culture. She preserves the voices of 20th century New Orleans like no one else.

What writer is everyone in town talking about?

Karisma Price's debut poetry collection, ''I'm Always So Serious,'' has set New Orleans buzzing with the deftness of her vision and her attention to the kind of details that show the city in a fresh way. Also, Jami Attenberg, who moved to the city about a decade ago, has become a central and supportive figure in the local literary community. She has not one but two books out this year: ''1,000 Words: A Writer's Guide to Staying Creative, Focused, and Productive All Year Round'' and the forthcoming ''A Reason to See You Again.'' The first is a craft book centered around Attenberg's popular writing program; the latter, a novel, follows a troubled mother and her two daughters over four decades.

What literary landmarks and bookstores should I visit?

Baldwin & Co. a short walk from Jackson Square -- the centerpiece of New Orleans for centuries -- has become a community hub in its three years. Classic bookstores with local owners like Community Book Center and Octavia Books, which just finished an extensive renovation, are great places to learn about the city's literary history. Also, some of New Orleans's streetcar lines are still operational and worth a ride -- especially for fans of the Tennessee Williams play ''A Streetcar Named Desire.'' While the Desire line no longer exists, the other lines offer great views of the city at a leisurely pace.

What else should I consider?

New Orleans has beautiful parks and public venues. Go for a walk in Crescent Park, which has gorgeous views of the downtown skyline and places to sit and read. Audubon Riverview Park, known to locals as ''The Fly,'' and Audubon Park proper are great places to lay out a blanket with one's book of choice.

A trip to New Orleans must also include beignets at Cafe Du Monde. For a classic New Orleans lunch, stop by Neyow's, Parkway Bakery or Commander's Palace and O'Delice or SucrÃ© for dessert. Walk through the French Quarter, take a ride on the St. Charles streetcar line and visit the New Orleans Museum of Art. When you're ready for dinner, consider Dooky Chase, Morrow's or Herbsaint before nightcapping at the Maple Leaf Bar or Blue Nile while listening to live music. And remember: Tip the performers -- it's good etiquette.

Maurice Carlos Ruffin's New Orleans Reading List

''Economy Hall: The Hidden History of a Free Black Brotherhood,'' Fatima Shaik

''New Orleans Griot: The Tom Dent Reader,'' Tom Dent, edited by Kalamu ya Salaam

''A Confederacy of Dunces,'' John Kennedy Toole

''Unfathomable City: A New Orleans Atlas,'' Rebecca Solnit and Rebecca Snedeker

''The Yellow House,'' Sarah M. Broom

''Bloodline'' and ''A Lesson Before Dying,'' Ernest J. Gaines

''Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How It Changed America,'' John M. Barry

''I Feel to Believe: Collected Columns,'' Jarvis DeBerry

''1 Dead in Attic: After Katrina,'' Chris Rose

''Black Creole Chronicles,'' Mona Lisa Saloy

''I'm Always So Serious,'' Karisma Price

''1,000 Words: A Writer's Guide to Staying Creative, Focused, and Productive All Year Round'' and ''A Reason to See You Again,'' Jami Attenberg

''A Streetcar Named Desire,'' Tennessee Williams

Maurice Carlos Ruffin, who grew up in New Orleans, is the author of ''The American Daughters'' and ''The Ones Who Don't Say They Love You.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/05/books/books-new-orleans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/05/books/books-new-orleans.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY EMILY KASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page BR14, BR15.

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[***Book Club: Read ‘My Brilliant Friend’ With the Book Review***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CM1-THR1-DXY4-X0N8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 31, 2024 Wednesday 05:04 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 582 words

**Byline:** MJ Franklin

**Highlight:** In August, the Book Review Book Club will read and discuss “My Brilliant Friend,” the first book in Elena Ferrante’s Neapolitan quartet.

**Body**

In August, the Book Review Book Club will read and discuss “My Brilliant Friend,” the first book in Elena Ferrante’s Neapolitan quartet.

Welcome to the Book Review Book Club. Every month, we select a book to discuss on our podcast and with our readers. Please leave your thoughts on this month’s book in this article’s comments. And be sure to check out some of our past conversations, including ones about [*“James,” by Percival Everett*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html), and [*“The Talented Mr. Ripley,” by Patricia Highsmith*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html).

This July, The New York Times Book Review published a list of [*The 100 Best Books of the 21st Century*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html), chosen by 503 literary luminaries. The No. 1 book was “My Brilliant Friend,” by Elena Ferrante, translated by Ann Goldstein.

“Reading this uncompromising, unforgettable novel is like riding a bike on gravel: It’s gritty and slippery and nerve-racking, all at the same time,” [*the Book Review*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html) said. And it wasn’t just critics and writers who loved the book; readers admired it too. The novel came in at No. 8 in [*our readers’ choice list*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html).

The book is the first novel in Ferrante’s so-called Neapolitan quartet, which tracks the lifelong friendship between Lenù and Lila, two women from a rough neighborhood in Naples, Italy. Lenù, our narrator, is the dutiful and studious daughter of a porter. Lila is the bold and fearsome daughter of a shoemaker. “My Brilliant Friend” covers Lenù and Lila’s childhood and adolescence, showing how from their earliest encounter they develop a deep and pivotal friendship, even as family, relationships and work pull their lives in different directions.

Given the enduring love of the book and its place on [*the 100 Best Books of the 21st Century*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html) list, in August we’re reading “My Brilliant Friend” for the Book Review Book Club. We’ll be chatting about the novel on the Book Review podcast that airs Aug. 23. We’d love for you to join the conversation. Share your thoughts about the novel in the comments section of this article by Aug. 19, and we may mention your observations in the episode.

Here’s some related reading to get the conversation started.

* Our reviews of every book in the Neapolitan quartet: [*“My Brilliant Friend”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html) (Book One), [*“The Story of a Name”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html) (Book Two), [*“Those Who Leave and Those Who Stay”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html) (Book Three) and [*“The Story of a Lost Child”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html) (Book Four).
* Our editor Joumana Khatib explains the mystery of Elena Ferrante’s identity: “Readers appreciated the nuanced relationship between the main characters, Lenù and Lila, a delicate mixture of love, jealousy and abiding loyalty. Critics zeroed in on Ferrante’s intimate attention to women’s lives, both in the Neapolitan novels and in her other books, which many writers of her generation had not considered subjects of literary merit. But as her star soared, fans devoted to Ferrante and her books confronted a stubborn question: Who is Elena Ferrante, really?” [[*Read the full explainer here.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html)]

1. The Times’s chief TV critic, James Poniewozik, reviewed the HBO adaptation of “My Brilliant Friend”: “The story of a febrile and rivalrous friendship between two girls in a ***working-class*** Italian neighborhood in the 1950s, it is as intimate as ‘Game of Thrones’ is sweeping. It is a game of courtyards, stairwells and balconies. But as earthbound as it is, ‘My Brilliant Friend’ is no less transporting.” [[*Read the full review here.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/books/review/31podcast-percival-everett-james-book-club.html)]

We can’t wait to discuss the book with you. In the meantime, happy reading!

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times: Image: via Europa Editions FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***How Kamala Harris Can Win; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CK6-7TM1-JBG3-62S0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 27, 2024 Saturday 07:00 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2092 words

**Byline:** Michael J. Sandel

**Highlight:** She will need a message that reconnects the Democratic Party with the ***working-class*** voters it has alienated in recent decades.

**Body**

Kamala Harris has a lot to do in a short time — build a team, choose a running mate, introduce herself to the country. But her most important task is to figure out what this election should be about.

Over the past week, Ms. Harris has been campaigning on protecting democracy, the rule of law and reproductive freedom from another four years of Donald Trump. As a forceful defender of abortion rights and a former prosecutor, she is ideally equipped to make these issues the centerpiece of her campaign. She relishes reminding voters of Mr. Trump’s status as a felon. “I took on perpetrators of all kinds,” she declared in her first campaign rally, at a gym in Milwaukee on Tuesday. “So hear me when I say: I know Donald Trump’s type.”

But standing up to Mr. Trump and defending reproductive rights is not enough. To defeat him, Ms. Harris needs to address the legitimate grievances he exploits — the sense among many Americans, especially those without a college degree, that their voices aren’t heard, that their work isn’t respected and that elites look down on them. She needs a message that reconnects the Democratic Party with the ***working-class*** voters it has alienated in recent decades. Delivering this message may not come naturally to her as a former senator from California, and Mr. Trump has wasted no time attempting to brand her a “radical-left lunatic." But if she wants to shape a progressive politics that can wrest the future from the MAGA movement, then she has to try. It could be the difference between victory and defeat this November.

To begin addressing the anger and polarization gripping this country, Democrats need to recall what brought us to this volatile historical moment: An overwhelming majority of Americans — some 85 percent — believe that their leaders don’t care what they think and that they lack a meaningful say in shaping the forces that govern their lives.

This sense of disempowerment underlies the Republicans’ most potent issues in this campaign: inflation and immigration.

If Ms. Harris continues to repeat economic facts without acknowledging most voters’ feelings, she will fail to address the mood of discontent that has her running just behind Mr. Trump in the polls. Low unemployment, robust job growth, rising wages — by the usual metrics, the economy has been a success during the Biden years. And yet inflation looms so large for voters that most disapprove of the president’s handling of the economy. Why? Because inflation is not merely about the price of eggs. Many voters experience it as an assault on their agency, a daily marker of their powerlessness: No matter how hard I work or how much I make, I can’t get ahead or even keep up.

And why was the surge in illegal border crossings so troubling, even for voters who live far from the southern border? Not because they believe Mr. Trump’s florid demagogy about criminals, rapists and residents of mental hospitals pouring in but because they see a country unable to control its borders as a country unable to control its destiny — and as a country that treats strangers better than some of its citizens.

Reimagining the economy and renewing our sense of shared citizenship may seem like separate undertakings. The first is about inflation, tax rates and trade policy, and the second is about identity, community and mutual respect. But they are part of the same political project. Economic arrangements not only decide the distribution of income and wealth; they also determine the allocation of social recognition and esteem.

To win back the trust of the voters they’ve lost, Democrats need to acknowledge that the neoliberal globalization project they and mainstream Republicans pursued in recent decades brought huge gains for those at the top but job loss and stagnant wages for most working people. The winners used their windfall to buy influence in high places. Government stopped trying to check concentrated economic power. The two parties joined forces to deregulate Wall Street. And when the financial crisis of 2008 pushed the system to the brink, they spent billions of dollars to bail out the banks but left ordinary homeowners mostly to fend for themselves.

By 2016, four decades of neoliberal governance had created inequalities of income and wealth not seen since the 1920s. Labor unions were in decline. Workers received a smaller and smaller share of the profits they produced. Finance claimed a growing share of the economy but flowed more into speculative assets (like risky derivatives) than into productive assets (factories, homes, roads, schools) in the real economy.

Rather than contend directly with the damage they had done, both political parties told workers to improve themselves by getting college degrees. The politicians said: What you earn will depend on what you learn; you can make it if you try. The elites who offered this advice missed the implicit insult it contained: If you’re struggling in the new economy, it’s your fault. This galling mix of economic injury and credentialist condescension helped propel Mr. Trump to the presidency.

Mr. Trump’s economic policies did little for the working people who supported him. He tried (but failed) to abolish the health care plan on which many of them relied. And he enacted a tax cut that went mainly to corporations and the wealthy. But his animus against elites and their globalization project continued to resonate. In 2020, Joe Biden defeated him, but voters without a college degree stuck with Mr. Trump.

Mr. Biden, a mainstream Democrat of long standing, was no radical. As JD Vance observed in his speech at the Republican National Convention, Mr. Biden voted for NAFTA, China’s admission to the World Trade Organization and the Iraq war. (Mr. Vance neglected to add that most Republicans did, too. More Republicans than Democrats voted for NAFTA and normalizing trade relations with China, and the Iraq war debacle was conceived and led by President George W. Bush, Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld.)

But as president, despite his centrist career, Mr. Biden turned away from the policies that had prompted populist backlash and empowered Mr. Trump.

Mr. Biden’s ambitious public investments in infrastructure, manufacturing, jobs and clean energy recalled the muscular role of government during the New Deal. So did his support for collective bargaining and the revival of antitrust law. It made him one of the most consequential presidents of modern times.

Still, he remained unpopular. Mr. Biden and his team thought the problem was one of timing: Public investments take time to produce jobs and tangible benefits.

But the real problem was more fundamental. Mr. Biden never really offered a broad governing vision, never explained how the policies he enacted added up to a new democratic project. Franklin Roosevelt understood the need to highlight the big picture. He persuaded the public that the agencies he created and policies he enacted offered the American people a way to check the corporate power that threatened to deprive them of a meaningful say in how they were governed.

Mr. Biden offered no comparable story.

When he broke with the era of neoliberal globalization, reasserting government’s role in regulating markets for the common good, he did so with little fanfare or explanation. He did not acknowledge that his own party had been complicit in the policies that had deepened the divide between winners and losers. Perhaps he was guided more by political instinct than thematic vision; perhaps he did not want to highlight his break with the market-friendly philosophy of the president he had served. His American Rescue Plan, Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act, CHIPS and Science Act and Inflation Reduction Act — in the end, it all made for impressive policy but themeless politics. His presidency was a legislative triumph but an evocative failure.

This made him a weak match for Mr. Trump, a candidate with little policy success but whose MAGA movement spoke to the anger of the age.

So what does all of this mean for the Harris campaign?

Defeating Mr. Trump means taking seriously the divide between winners and losers that polarizes the country. It means acknowledging the resentment of working people who feel that the work they do is not respected, that elites look down on them, that they have little say in shaping the forces that govern their lives.

To do so, Ms. Harris should highlight a theme that has long been implicit but underdeveloped in Mr. Biden’s presidency: the dignity of work. His public investments and labor reforms were designed to rebuild the communities hollowed out by globalization and to create an economy that lets everyone flourish. The Harris campaign should not only defend these achievements but also embark on something more ambitious: a project of democratic renewal that goes beyond merely saving democracy from Mr. Trump. Democracy, in its most minimal sense, means you leave office when you lose — and it’s this elemental aspect that Mr. Trump’s behavior calls into question.

But democracy in its fullest sense is about citizens deliberating together about justice and the common good. The dignity of work is important to a healthy democracy because it enables everyone to contribute to the common good and to win honor and recognition for doing so.

For Ms. Harris, offering concrete proposals to honor work — and to reward it fairly — could force Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance to choose between the ***working-class*** party they hope to become and the corporate Republican Party they continue to be.

She should be asking questions that would invigorate progressive politics for the 21st century: If we really believe in the dignity of work, why do we tax income from labor at a higher rate than income from dividends and capital gains? Shouldn’t the federal minimum hourly wage be higher than $7.25? Mr. Trump has proposed exempting tips from taxes. Well, here’s a bolder suggestion: Why not reduce or eliminate the payroll taxes employees pay and make up the revenue with a tax on financial transactions?

Beyond tax measures: What about public investment in universal child care not only to support those who work outside the home but also to improve the pay and working conditions of caregivers? Democrats could promote sectoral bargaining so that fast food workers can negotiate wages and working conditions across their industry rather than company by company. Democrats could require companies to give employees seats on corporate boards and classify gig workers as employees. And what about automation? Should decisions about the direction of artificial intelligence and new technologies be left to Silicon Valley venture capitalists, or should citizens, backed by public investment, have a say in how tech unfolds, pushing for innovation that empowers workers rather than replaces them? On climate change, rather than imposing top-down, technocratic solutions, what if we tried listening to those who fear their livelihoods will be upended — creating local forums that give workers in the fossil fuel industry and agriculture a chance to collaborate with community leaders, scientists and public officials in shaping the transition to a green economy?

This is what a more robust moral and political argument about our future might look like — one that begins to address the discontent Mr. Trump has tapped into. Ms. Harris and her team may shrink from this ambition, hoping they can win the election by sticking with fear of Mr. Trump and abortion bans. The election season is too short, they might argue, and the stakes are too high; elevating the terms of public discourse is a project for another day.

But this would be a political mistake and a historic missed opportunity. Taunting Mr. Trump as a felon would rally the base but reinforce the divide. Offering Americans a more inspiring democratic project could change some minds, win over some voters and offer some hope for a less rancorous public life.

Michael J. Sandel is a professor at Harvard and the author, most recently, of “Democracy’s Discontent: A New Edition for Our Perilous Times.”

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A professor at Harvard whose most recent book is “Democracy’s Discontent: A New Edition for Our Perilous Time.”

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[***Trump Leads in Arizona as Harris Holds an Edge in Pennsylvania, New Polls Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5K-P1R1-DXY4-X4H1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1268 words

**Byline:** Michael C. Bender and Ruth IgielnikMichael 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 latest Times/Inquirer/Siena polls found Donald Trump with a six-point advantage in Arizona, and Kamala Harris with a four-point lead in Pennsylvania.

**Body**

The latest Times/Inquirer/Siena polls found Donald Trump with a six-point advantage in Arizona, and Kamala Harris with a four-point lead in Pennsylvania.

Two of the nation’s most-contested battleground states — Pennsylvania and Arizona — illustrate the difficulties each campaign faces in gaining a clear advantage in the final stretch of the 2024 race, with Kamala Harris maintaining a narrow lead in Pennsylvania but Donald J. Trump continuing to hold an advantage in Arizona, according to [*a new pair of New York Times/Philadelphia Inquirer/Siena College polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-inquirer-poll-pennsylvania-crosstabs.html).

The polls, from two states separated by more than 2,000 miles, show the challenge confronting both campaigns as they try to make their closing pitches to a diverse set of voters who have, at times, competing priorities.

In both Arizona and Pennsylvania, Ms. Harris has consolidated support among Democrats since replacing President Biden as the party’s nominee. But Mr. Trump’s strength remains the economy, the issue primarily responsible for his political potency across Arizona and other battleground states this year.

In Pennsylvania, Ms. Harris’s polling lead has been steady, though the state remains tight. Her advantage, 50 percent to 47 percent, falls inside the margin of error. But this was the third Times/Siena survey in two months showing support for Ms. Harris from at least half of the state. (Her lead in the poll was four percentage points when calculated using unrounded figures.)

Fueling Ms. Harris in the state is her commanding lead of nearly 20 percentage points when it comes to handling abortion, her single best issue across battleground states and the second most important concern for Pennsylvania voters.

Both campaigns see Pennsylvania as [*the most pivotal battleground*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-inquirer-poll-pennsylvania-crosstabs.html) in this election, and are putting more money, time and energy there than anywhere else, including $350 million in television ads from Ms. Harris, Mr. Trump and their allies.

One recent shift was visible in the education gap, which the polls showed has narrowed for both candidates. Ms. Harris made up ground in the past month among Pennsylvanians without a college degree, while Mr. Trump cut into her advantage with more educated voters.

Mr. Trump’s strength in Pennsylvania remains the economy. He had an 11-point advantage over Ms. Harris on the issue, up from a 4-point gap [*in September*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-inquirer-poll-pennsylvania-crosstabs.html).

In Arizona, Mr. Trump was ahead, 51 percent to 46 percent, or six percentage points when calculated using unrounded figures, nearly unchanged from September, when the poll showed the former president leading, [*50 percent to 45 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-inquirer-poll-pennsylvania-crosstabs.html).

Victory is far from secured for either candidate in either state. Other surveys from high-quality pollsters have shown tighter races in both states. According to New York Times polling averages, Mr. Trump is ahead by just two percentage points in Arizona, and Ms. Harris is ahead by just one point in Pennsylvania.

Bolstering Mr. Trump’s advantage in Arizona was, once again, the economy. More Arizonans said they preferred him over Ms. Harris on that issue, 56 percent to 41 percent. More Arizonans expect Mr. Trump to be better at helping people like themselves, and he has a slight edge on the question of who would be better at helping the ***working class***. That was a contrast from Pennsylvania, where voters give Ms. Harris similarly narrow advantages on the same questions.

Voters in Arizona were also more inclined than their counterparts in Pennsylvania to say more broadly that Mr. Trump would be better at handling whatever issue they viewed as most important. He has a nine-point advantage on that question in Arizona, even as he and Ms. Harris run even on it in Pennsylvania.

Both Arizona and Pennsylvania also feature hotly contested Senate contests. The Democratic candidate in each holds a clear advantage, according to the new polling.

Republicans need to flip two Senate seats to win back power if Democrats maintain control of the White House, but just one if Mr. Trump wins the presidency. Republicans are already expected to gain one seat in West Virginia with the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III, an independent from West Virginia who caucuses with the Democrats.

In Pennsylvania, Senator Bob Casey, a Democrat, is holding a slim lead against David McCormick, a Republican businessman, 48 percent to 44 percent. Mr. McCormick’s four-point deficit is down from nine points last month, and 8 percent of voters said they remained undecided.

In the Senate contest in Arizona, Representative Ruben Gallego, the Democratic candidate, maintained his lead over Kari Lake, a former television anchor and outspoken Trump ally, 48 percent to 41 percent. But a fairly large share of voters, 10 percent, said they remained undecided.

The most conflicted voters in the Arizona Senate race appear to be Trump supporters. Less than 80 percent of the former president’s voters said they planned to back Ms. Lake, whom Mr. Trump endorsed in this race and in her failed bid for governor in 2022.

The ticket-splitters in Arizona appeared to be primarily younger voters and disproportionally Latino, and they included more women than men.

An Arizona ballot measure that would codify “the fundamental right to an abortion” continued to draw support from more than half of voters, although support has shrunk since last month.

Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

Here are the key things to know about these polls from The New York Times, The Philadelphia Inquirer and Siena College

* Interviewers spoke with 808 voters in Arizona from Oct. 7 to 10 and 857 voters in Pennsylvania from Oct. 7 to 10.
* Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, more than 95 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/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-inquirer-poll-pennsylvania-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 more than 180,000 calls to nearly 60,000 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/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-inquirer-poll-pennsylvania-crosstabs.html), under “Composition of the Sample.”
* The margin of sampling error among likely voters is about plus or minus four percentage points. 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/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-inquirer-poll-pennsylvania-crosstabs.html). If you want to read more about how and why we conduct our polls, you can see answers to [*frequently asked questions and submit your own questions here*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-inquirer-poll-pennsylvania-crosstabs.html).

Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Vice President Kamala Harris in Chandler, Ariz. She has consolidated support among Democrats since becoming their nominee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ADRIANA ZEHBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Former President Donald J. Trump in Butler, Pa. His strength in polling remains the economy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 14, 2024

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[***A Muslim Mayor Endorses Trump, and a City of Immigrants Finds Itself Undone***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8K-8CB1-JBG3-6547-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1588 words

**Byline:** Kurt StreeterKurt Streeter writes about identity in America &amp;#8212; racial, political, religious, gender and more. He is based on the West Coast.

**Highlight:** The endorsement has roiled Hamtramck, Mich., angering many in the Muslim community, as well as longtime residents who welcomed the newcomers.

**Body**

The endorsement has roiled Hamtramck, Mich., angering many in the Muslim community, as well as longtime residents who welcomed the newcomers.

Amer Ghalib has made a lot of national news as the leader of a small, Midwestern city.

His election in 2021 as mayor of Hamtramck, Mich., was itself a headline. Mr. Ghalib, who is from Yemen, became the first Arab American and first Muslim to govern the city. And he was working with what was believed to be the first all-Muslim City Council in the country.

Two years later, Mr. Ghalib created another stir when he and other socially conservative Muslims banned the L.G.B.T.Q. Pride flag from publicly owned flagpoles, alarming liberals who said the move was discriminatory and harmful to the city’s welcoming reputation.

Their fears only heightened last month, after Mr. Ghalib endorsed Donald J. Trump, who as president had ushered in what is known as the Muslim ban, blocking immigrants from seven majority-Muslim nations, including Mr. Ghalib’s home country. Adding to the tensions was a visit by Mr. Trump, who hoped the mayor’s support could peel off a meaningful number of Muslim voters in Michigan, a swing state.

Explaining his support, Mr. Ghalib pointed to a distaste for liberal social views, anger at President Biden’s support of Israel and a belief that Mr. Trump will end the conflict in the Middle East.

In Hamtramck (pronounced “ham-tram-ick”), many longtime liberal residents, including members of the L.G.B.T.Q. community, say they were dejected.

Over the years, they had actively encouraged the city of 30,000 residents, just north of downtown Detroit, to welcome immigrants. When Muslims won a majority of seats in the six-member City Council in 2015, they cheered the change as a rebuke to the anti-immigrant rhetoric used by Mr. Trump.

They had not expected this outcome.

In this election year, when immigration has been debated, distorted and vilified, Hamtramck offers an example of how the issue can cut in politically complex and surprising ways. The city’s longtime residents, committed to diversity and liberal values, celebrated the newcomers. But Mr. Ghalib, along with some other immigrants, brought to Hamtramck their own principles, priorities and ambitions.

Mr. Ghalib, in particular, found more in common with MAGA Republicans, who actively courted him, than with Democrats.

“Languages and cultural distinctions create their own barriers,” said Saeed Khan, a professor of Near East and Asian studies at Wayne State University in Detroit.

“In Hamtramck, you have people from Bangladesh who have a particular cultural perspective, as do the Yemenis, as do the Bosnians,” he said. “And because their experiences as immigrant communities differ so widely, that plays out on the streets when it comes to civic and political engagement.”

On the surface, Hamtramck’s infighting is hard to see.

It is a humble place. ***Working class***. In every neighborhood within the city’s two square miles, people of all backgrounds live side by side, their narrow homes packed tightly together like well-worn novels on a bookshelf.

The Muslim call to prayer mixes easily in the air with church bells. Women in hijabs buy potato pancakes at a Polish restaurant, and tattooed hipsters eat murtabak — bread stuffed with beef, tomatoes and onions — at a Yemeni cafe.

Karen Majewski, the former mayor, is partly responsible for the city’s vibe.

In 2004, she was sworn into the City Council as part of a liberal movement wresting government control from a long-established, Polish American power base that was solidly Democratic, but also more socially conservative. Elected mayor in 2005, she maintained control for 16 years and was the last of a continuous, century-old line of ethnic Poles to hold the office.

In an interview at her home, Ms. Majewski recalled how white progressives in Hamtramck welcomed Arabs and Muslims with open arms. Today, the city swells with Muslims from Yemen, Bangladesh, Bosnia and Albania. About a quarter of residents have roots in Yemen. Nearly another quarter are from Bangladesh.

“This was part of Hamtramck’s identity,” she said. “We’ve always prided ourselves on immigration as a source of our identity and distinctness, on being a place that welcomed people from all over the world.”

In the early 2000s, Ms. Majewski was a member of the City Hall leadership that codified the right of mosques to broadcast the call to prayer outdoors, for all to hear.

After Mr. Trump won the 2016 presidential election with a promise to get tough on immigration, Ms. Majewski, as mayor, posted a message underscoring that Hamtramck would remain a safe place for everyone. “And most specifically,” Ms. Majewski recalled, “the Muslim community.”

When Mr. Trump announced the Muslim ban in 2017, liberals in Hamtramck were part of local protests.

How do she and her friends feel now that their Yemeni-born mayor has gotten behind the former president?

“Disillusioned, pissed off,” Ms. Majewski said. “There’s a lot of outrage and a lot of disgust.”

Later, she noted that liberals have largely stopped going to City Council meetings because their voices were not being adequately heard. “The feeling is pretty much, why bother?” she said.

For his part, Mr. Ghalib, 44, said he hoped his endorsement, and Mr. Trump’s visit, would “help the Muslim community come together and stop negative rhetoric toward Republicans.”

But shortly after the mayor’s endorsement, Mohammed Hassan, a city councilman and a leader within the city’s Bangladeshi Muslim community, publicly backed Vice President Kamala Harris.

Mr. Hassan rallied two others from the City Council to the cause. He also held a Harris rally, filling a local restaurant with dozens of Muslim voters.

The councilman noted he works with the mayor on many issues. But not this time. He vowed to energize most Bengalis to vote for Ms. Harris, while picking off votes from the mayor’s base. “One-third of Yemenis listen to me all the time,” Mr. Hassan said.

Democratic policies, he said, help the poor and middle class, while Mr. Trump scapegoats immigrants. Mr. Hassan also believes Ms. Harris would better handle negotiations over the war in the Middle East, partly because of her composure: “She is not crazy like him,” he said.

Mr. Ghalib has been the center of controversy before, mainly over social media posts that he now disavows or says were taken out of context by liberals.

He told The Times that he began turning toward Republicans when, as mayor, he faced bitter division in his city over social issues, mainly over L.G.B.T.Q. rights.

He noted that in 2022, he stood behind conservative Muslim parents who complained about L.G.B.T.Q. books in school libraries. The books, he said, were part of the “gay agenda.”

The Pride flag, Mr. Ghalib said, needed to be taken down in the name of neutrality, so the city could avoid being forced to fly banners from hate groups.

Ms. Majewski, the former mayor, called its removal “completely about bigotry.”

Republicans seized on the infighting by reaching out to Mr. Ghalib.

In July 2023, Mr. Ghalib appeared on a podcast hosted by Tudor Dixon, the evangelical conservative Republican who had recently lost the Michigan governor’s race to Gretchen Whitmer. On the podcast, Mr. Ghalib complained about aggressive behavior and abusive attacks from liberal opposition. He sent a warning: If you “discontinue supporting me, why do you think I’ll continue to support you?”

Then Mr. Ghalib led a meeting with Muslim leaders and Gen. Michael T. Flynn, the conservative firebrand and conspiracy theorist who briefly served as national security adviser during the Trump presidency. Mr. Flynn, who had previously called Islam “a cancer,” now spoke of forming a conservative coalition between Christians and Muslims.

Soon, emissaries for Mr. Trump were reaching out to the mayor. Eventually, Mr. Ghalib said, the two had a private conversation at a Trump rally.

Mr. Ghalib told The Times that he and other Muslim Americans feel dismissed and overlooked by Democrats. He cited the Biden administration’s support for Israel in its war with Hamas, and noted that more than 100,000 people protested by voting uncommitted in Michigan’s Democratic presidential primary. But, he said, “nothing changed” in terms of Mr. Biden’s policies.

Mr. Ghalib, smiling proudly, said Mr. Trump showed him respect.

Mr. Trump has denigrated Palestinians, called Middle Eastern immigrants “known terrorists” and encouraged Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel to “finish the job” in Gaza.

None of that swayed Mr. Ghalib’s confidence in the former president. “He kept repeating to me that his goal is to end the chaos in the Middle East,” the mayor said.

Though he does not agree with Mr. Trump on everything, Mr. Ghalib called him a “decisive and family-oriented person” who is “very principled.”

Reminded of Mr. Trump’s frequent spreading of disinformation, as well as his conviction for covering up an affair with a porn star, Mr. Ghalib said such matters were in “the media,” but “who knows?”

“I hope he will not disappoint me,” Mr. Ghalib said. “We’ll see.”

PHOTOS: Mayor Amer Ghalib of Hamtramck, Mich. He is the first Arab American and Muslim to govern the city of 30,000 residents.; After the mayor endorsed Donald J. Trump, Mohammed Hassan, a city councilman, backed Vice President Kamala Harris.; KAREN MAJEWSKI, the former mayor of Hamtramck, on how many residents feel about the current mayor’s support for Mr. Trump. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL RIBAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***More Charges Deemed Likely In Adams Case***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3N-SH11-JBG3-61MN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 3, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1084 words

**Byline:** By Hurubie Meko and Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

Eric Adams, the New York City mayor, appeared before Judge Dale E. Ho as he fights off federal charges that he accepted luxury travel in exchange for favors.

Less than a week after Mayor Eric Adams pleaded not guilty to charges of bribery and fraud, federal prosecutors told a judge that they might bring additional charges against him and that charges against other people were likely.

''There are several related investigations here,'' Hagan Cordell Scotten, a prosecutor with the U.S. attorney's office for the Southern District of New York, said during a hearing in federal court in Manhattan on Wednesday. Prosecutors said that the case had been complicated by their inability to unlock Mr. Adams's cellphone, because he had said he could not remember the recently changed password.

The nearly 90-minute hearing was the latest step in the case against Mr. Adams, the first sitting mayor in modern New York City history to be indicted. Last week, prosecutors unsealed a five-count indictment that accuses him of bribery conspiracy, fraud and soliciting illegal campaign donations. Mr. Adams, 64, has denied the allegations.

At an event in Brooklyn hours after the hearing, the mayor said he was not worried about additional charges.

''They said maybe, probably. This is all part of the process,'' Mr. Adams said. ''My attorney will handle it.''

The mayor, a former Brooklyn borough president, state senator and police captain, is accused of accepting free and discounted luxury travel for years and of pressuring the Fire Department to sign off on the opening of a new high-rise Turkish Consulate building in Midtown Manhattan.

The judge, Dale E. Ho, said at the Wednesday hearing that he would set a trial date soon.

Federal prosecutors in Manhattan and Brooklyn appear to be conducting at least four separate inquiries that have ensnared people from Mr. Adams's orbit. Several members of his circle have had their phones seized, and City Hall has seen several top aides resign.

Mr. Adams has said he will not step down, even as calls for him to quit have grown.

But the case has destabilized his administration. The mayor has been forced to focus on the city's day-to-day operations as senior administrators have announced their resignations, including the police commissioner and schools chancellor, and Mr. Adams must also participate in his legal defense.

On Wednesday, Mr. Adams rushed from the hearing at the Downtown Manhattan courthouse to a news conference with the Police Department to discuss security for the High Holy Days and the anniversary of the Oct. 7 Hamas attacks. Afterward, Mr. Adams held a town hall at a club for older New Yorkers in Fort Greene, Brooklyn.

In a room of almost all Black residents, the mayor, who had removed his suit jacket, recited a list of accomplishments, focusing on reduced crime in the subways and managing the influx of more than 200,000 migrants.

Mr. Adams called himself an ''outer-borough'' mayor and a ''***working-class***, blue-collar mayor'' who doesn't ''fit what other people feel the mayor should be.''

Then he declared his innocence.

''I know my life,'' he said. ''I did nothing wrong, and it will be proven that I did nothing wrong. I'm strong on that ground.''

Carrie Roberson, a retired teacher at the event, said that federal authorities were targeting the Adams administration because the mayor had spoken out on behalf of Black people.

''I hope the F.B.I. is wrong. I hope that he can continue,'' Ms. Roberson said. ''But when the F.B.I. comes after you, they come loaded.''

Gov. Kathy Hochul, who has the power to remove the mayor, has not done so. On Wednesday, she said the departure this week of Timothy Pearson, one of Mr. Adams's closest aides and confidants, was ''a good first step'' for the mayor in regaining the confidence of New Yorkers.

Prosecutors say that the mayor sold them out, taking benefits worth more than $100,000 over nearly a decade, as well as illegal campaign contributions.

On Wednesday, Mr. Adams sat in federal court at the defense table next to one of his lawyers, Alex Spiro, in a dark blue suit, a blue tie and a white shirt. Mr. Adams looked straight ahead for most of the hearing as the judge set a schedule for motions and hearings. Four federal prosecutors sat across the aisle.

Mr. Spiro said he wanted any trial finished by March, before the Democratic primary for mayor in June, in which his client faces four challengers.

Mr. Spiro said the trial's timing would decide whether Mr. Adams got to ''meet with members of the community as an innocent man versus with this hanging over his head.'' The mayor is already facing four challengers and others, like former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, may also enter the primary.

Mr. Scotten, the prosecutor, said that the charges stemmed from a long-running conspiracy by Mr. Adams that he called a ''sacrifice of his duty.'' The investigation, Mr. Scotten told the judge, began in summer 2021, before Mr. Adams became mayor.

Mr. Scotten said the government had a lot of evidence that it must share with the defense before trial. The materials include bank, credit card and telephone records and communications, some of which had to be translated from Turkish.

Mr. Scotten said that there had been a ''significant issue'' of interference, citing a witness who he said had received a message from Mr. Adams instructing the person to lie to the F.B.I.

Prosecutors also said that they were still unable to get access to Mr. Adams's phone, which they seized last year. Mr. Adams said at the time that he couldn't remember the password, because he had recently changed it.

Mr. Spiro said that defense lawyers would provide a copy of the phone's contents to prosecutors, and said that they would find nothing.

Since Mr. Adams's arraignment on Friday, his lawyers have filed several motions before Judge Ho. On Monday, they asked the court to dismiss a bribery charge. On Tuesday, they accused federal prosecutors of leaking information about the investigation that led to the mayor's indictment and asked the judge to hold a hearing and issue sanctions against them.

Pressing for a quick trial date, Mr. Spiro said most of the government's case was based on the bribery charge, which ''we don't expect to survive.''

''We have every right, the public has every right, to a speedy trial here,'' Mr. Spiro argued to the judge, adding: ''We don't want this case dragging.''

Grace Ashford contributed reporting.Grace Ashford contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/nyregion/adams-return-federal-court.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/nyregion/adams-return-federal-court.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams of New York City, center, attended a hearing in federal court in Manhattan on Wednesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** October 3, 2024

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[***Kamala Harris Was ‘Confident, Principled — Presidential’: The Best and Worst Moments From Night 4 of the Democratic Convention; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSX-HDJ1-JBG3-604G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1702 words

**Byline:** New York Times Opinion

**Highlight:** What our columnists and contributors thought of her speech, and those of Gretchen Whitmer, Roy Cooper and more.

**Body**

Welcome to Opinion’s commentary for Night 4 of the Democratic National Convention. In this special feature, Times Opinion writers rate the evening on a scale of 0 to 10: 0 means the night was a disaster for Kamala Harris; 10 means it could lead to a big polling bump. Here’s what our columnists and contributors thought of the event, which included speeches by Gretchen Whitmer, Gabby Giffords and Kamala Harris.

Best Moment

Binyamin Appelbaum, member of the editorial board Kamala Harris’s great-nieces, teaching America how to pronounce her name. And Harris herself, meeting the moment with a performance that was confident, principled — presidential.

Josh Barro, author of the newsletter Very Serious Harris’s speech, especially its beginning about her upbringing and her mother. In past campaigns, Harris has sometimes seemed like an empty vessel. Now she’s reintroducing herself in a way that is specific, warm and uniquely American, and that provides a framework to explain the broadly popular values of freedom and justice she’s espousing.

Charles M. Blow, Times columnist Women ruled the night. There were so many impressive, effective women presenting — culminating with Harris, of course — that the remarkable almost became unremarkable. I had to force myself to pause and absorb the fact that I was witnessing a revolution.

Jamelle Bouie, Times columnist The first three nights of this convention were easily the most successful since 2008, but they would have been for naught had Harris missed the landing with an awkward or underwhelming acceptance speech. She succeeded. But other than a moving introduction, where she told the story of her life and family to the viewing public, this wasn’t a speech about the meaning of her candidacy. It was something closer to a State of the Union — a statement of policies and priorities and an indictment of her opponents. It was as if the campaign had offloaded talk of symbolism to other speakers so that Harris could present herself as ready to be president on Day 1.

Frank Bruni, contributing Opinion writer I wept — no, I bawled — as I listened to the teacher from Sandy Hook, the mother from Uvalde and the others who’d witnessed and lost loved ones to gun violence. That was absolutely gutting. And utterly necessary.

Jane Coaston, contributing Opinion writer They landed the dismount. Harris’s speech was well delivered and rhetorically effective, and aimed at a defined audience: the middle of the electorate.

Liam Donovan, Republican strategist Gabby Giffords was the feel-good story of the night — just a remarkable recovery and delightful return to form.

Michelle Goldberg, Times columnist Kamala Harris’s grandnieces teaching America how to pronounce her name.

Matt Labash, author of the newsletter Slack Tide God bless Adam Kinzinger for telling the truth about his (and my) party, now corrupted to its core. MAGA snowflakes get triggered by him, suggesting he’s a RINO Judas. But the actual reason they hate him is that he reminds them of something they abandoned years ago: their integrity.

Tressie McMillan Cottom, Times columnist The charming pep talk from the governor of North Carolina, Roy Cooper, was good political messaging. His prominent speaking slot just before Harris’s acceptance speech says that the Democrats are serious about winning battleground states. Korey Wise, Yusef Salaam, Raymond Santana, Kevin Richardson — four of the men once known as the Central Park Five and who now prefer the Exonerated Five — were a powerful reminder of why Donald Trump is dangerous.

Megan K. Stack, contributing Opinion writer The first five minutes or so of Harris’s acceptance speech were genuinely affecting, and a pleasure to watch. Her personal story is complex and compelling, and she has a charisma and an audience connection that we haven’t seen for quite some years in a major presidential candidate.

Worst Moment

Appelbaum D.L. Hughley’s cheap stand-up comedy set. Not the place, not the time.

Barro While Harris’s speech put a laser focus on Democrats’ most popular ideas, some earlier parts of the night’s programming did not, particularly an activist-focused section in which John Russell, an influencer from Appalachia, indulged the fantasy that Democrats’ climate policies might help them reconnect with the ***working class***.

Blow It’s a tie, again, and they both make me sound like a stodgy old man. First, I learned a new acronym: FUBAR. Don’t google that! It’s N.S.F.W. Then the D.J. had the crowd lift their flags and sing along to Lil Jon &amp; the East Side Boyz’s “Get Low.” Again, don’t google that!

Bouie It was significant that the vice president spoke in full support of Palestinian self-determination, but that gesture was undermined by the unwillingness of Democrats to let Palestinian Americans speak for themselves on behalf of Palestinians in Gaza.

Bruni I respect Leon Panetta and understand the significance of a former defense secretary vouching for Harris. But in the run-up to the Big Speech? His high-import, low-energy remarks should have occupied a different, earlier slot.

Coaston Whoever fueled the rumors that Beyoncé would perform probably drove higher viewership, but man, an actual Beyoncé appearance would have been cool.

Donovan No obvious blunders beyond the anticlimax after a much-hyped surprise guest never materialized, although Mark Kelly’s rather dull speech made a great retroactive case for Tim Walz.

Goldberg No Beyoncé?!!!?

Labash The actress Kerry Washington is generally adorable. But when she called on the whole arena to take a selfie with her and her “Scandal” co-star, the ordeal was yet another awful reminder that nothing in American life seems to count anymore unless our phones are involved.

McMillan Cottom The omission of a Palestinian speaker. An easy political win that should have been logistically possible.

Stack The petty refusal, after much convoluted negotiation, to grant a Palestinian speaker even a few minutes onstage discounted the many Democrats who have long called for a cease-fire. More important, with more than 40,000 dead in Gaza, this omission was callous and simply wrong.

What Else Caught Your Eye?

Appelbaum This final night, like the previous three, wasn’t really about Harris — and it’s not supposed to be. It was a group portrait of Americans and the things they want from their government. So many voices raised in hope, and in fear. And the candidate as nothing more, and nothing less, than the vehicle for those aspirations. “Kamala Harris, for the people.”

Barro Giffords continues to recover in a remarkable and inspiring way.

Blow The threat of Trump as a primary motivator has re-entered the chat. There was a parade of people victimized by Republican policies, obstruction or intransigence or victimized by Trump’s own rhetoric. Even Harris’s speech was dominated by the threat of Trump. Yes, there was dancing, but it shared space with damnation.

Bouie People are not exaggerating when they describe Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan as a presidential-level talent.

Bruni Given the superstar lineup of the final night, the remarks of Representative Maxwell Frost of Florida will probably be lost. But the youngest member of Congress — he’s 27 — exhibited incredible poise, polish and charisma. He makes Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Pete Buttigieg look like late-blooming laggards.

Coaston The convention was weighted toward the prime-time viewership hours with staid moderate voices (including Republicans). It’s an interesting choice.

Donovan A vibes speech for a vibes election, but Harris continues to exceed modest expectations and avoid the Republican-painted caricature. Nothing flashy, but a well-delivered address that touched all the bases while explicitly appealing to the political center.

Goldberg Harris didn’t talk about glass ceilings; the message at the convention was “She’s for you,” not, as it was with Hillary Clinton, “I’m with her.” But the women who packed the United Center seemed very aware of the historic nature of her candidacy, and great numbers of them wore suffragette white.

Labash Harris did very well tonight — arguably her best performance. Democrats threw a largely seamless convention. Confidence is good. But overconfidence leads to reality denial. Here’s the truth: Harris is still behind in five out of seven swing states. So Democrats shouldn’t unlace those hiking boots until they’ve actually summited Mount Comeback.

McMillan Cottom Everyone will be talking about Gov. Wes Moore after this convention. They should be. I will be talking about Alabama’s Shomari Figures, who has a dynamic political biography and displayed a stunningly confident speaking style for a young elected official. The Democratic Party is taking ***working-class*** voters seriously.

Stack Spotlighting the exonerated Central Park Five was politically deft. Harris is campaigning as a prosecutor — hardly a job universally esteemed by Democratic voters. The wrongly imprisoned men stirred memories of Trump’s crude calls for execution and allowed Harris to bask in their endorsement.

Charles M. Blow, Jamelle Bouie, Michelle Goldberg and Tressie McMillan Cottom are Times columnists.

Binyamin Appelbaum is a member of the editorial board.

Josh Barro writes the newsletter [*Very Serious*](https://www.joshbarro.com/) and is the host of the podcast “[*Serious Trouble*](https://www.joshbarro.com/).”

Frank Bruni is a contributing Opinion writer.

Jane Coaston is a contributing Opinion writer.

Liam Donovan is a senior political strategist at Bracewell who previously worked for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. He is also a host of “The Lobby Shop” podcast.

Matt Labash, formerly a national correspondent at The Weekly Standard, is the author of “Fly Fishing With Darth Vader” and writes the newsletter [*Slack Tide*](https://www.joshbarro.com/).

Megan K. Stack is a contributing Opinion writer.

Source photograph by Brynn Anderson/Associated Press.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Photo Illustration by Shoshana Schultz/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Big Bunch of Spinoffs Is the Strategy at CBS***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D73-16G1-JBG3-62VC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1445 words

**Byline:** By Mike Hale

**Body**

This week the network rolled out an ''NCIS'' spinoff, a ''Young Sheldon'' spinoff, a ''Good Wife'' spinoff and ... ''Matlock''?

CBS is reconvening this week, premiering a dozen of its dramas and comedies, including 10 of last season's 15 most-watched scripted shows. You might dismiss the network's dominance of the broadcast ratings as a case of being the top dog on a small playground, but the seven million to 10 million viewers each of those shows drew -- before any streaming numbers were added -- probably don't care much about your opinion.

Along with the returning CBS hits this week come two new shows, ''NCIS: Origins'' and ''Georgie & Mandy's First Marriage,'' and one that still feels new, ''Elsbeth,'' which premiered in February and is starting its second season.

These additions to the schedule are nominally very different from one another, contributing to the diverse menu a big-box television outlet needs to offer: a sentimental buds-and-blood crime procedural set on a California military base (''NCIS: Origins''); a wacky-Texas-family sitcom (''Georgie & Mandy's First Marriage''); and an archly comic case-of-the-week detective series set in New York (''Elsbeth'').

But their differences are less notable than the thing they have in common: Each has emerged from the CBS ecosystem, spun off from one of the network's existing franchises. ''Origins'' is the sixth ''NCIS'' show; ''Georgie'' follows ''The Big Bang Theory'' and ''Young Sheldon''; and ''Elsbeth'' stars a character who was introduced in ''The Good Wife'' and later appeared in ''The Good Fight.''

There are a couple of ways to look at that. You can see timidity and lack of imagination, and an overreliance on proven quantities like the sitcom mogul Chuck Lorre (''Georgie'') and the smart-drama mavens Michelle and Robert King (''Elsbeth''). But you can also see shrewd strategy at a time when seemingly unlimited choice and the associated fracturing of the audience make viewers' desires for familiarity and comfort stronger than ever. All of the major streamers could take lessons in brand management from CBS.

The network does not have a ''universe'' in the sense of Marvel's crisscrossing superhero stories or the byzantine timelines of the ''Star Wars'' franchise. But it has a sensibility that is actually more consistent, across a variety of genres and creators. There may not be a CBS universe, but there is a CBS world, a zone with a common language and values. Traveling from ''Blue Bloods'' to ''Fire Country'' to ''Tracker,'' you won't have any problems at the border.

The shows arriving this week -- to which we can add ''Matlock,'' also in its first season, and ''Tracker,'' another February arrival -- hew to the brand, similar in ways that are hard to quantify but still visible. Easiest to see is the attribute that makes the shows easy for many to dismiss: They are resolutely formulaic, each following a familiar path in nearly every episode. That is not to say that they are entirely predictable, from moment to moment, but they avoid rude surprises.

That is a timeworn observation about shows across all broadcast networks. More particular to the CBS shows is how they balance what can be seen as appeals to Middle American conservatism with nods to blue-state values.

Amid the standard investigation and suspense motifs of ''Origins,'' we see the crusty team leader, Mike Franks (Kyle Schmid), reluctantly facing up to issues of gender and race in the workplace; but his retrograde attitudes and jokes are still woven, at face value, into the show's humor. (To be fair, it takes place in 1991.)

''Georgie,'' set in the mid-1990s between ''Young Sheldon'' and ''The Big Bang Theory,'' focuses sympathetically on the efforts of Mandy (Emily Osment) to find a job while making clumsy jokes about the importance of her breasts in the imagination of Georgie (Montana Jordan), a notion we are probably meant to see as natural given that he is 12 years younger than she is. (The presentation of Georgie as both an adolescent, good-old-boy dimwit and a well-meaning, deceptively smart striver encapsulates the straddle CBS is always trying to pull off.)

In ''Matlock,'' the lawyer played by Kathy Bates nearly derails her firm's pursuit of a sexual-harassment case when she admits that her age and experience led her to distrust the young plaintiff.

In ''Elsbeth,'' Carrie Preston's Elsbeth Tascioni, a Chicagoan temporarily attached to the New York police, is an awe-struck tourist in the big city (probably an experience familiar to many viewers) who also maintains a visitor's critical distance. In Thursday's season premiere, she falls in love with opera under the tutelage of a murderer charmingly played by Nathan Lane, but does not plan to go back to the opera house anytime soon -- once or twice a year is enough, she notes with asperity.

All of the plot elements or throwaway lines involving social or cultural values are written without any reference whatsoever to actual politics or events in the larger world, of course; reality is in every case subsumed by formula and genre. This relates to another notable characteristic of the CBS shows: the way in which they seem to exist both in and out of time. They take place in specific moments on the calendar, but those time frames seem relevant only as a framework on which to hang jokes, references, costumes and props.

That free-floating quality points to a central truth about the CBS shows: Their universe is the world of broadcast TV itself. They occupy a timeless, homogeneous zone that is comfortably self-referential without being meta in a way that could be distracting or challenging.

''Elsbeth'' is derived not just from the Kings' earlier shows, but also from the template set by the beloved 1970s NBC detective show ''Columbo.'' ''Matlock'' plays with the folksy-lawyer premise of its namesake, the 1980s-'90s ''Matlock'' on NBC and ABC.

''Georgie'' is strongly reminiscent of one of the most popular shows during the era in which it is set, ABC's ''Roseanne.'' (The sympathetic father and father-in-law played by Will Sasso is a direct gloss on John Goodman's Dan.) ''Tracker'' carries some DNA from the great Fox series ''The X-Files.'' It also directly invokes the CW bellwether ''Supernatural,'' with Jensen Ackles guest-starring in a role practically identical to the caustic, protective older brother he played in that earlier series (and driving a very similar black Chevy).

All that really matters for these shows is executing on their premises and formulas; if they keep faith, they will find an audience waiting for them. If you want to make distinctions, though, the edge probably goes to the featherweight but amusing ''Elsbeth,'' which has the polish and some of the wit that the Kings usually supply. (Its mysteries are almost offensively simple minded, though.) ''Matlock'' has a clever season-long premise to generate suspense and engaging performances by Bates and by Skye P. Marshall as a fierce younger lawyer; the case-of-the-week plots are undercooked, however, and Beau Bridges, as the firm's alpha partner, is severely underused.

''NCIS: Origins'' has some surface interest as a darker than usual variation on the ''NCIS'' blueprint, which usually calls for a mix of light buddy-cop banter and grisly homicide. Austin Stowell, playing the central character Leroy Jethro Gibbs at the beginning of his law-enforcement career, is about as expressive as Mark Harmon was when he played Gibbs on ''NCIS''; Harmon made it work for 19 seasons, but Stowell may not get as much time to perfect his deadpan. (Harmon, who left the original series several seasons ago, returns here as narrator.)

''Georgie & Mandy's First Marriage'' has the misfortune of having the slenderest connection to its predecessors. The center of gravity of both ''Big Bang'' and ''Young Sheldon,'' the comically obsessive scientist Sheldon Cooper (played by Jim Parsons as an adult and Iain Armitage as a child), is not present, and without him it is hard to see much of a purpose in the spinoff. (The show adds a Sheldon surrogate in the person of a twitchy, obsessive musician played by Dougie Baldwin; in the first few episodes it looks like a miscalculation.)

Georgie, Sheldon's older brother, and Mandy run through achingly familiar sitcom scenarios of ***working-class*** travail, leavened only by the performance of Rachel Bay Jones (an Emmy, Grammy and Tony winner for ''Dear Evan Hansen'') as Mandy's disapproving mother. But it is still a good bet that more than a few of the nine million people who watched the last season of ''Young Sheldon'' will make the painless journey to ''Georgie.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/arts/television/cbs-ncis-georgie-mandy-elsbeth.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/arts/television/cbs-ncis-georgie-mandy-elsbeth.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Left, from top: Montana Jordan and Emily Osment in ''Georgie & Mandy's First Marriage''

Kyle Schmid in the prequel ''NCIS: Origins''

and, from left, Jason Ritter, Kathy Bates and Skye P. Marshall in a reboot of ''Matlock.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TROY HARVEY/WARNER BROS.

ERIK VOAKE/CBS

SONJA FLEMMING/CBS) This article appeared in print on page C3.

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[***Call to Exuberant Democrats: 'The Baton Is in Our Hands'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJH-MPY1-JBG3-63M7-00000-00&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. 15

**Length:** 1210 words

**Byline:** By Reid J. Epstein and Simon J. Levien

**Body**

Vice President Kamala Harris gave her first speech as the de facto Democratic nominee to a deafening crowd, keeping up her offensive against Donald Trump.

Delivering a jolt of enthusiasm to a party reeling from weeks of infighting, Vice President Kamala Harris rallied Democrats on Tuesday in Wisconsin and laid out a fierce argument against former President Donald J. Trump.

Ms. Harris vowed, in her first rally as the de facto Democratic presidential nominee, to defeat Mr. Trump by attacking him as a prosecutor would. She defined herself as a tribune of the middle class fighting against a tool of billionaires and as a champion of abortion rights against a man who would deny such rights to all Americans.

Ms. Harris offered a far more energetic denunciation of Mr. Trump than President Biden, in front of a crowd that her campaign said was the largest she or Mr. Biden had addressed since their re-election bid began over a year ago. She walked out to cheers to the tune of Beyoncé's ''Freedom,'' which the singer had allowed her to use. As one attendee put it, the moment felt like a release of months of pent-up Democratic energy.

Interrupted several times by chants of ''Ka-ma-la,'' Ms. Harris demonstrated how Mr. Biden's withdrawal from the 2024 race and her elevation have transformed a desultory, almost perfunctory campaign into a bastion of enthusiasm. She highlighted the $100 million in contributions since Sunday and took a victory lap for effectively wrapping up the Democratic presidential nomination within 48 hours.

''We have earned the support of enough delegates to secure the Democratic nomination,'' Ms. Harris said. ''I am so very honored and I pledge to you I will spend the coming weeks continuing to unite our party so that we are ready to win in November.''

The vice president recycled phrases from her 2020 presidential campaign, calling her bid ''people-powered'' and promising that, as president, she would prioritize the needs of the middle and ***working class*** over the desires of corporate interests and the wealthy.

And in a nod to her relative youth -- she is 59, decades younger than the 81-year-old Mr. Biden and the 78-year-old Mr. Trump -- and her potential to become the first woman elected as president, Ms. Harris placed the 2024 campaign on a continuum with the civil and voting rights struggles of America's past.

''The shoulders on which we stand, generations of Americans before us led the fight for freedom and now, Wisconsin, the baton is in our hands,'' she said. ''We who believe in the sacred freedom to vote will make sure every American has the ability to cast their ballot and have it counted.''

The vice president drew perhaps her largest cheers during the section of her stump speech that compared her biography to Mr. Trump's. She told of being a local prosecutor and attorney general in California who investigated ''fraudsters'' and ''cheaters,'' among other miscreants, and reminded the crowd that Mr. Trump was found liable of sexual assault by a Manhattan civil court.

''So hear me when I say I know Donald Trump's type,'' she said. ''In this campaign, I promise you I will proudly put my record against his every day of the week.''

She accused Mr. Trump of aiming ''to take our country backward'' and said Trump allies' plans, known as ''Project 2025,'' would damage the middle class. (Mr. Trump has sought to distance himself from the voluminous conservative policy proposals.)

''We know we got to take this seriously,'' she said. ''Can you believe they put that thing in writing? Read it! It's 900 pages.''

Ms. Harris arrived in Wisconsin riding a 48-hour wave of momentum from a Democratic Party that swiftly united around her after more than a year of intramural hand-wringing about whether Mr. Biden was its best shot at defeating Mr. Trump.

Also on Tuesday, the Democratic National Committee released draft rules setting the schedule for when it will formalize its nomination. Any candidates must meet certain criteria by July 30. If Ms. Harris remains unchallenged, delegates will begin voting virtually on Aug. 1. The rules will be voted on on Wednesday.

Even before Ms. Harris arrived in Milwaukee, it was clear that local Democrats were excited about the change to the top of the ticket. The Harris campaign said every Democratic statewide officeholder -- even the public schools superintendent -- would attend the rally in the Milwaukee suburb of West Allis, a stark contrast from Mr. Biden's last Wisconsin visit, when Senator Tammy Baldwin held her own event 190 miles away from the president's stop in Madison.

As Ms. Harris stepped off Air Force Two at the Milwaukee airport, Lt. Gov. Sara Rodriguez embraced her and insisted on a selfie, as Gov. Tony Evers and Ms. Baldwin hovered in the background.

Public opinion research conducted by Priorities USA, a Democratic super PAC, immediately after Mr. Biden's exit from the race showed Ms. Harris generating more enthusiasm than he had among young voters -- a key group that had never warmed to the president's re-election bid.

Among Democratic-leaning voters in battleground states who are between the ages of 18 and 34, the percentage of voters who said they would definitely vote increased by five percentage points in the 24 hours after Mr. Biden's withdrawal, according to the data, which was shared with The New York Times. The Priorities USA survey also found Ms. Harris faring four points better among Black voters and three points better among Latinos than Mr. Biden had.

In a state in which the vast majority of communities are either deep red or deep blue, West Allis, an inner-ring, ***working-class*** Milwaukee suburb named for a tractor manufacturing plant that once dominated the community, is a rare battleground city. Mr. Biden won 55 percent of the city's vote in 2020.

In the school gymnasium, the crowd held up signs reading ''Kamala'' and ''USA.'' One group held up letters that spelled out ''Yes we Kam!'' in a play on former President Barack Obama's winning 2008 campaign slogan.

Among the crowd, the most common reactions to Ms. Harris's presidential run were ''excited'' and ''relieved.''

''We are part of the groundswell,'' said Renee Borkowski, a 56-year-old rallygoer from Lake Forest, Ill., adding that this was the first rally she had attended since Jimmy Carter's 1976 campaign.

Ellen Holly of Elkhorn, Wis., wore a Biden-Harris campaign shirt but took painter's tape and covered Mr. Biden's name. She scrawled over it with what has become a rallying cry for the Harris campaign: ''Let's win this.''

''I would vote for a dead animal in the road before I vote for Trump,'' said Ms. Holly, 67, a retired teacher who also supported Mr. Biden.

Other attendees highlighted the historic nature of Ms. Harris's first presidential campaign rally while expressing cautious optimism.

''I'm worried, but I'm more hopeful than I was last week,'' Katrice Battle, 37, a Milwaukee photographer, said of Ms. Harris's candidacy, adding she was invigorated as a Black woman to try to elect the first female president.

But she acknowledged that once the rah-rah feelings of a new campaign fade, Ms. Harris has ground to make up against Mr. Trump. ''It was relief, then trepidation,'' Ms. Battle said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/23/us/politics/harris-speech-wisconsin-rally.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/23/us/politics/harris-speech-wisconsin-rally.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris held her first rally since securing the support needed to be the Democratic nominee, in Milwaukee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** July 24, 2024

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[***In the South of France, a Utopian Town Inspired by Ancient Pyramids***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXV-HVC1-DXY4-X33X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 929 words

**Byline:** Alice Cavanagh

**Highlight:** Once derided, La Grande Motte, a surreal 1960s resort in the South of France, is increasingly seen as having been ahead of its time.

**Body**

How do you build a town from scratch? For an answer, you might look to two metropolises that sprang up in just a handful of years during the 1950s and ’60s: Chandigarh, the Swiss French architect Le Corbusier’s planned city in northern India, and Brasília, the sprawling capital of Brazil, designed by the urban planner Lúcio Costa and the architect Oscar Niemeyer. Far less well known, but inspired by the same modernist belief in architecture’s utopian potential, is La Grand Motte, an otherworldly resort town of curving white concrete towers spread across nearly 2,000 acres of former marshland in the South of France.

The magnum opus of the Turkish-born French architect Jean Balladur, La Grande Motte began in 1965 as one of several ***working-class*** resort towns built by the French government in response to the post-World War II vacation boom. (Later in the decade, a law increased workers’ annual holiday allowance from three to four weeks.) These places were fashioned as cheaper, family-friendly alternatives to the ritzier attractions of the Côte d’Azur, farther east. La Grande Motte (the Big Mound), a 40-minute drive east of Montpellier and named after a nearby sand dune, was to offer affordable accommodation for 37,800 tourists, in the form of vacation homes, rental apartments and campsites.

While Balladur, who died in 2002, realized this goal, his vision was met with scorn: In 1972, the magazine L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui called La Grande Motte “architectural pollution.” Over the next 30 years, the resort expanded to include a shopping district, two schools, a church, a town hall and a golf course — earning it unflattering [*comparisons to Florida*](https://www.ina.fr/ina-eclaire-actu/video/s838480_001/grande-motte-la-nouvelle-floride-des-annees-70) and Disneyland. But the town also became an ideological blueprint for future urban developments in France, an example of how a supposedly uninhabitable area — in this case, one that was windswept and mosquito-ridden — might become home to a mostly peaceful, self-contained community. In 2010, the French Ministry of Culture formally recognized La Grande Motte as a place of “Outstanding Contemporary Architecture,” making it the first town to receive that designation.

La Grand Motte’s futuristic, pyramid-shaped apartment blocks are arranged along a 4-mile-long stretch of sandy beach and around a man-made port, their position and shape designed to mitigate wind and salt spray, providing shelter for the immense gardens Balladur had planted below. The architect drew inspiration from the modernist aesthetic of the Bauhaus movement, the social-planning theories behind Brasília and Le Corbusier’s Cité Radieuse residential complex in Marseille and, more surprisingly, the symbolic forms of the pre-Columbian pyramids in Teotihuacan, Mexico. He hoped to make a place that would feel out of time: a lost paradise almost overrun by greenery. The result is what the French call dépaysant, the word conjuring the disorienting feeling of arriving somewhere unfamiliar.

That quality is what the photographers and friends Laurent Kronental, 37, and Charly Broyez, 40, set out to capture in the summer of 2020, when they began to document La Grande Motte with a large-format field camera. “It’s like discovering a parallel world in which we don’t know if we’ve found the remains of an ancient civilization, or entered the future,” says Kronental, whose work often focuses on cities and their inhabitants.

The duo went on to spend three more summers at the resort, exploring by bike and on foot. Often, they’d befriend residents who’d then grant them access to private spaces or views from their balconies. During the summer, the town’s population increases tenfold, to around 90,000 — including a mix of second-home owners and tourists who stay at the resort’s still moderately priced rentals and campsites — but the pair avoided frames that featured people, taking many of the photographs in what Kronental calls the “blue hours” of the day, the hazy moments just before dusk and dawn.

The first part of the resulting series — titled “La Cité Oasis” and scheduled to be published next year by Editions Sur la Crête — explores the territory as it might have looked before it was developed: Images feature the remote, ramshackle fishermen’s huts that still stand on the grass-lined estuaries of the surrounding Camargue region. In contrast, the second part of the book highlights the graphic gestures of Balladur’s masterpiece — the honeycomb-like facades and swooping silhouettes — set against the lush green of its landscaping. “You have the impression of going on a poetic journey,” says Kronental, “from being at the end of the world, almost marginalized outside of society, to this very modern oasis.”

Balladur was, Kronental argues, ahead of his time, in part because his fantasy of a town immersed in nature made him something of an environmentalist. He dedicated over two-thirds of the site to vegetation, planting tree species — including pines, planes, olives, poplars and cypresses — that could withstand heat, wind and sea spray. He also built 11 miles of footpaths that weave throughout the center of the resort, restricting cars to the outskirts. Some 60 years later, La Grand Motte remains [*one of the greenest towns in France*](https://www.ina.fr/ina-eclaire-actu/video/s838480_001/grande-motte-la-nouvelle-floride-des-annees-70). “Balladur was visionary,” says Kronental. “He anticipated the city of tomorrow.”

PHOTOS: Top and above, the pyramidlike, yet futuristic, La Grande Motte, a resort town built in the South of France in the 1960s. Laurent Kronental and Charly Broyez started photographing it in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHARLY BROYEZ AND LAURENT KRONENTAL) This article appeared in print on page D3.

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2024

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[***For Longtime Undecided Voters, Decision Time Has Arrived***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBP-SD01-DXY4-X2JS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 5, 2024 Tuesday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

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**Byline:** By Jack Healy, Clyde McGrady, Eduardo Medina, Campbell Robertson, Nailah Morgan and James Surdam

**Body**

Over the last four months, these voters have struggled with their decision. Now, with time short, they explain who's getting, or not getting, their vote.

Over the last four months, The New York Times has been speaking with undecided voters after some of the most dramatic moments of the presidential campaign, to learn how those events were shaping their choice.

The people we talked with live in states where the polling is tight, and voters like them will play an outsize role in determining the outcome. They are concerned about the cost of living, former President Donald J. Trump's volatility and Vice President Kamala Harris's vision for the country.

They are sporadic voters, disaffected former partisans, Republicans and Democrats. Some of them shifted their decisions over the course of the campaign. Others will decide when they step into the booth.

While a lot has happened over the last few months, poll numbers have remained largely stable. The vast majority of American voters have made up their minds, adding even more weight to what persuadable voters ultimately decide.

Kristen Morris voted for Ms. Harris.

In the spring, Kristen Morris, 60, a former Republican, was feeling deeply pessimistic about her two choices for president. She felt troubled by Mr. Biden, whom she had voted for in 2020: She worried about his cognitive abilities and was unhappy with his handling of the country's withdrawal from Afghanistan. And she was stunned that Mr. Trump continued to express no remorse over the Jan. 6 riot.

Ms. Morris, a nursing student in who lives in a suburb of Charlotte, N.C., jokingly refers to herself as a ''raging moderate'' and identifies as an independent. At the Republican National Convention this summer, she was hoping to hear something -- anything -- from Mr. Trump that would hint at a more subdued and bipartisan tone. Instead, she said, his divisive statements and rambling outbursts were in full view.

Then Mr. Biden dropped out, and Ms. Harris entered the race. After listening to her speeches, particularly her address at the Democratic National Convention, Ms. Morris said she appreciated Ms. Harris's efforts to address people across the political aisle. She said she was also impressed with Ms. Harris's ''command of international affairs,'' and her ''commitment to the rule of law and what democracy really means.'' Her mind was made up: Ms. Harris had earned her vote.

Bob Reed plans to vote for Mr. Trump.

Bob Reed, 78, is a Republican. A retired teacher who still works his family farm in central Pennsylvania, where he lives with his wife, Sharon, he agrees with the Republican Party's approach to regulation, spending and border control. But he does not like Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump's unpredictability and incendiary rhetoric, as well as his apparent fondness for foreign authoritarians, was almost a deal breaker for Mr. Reed. He was still 50.01 percent likely to vote for Mr. Trump again, he said early in the summer, because he disapproved of Mr. Biden's handling of inflation and border enforcement. But when Ms. Harris entered the race, Mr. Reed was open to reconsidering. He liked her youth and energy, and he found her to be more dignified than Mr. Trump.

As the campaign unfolded, however, he said Ms. Harris gave him little reason to think she would significantly change course from Mr. Biden. And so in the end he decided to follow his long-held preferences for Republican policy.

This is not to say it was an open-and-shut decision. Over the course of the past four months, Mr. Reed's preference for Mr. Trump over his rival, he said, had grown to a whopping 51 percent.

Ryan Rivera voted for Ms. Harris.

Ryan Rivera felt ''really stuck'' before the presidential race was upended by Mr. Biden's decision to drop out.

As a trans man, Mx. Rivera, 20, worried about what a second Trump presidency would mean for L.G.B.T.Q. rights and whether trans people would be denied gender-affirming health care. But Mx. Rivera, who uses they/them pronouns, was also horrified by the death and destruction in Gaza, and cried watching TikTok videos of Palestinian children killed in Israeli strikes. They balked at voting for Mr. Biden because of his vocal support for Israel.

Ms. Harris's entry into the race changed everything. Mx. Rivera did not know much about her but thought the country was long overdue to be led by a biracial woman who did not grow up rich. The more Mx. Rivera watched of Ms. Harris, the better they felt supporting her.

Mx. Rivera had been reluctant to even engage in the campaign because of its intense negativity but said as a trans man, ''I don't have a choice.'' They made time between working two jobs to tune into the race, watching the debates and Ms. Harris's convention speech from their bedroom. Mx. Rivera even tried to persuade their politically abstinent mother to vote. That, however, was a losing campaign.

Matthew Dugie voted for Ms. Harris.

Matthew Dugie is the kind of voter that Mr. Trump could not afford to lose. He is a 59-year-old union construction worker in the Phoenix suburbs who voted for Mr. Trump in 2020. Even though he supports abortion rights and immigration, he thought Mr. Trump did a fine enough job running the country.

But Mr. Dugie, who is not religious, distrusted Mr. Trump's deepening alignment with conservative Christians and decided he had seen enough when he saw Mr. Trump hawking $60 Bibles. He hoped that an outsider business leader or another Republican politician would swoop in to offer an alternative to Mr. Trump.

The assassination attempt against Mr. Trump in Butler, Pa., changed his views. He decided then to vote for Mr. Trump. But, in the days before casting an early ballot, came another shift. Wanting to know more about Mr. Trump, he watched a documentary detailing Mr. Trump's actions to overturn the 2020 election and decided, ''This guy is a fraud.''

He said he voted for Ms. Harris.

''I definitely did a lot more research than I usually do,'' he said. ''It was not so much of a roller coaster as it was a learning experience.''

Remarcus Steele plans to vote for Jill Stein.

Remarcus Steele is a 29-year-old social media influencer who lives in the Atlanta suburbs.

He feels disaffected from politics, and back in June, he was disappointed with his choices for president. He thought Mr. Biden was too old and that Mr. Trump was a criminal.

He was even more distraught following that fateful debate between the two candidates. As he watched the video stream on his phone, Mr. Steele said he could not believe that the candidates failed to meet even his low expectations. ''I think that America lost as a whole,'' he said, when asked to choose a winner from that night.

But he was also disappointed that third-party candidates such as Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Jill Stein or Cornel West were not included, and thought America would benefit from hearing their thoughts on issues such as social justice and food safety. Despite Mr. Kennedy dropping out of the race and endorsing Mr. Trump, Mr. Steele thinks Mr. Trump is too ''extreme'' and does not deserve to return to the White House.

''After seeing what his plans are and even being aware of Project 2025, I say it's an absolute no,'' he said, referring to the conservative policy initiative to reshape the federal government.

But Ms. Harris has not won him over, either. Mr. Steele believes that she and Mr. Biden have done little to address issues like housing, pandemic-shuttered businesses and health.

Mr. Steele said he is sticking with a third-party candidate. (Of his three preferences, only Ms. Stein is on the ballot in Georgia.) His decision could be a bad signal to Ms. Harris, who is losing young Black and Latino voters, when she needs every last one in the swing states.

Jake Ferrin-Brown voted for Mr. Trump.

As Jake Ferrin-Brown, 24, tried to make up his mind on how to vote, he sat down at his home in rural southern Arizona and made up a March Madness-style bracket for the presidential candidates.

He liked Mr. Trump's harsh posture on immigration and supported Ms. Harris's promises to cut taxes for ***working-class*** Americans and to spend more money on mental health. But he was so disgusted with Democrats and Republicans alike that he ultimately sided with Robert F. Kennedy Jr. He said he wanted to vote for Mr. Kennedy ''to crash the two-party system.''

When Mr. Kennedy dropped out and endorsed Mr. Trump, Mr. Ferrin-Brown started leaning more toward Mr. Trump. He trusted Mr. Trump more on the economy and faulted Ms. Harris for the record-breaking numbers of migrants who arrived at the southern border over the past four years.

He said he made up his mind after he watched Ms. Harris tell an interviewer that she could not think of anything specifically she would have done differently than Mr. Biden. ''Why would I vote for someone who was such a big force behind those policies that I believe has made America worse off?'' Mr. Ferrin-Brown said. Trump had his vote.

Sharon Reed is not sure how she will vote.

Sharon Reed, 77, voted reluctantly for Mr. Trump in 2020, a displeasure that turned to disgust after the Jan. 6 riot on the Capitol.

A retired teacher who lives in rural central Pennsylvania with her husband, Bob, Ms. Reed has long preferred the Republican Party's approach to fiscal discipline and border control. She has, however, voted for Democrats, including the state's current governor.

She was waiting for the Democrats to give her a reason to vote for their candidate in 2024 -- a tall order she said, given the inflation under the Biden administration, but not an impossible one.

But from the moment Ms. Harris entered the race, Ms. Reed was unimpressed. She saw Ms. Harris as more ''presidential'' than the bombastic Mr. Trump. But Ms. Harris's about-face on a range of issues, like fracking and border enforcement, seemed to indicate to Ms. Reed a lack of backbone. She worried about what that would mean when Ms. Harris was facing down tough foreign adversaries like President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

These reservations made half her decision: She could not vote for Ms. Harris. As for the other half, she is still undecided. And she may stay that way, she said, until she walks into the polling booth on Tuesday, unsure whether she will hold her nose and vote again for Mr. Trump, or simply leave the presidential line on her ballot blank.

Alexandra Eaton and Axel Boada contributed video production.Alexandra Eaton and Axel Boada contributed video production.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/undecided-voters-trump-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/03/us/politics/undecided-voters-trump-harris.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKE BELLEME FOR NEW YORK TIMES

HANNAH BEIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CASSIDY ARAIZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ALYSSA POINTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

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[***An Independent Narrows the Gap in a Sleeper Nebraska Senate Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-4111-JBG3-6393-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday

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

**Length:** 1491 words

**Byline:** By Maya C. Miller

**Body**

At a recent series of campaign stops in small-town Nebraska, Dan Osborn, the little-known labor leader and car mechanic who is running for Senate as an independent, made his pitch to voters in the form of an allegory about the mice who elect cats to represent them.

As Mr. Osborn tells it, the mice keep voting for different breeds of cats in the hope that one will make good on their promises to make things better, but none ever do. Eventually, the mice realize that their real problem is not which cat they elect -- it's that they keep electing cats in the first place.

''We have to stop electing cats,'' Mr. Osborn told about 50 supporters who had gathered in his campaign's new field office in downtown Kearney on a recent Sunday afternoon, one of four opened weeks before Election Day as part of a last-minute campaign sprint. ''We are ruled by the millionaire and billionaire class that are inoculated from the very laws that they make.''

The populist appeal -- in which members of both major political parties are cast as feline villains and Mr. Osborn as one of the preyed-upon rodents -- has helped propel his challenge to Senator Deb Fischer, a second-term Republican who until recently had appeared to be on a glide path to re-election. Now, polls show the two in a tightening race that could potentially sway the balance of power in the Senate.

Over the past two decades, Republicans have consolidated a near monopoly in the Great Plains, a shift across a stretch of prairie once dominated by Democrats that could become complete in November if Senator Jon Tester of Montana loses his seat.

But this year, Nebraska has thrown Republicans for a loop. Mr. Osborn's dark-horse, grass-roots campaign has transformed what was expected to be a sleepy race into a late-breaking and high-stakes clash that has forced Ms. Fischer and her allies to invest millions of dollars to avoid an upset.

In the Omaha suburbs, one of Republicans' most battle-tested incumbents in Congress, Representative Don Bacon, is facing stiff headwinds, thanks to his party's lurch to the right and his recent endorsement of eliminating a provision that awards an electoral vote to the party that wins his district. The result has been an influx of cash into Mr. Bacon's increasingly liberal district, leaving him in an uphill fight for political survival.

In the Senate contest, Mr. Osborn is tapping into a well of discontent with Congress and leaning on his status as a political newcomer and his background as a union laborer to appeal to ***working-class*** voters from across the political spectrum. He has eschewed any connection with Democrats, rejecting an endorsement from the Nebraska Democratic Party this year and insisting that he would not caucus with either party if elected.

That has not stopped Ms. Fischer from labeling him as a ''Democrat in disguise.'' Mr. Osborn's deep experience in the labor movement -- he is best known for leading 500 of his workers out of a Kellogg's cereal plant in Omaha and onto a picket line -- and his support for codifying abortion rights into federal law seem to indicate that he would side with Democrats on at least some major economic and social issues.

Still, Mr. Osborn appears to be drawing interest among voters of different political stripes. At recent events, several attendees said they planned to vote for former President Donald J. Trump, and a few indicated they were supporters of Vice President Kamala Harris.

Ms. Fischer, a former school board member and state lawmaker whose family owns a cattle ranch, won both of her previous Senate races by double-digit margins and has kept a relatively low profile since taking office. She has voted multiple times to repeal the Affordable Care Act. Soon after taking office in 2013, she cosponsored the Life at Conception Act, which would have effectively outlawed all abortions without exception and aspects of certain fertility treatments, such as in vitro fertilization. Ms. Fischer, who praises the overturning of Roe v. Wade, has said in recent weeks that she would support exceptions to an abortion ban for cases of rape and incest and to protect the life of the mother.

Mr. Osborn, who enlisted in the Navy after high school and served in the Nebraska Army National Guard, has pitched himself as a consensus-builder across party lines. At his recent events, he described how he tried to make the Kellogg's strike a nonpartisan issue by persuading Mr. Bacon to walk the picket line with the workers and Pete Ricketts, the governor at the time, to write a letter to company executives urging them to make a deal. (Mr. Ricketts, a Republican and now Nebraska's junior senator, is expected to handily win a special election and retain the seat he was appointed to in 2023 after Senator Ben Sasse resigned.)

''I didn't see men or women, or Black or white, or Republican or Democrat out on the picket line,'' said Mr. Osborn, who was recruited to run by railroad unions in western Nebraska that turned against Ms. Fischer because of her backing for legislation that is favorable to the rail industry. ''I just saw people that wanted to go to work for a fair wage and fair benefits.''

When he jumped into the political fray last September, Mr. Osborn had little name recognition and even less money, and pundits and the news media had largely written off the race. But funding is no longer a barrier; his campaign hauled in close to $3.3 million last quarter and spent nearly all of it on advertising, according to federal filings.

As polls have shown Mr. Osborn closing the gap, Ms. Fischer and her Republican allies have been forced to pour millions of their own into the race. Two recent nonaffiliated surveys showed Mr. Osborn within a few points of Ms. Fischer. The Senate Leadership Fund, a Republican super PAC, on Monday promised an additional $3 million in ad spending in the final two weeks before the election.

Ms. Fischer's campaign has called Mr. Osborn ''simply too far left'' and is running multiple ads that quote him saying that he ''loves'' Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent known for his progressive policies. (According to audio circulated by Republicans, Mr. Osborn apparently made the remark as a point of contrast as he discussed the need to appeal to conservatives.)

''Nebraskans support me because I've delivered results,'' Ms. Fischer, whose campaign did not respond to a request for an interview, said in a statement. ''I have a long, conservative record that's helped build Nebraska and keep America strong.''

Some of the Republican attacks on Mr. Osborn appear to be resonating with voters. Peter Rishel, a retired police officer who attended his event in Kearney, asked whether it was true that Mr. Osborn wanted to give Social Security cards to illegal migrants, a claim made in several of Ms. Fischer's ads.

Mr. Osborn chuckled before bluntly declaring that, no, he does not want ''amnesty'' for ''people who come here unlawfully,'' nor does he want to give them Social Security benefits. He then criticized Ms. Fischer for voting twice against the bipartisan border bill led by Senator James Lankford, Republican of Oklahoma, at the behest of Mr. Trump.

Mr. Rishel, who said he planned to vote for Mr. Trump, left the event intrigued by Mr. Osborn, who he said gave a ''pretty impressive'' pitch for how he would take on Washington elites. But Mr. Rishel said he was reluctant to vote against Ms. Fischer, whose office helped him and his wife navigate a dispute with the Internal Revenue Service over their income tax refund.

''I just thought the world of her when she helped us,'' Mr. Rishel said. ''And to step away from that -- God, that's a pretty big step.''

Abortion could also play a role in the race. Nebraska voters face two competing ballot measures this year that would alter the state's abortion law, which bans the procedure at 12 weeks with exceptions for rape and incest and to protect the life of the mother. One of the proposals, which has garnered national support and funding from abortion rights groups, would enshrine the rights in the state Constitution up to the point of viability. The other would add a 14-week ban to Nebraska's Constitution.

During a swing through small towns in western Nebraska on a recent Sunday afternoon, after several voters asked for his stance, Mr. Osborn said he supported codifying the protections of Roe v. Wade into federal law.

''I don't believe it's my place or the government's place to tell people when they should or shouldn't start families, and that includes I.V.F. and contraceptives,'' Mr. Osborn told the crowd at his newly opened office in Grand Island.

Earlier that day, in response to a similar question from a voter in Hastings, Mr. Osborn said: ''Bottom line is, since Roe's been overturned, women are dying. And I've got a problem with that.''

Catie Edmondson contributed reporting.Catie Edmondson contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Dan Osborn's dark-horse campaign has transformed what was expected to be a sleepy Senate race into a high-stakes clash. Below, Mr. Osborn opened four campaign offices weeks before Election Day, including in Grand Island, left, and Hastings. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL CIAGLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Prosecutors Warn of More Charges and Defendants in Adams Graft Case***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3F-MRY1-JBG3-609J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 2, 2024 Wednesday 16:12 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1102 words

**Highlight:** Eric Adams, the New York City mayor, appeared before Judge Dale E. Ho as he fights off federal charges that he accepted luxury travel in exchange for favors.

**Body**

Eric Adams, the New York City mayor, appeared before Judge Dale E. Ho as he fights off federal charges that he accepted luxury travel in exchange for favors.

Less than a week after Mayor Eric Adams pleaded not guilty to charges of bribery and fraud, federal prosecutors told a judge that they might bring additional charges against him and that charges against other people were likely.

“There are [*several related investigations*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) here,” Hagan Cordell Scotten, a prosecutor with the U.S. attorney’s office for the Southern District of New York, said during a hearing in federal court in Manhattan on Wednesday. Prosecutors said that the case had been complicated by their inability to unlock Mr. Adams’s cellphone, because he had said he could not remember the recently changed password.

The nearly 90-minute hearing was the latest step in the case against Mr. Adams, the first sitting mayor in modern New York City history to be indicted. Last week, prosecutors unsealed a five-count indictment that accuses him of bribery conspiracy, fraud and soliciting illegal campaign donations. Mr. Adams, 64, has denied the allegations.

At an event in Brooklyn hours after the hearing, the mayor said he was not worried about additional charges.

“They said maybe, probably. This is all part of the process,” Mr. Adams said. “My attorney will handle it.”

The mayor, a former Brooklyn borough president, state senator and police captain, is accused of accepting free and discounted luxury travel for years and of pressuring the Fire Department to sign off on the opening of a new high-rise Turkish Consulate building in Midtown Manhattan.

The judge, [*Dale E. Ho*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), said at the Wednesday hearing that he would set a trial date soon.

Federal prosecutors in Manhattan and Brooklyn appear to be conducting at least [*four separate inquiries*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) that have ensnared people from Mr. Adams’s orbit. Several members of his circle have had their phones seized, and City Hall has seen several top aides resign.

Mr. Adams has said he will not step down, even as calls for him to quit have grown.

But the case has destabilized his administration. The mayor [*has been forced to focus on the city’s day-to-day operations*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) as senior administrators have announced their resignations, including the [*police commissioner*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) and [*schools chancellor*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), and Mr. Adams must also participate in his legal defense.

On Wednesday, Mr. Adams rushed from the hearing at the Downtown Manhattan courthouse to a news conference with the Police Department to discuss security for the High Holy Days and the anniversary of the Oct. 7 Hamas attacks. Afterward, Mr. Adams held a town hall at a club for older New Yorkers in Fort Greene, Brooklyn.

In a room of almost all Black residents, the mayor, who had removed his suit jacket, recited a list of accomplishments, focusing on reduced crime in the subways and managing the influx of more than 200,000 migrants.

Mr. Adams called himself an “outer-borough” mayor and a “***working-class***, blue-collar mayor” who doesn’t “fit what other people feel the mayor should be.”

Then he declared his innocence.

“I know my life,” he said. “I did nothing wrong, and it will be proven that I did nothing wrong. I’m strong on that ground.”

Carrie Roberson, a retired teacher at the event, said that federal authorities were targeting the Adams administration because the mayor had spoken out [*on behalf of Black people*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html).

“I hope the F.B.I. is wrong. I hope that he can continue,” Ms. Roberson said. “But when the F.B.I. comes after you, they come loaded.”

Gov. Kathy Hochul, [*who has the power to remove the mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), has not done so. On Wednesday, she said the departure this week of Timothy Pearson, one of Mr. Adams’s closest aides and confidants, was “a good first step” for the mayor in regaining the confidence of New Yorkers.

Prosecutors say that the mayor sold them out, taking benefits worth more than $100,000 over nearly a decade, as well as illegal campaign contributions.

On Wednesday, Mr. Adams sat in federal court at the defense table next to one of his lawyers, Alex Spiro, in a dark blue suit, a blue tie and a white shirt. Mr. Adams looked straight ahead for most of the hearing as the judge set a schedule for motions and hearings. Four federal prosecutors sat across the aisle.

Mr. Spiro said he wanted any trial finished by March, before the Democratic primary for mayor in June, in which his client faces four challengers.

Mr. Spiro said the trial’s timing would decide whether Mr. Adams got to “meet with members of the community as an innocent man versus with this hanging over his head.” The mayor is already facing four challengers and others, like former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, may also enter the primary.

Mr. Scotten, the prosecutor, said that the charges stemmed from a long-running conspiracy by Mr. Adams that he called a “sacrifice of his duty.” The investigation, Mr. Scotten told the judge, began in summer 2021, before Mr. Adams became mayor.

Mr. Scotten said the government had a lot of evidence that it must share with the defense before trial. The materials include bank, credit card and telephone records and communications, some of which had to be translated from Turkish.

Mr. Scotten said that there had been a “significant issue” of interference, citing a witness who he said had received a message from Mr. Adams instructing the person to lie to the F.B.I.

Prosecutors also said that they were still unable to get access to Mr. Adams’s phone, which they seized last year. [*Mr. Adams said at the time that he couldn’t remember the password*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), because he had recently changed it.

Mr. Spiro said that defense lawyers would provide a copy of the phone’s contents to prosecutors, and said that they would find nothing.

Since [*Mr. Adams’s arraignment on Friday*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), his lawyers have filed several motions before Judge Ho. On Monday, they asked the court to [*dismiss a bribery charge*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html). On Tuesday, they accused federal prosecutors of leaking information about the investigation that led to the mayor’s indictment and [*asked the judge to hold a hearing and issue sanctions*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) against them.

Pressing for a quick trial date, Mr. Spiro said most of the government’s case was based on the bribery charge, which “we don’t expect to survive.”

“We have every right, the public has every right, to a speedy trial here,” Mr. Spiro argued to the judge, adding: “We don’t want this case dragging.”

Grace Ashford contributed reporting.

Grace Ashford contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams of New York City, center, attended a hearing in federal court in Manhattan on Wednesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Teamsters President Asks for Speaking Slot at Both Parties’ Conventions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C76-4D91-JBG3-619T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 10, 2024 Monday 23:26 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 820 words

**Byline:** Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan Maggie Haberman is a senior political correspondent reporting on the 2024 presidential campaign, down ballot races across the country and the investigations into former President Donald J. Trump. Jonathan Swan is a political reporter covering the 2024 presidential election and Donald Trump&amp;#8217;s campaign.

**Highlight:** Having Sean O’Brien at the Republican National Convention would be politically useful to former President Donald J. Trump, even absent an endorsement. The union has yet to back a candidate.

**Body**

Having Sean O’Brien at the Republican National Convention would be politically useful to former President Donald J. Trump, even absent an endorsement. The union has yet to back a candidate.

The president of the Teamsters union has asked for speaking slots at both the Republican and Democratic national conventions, at a time when President Biden and former President Donald J. Trump have pressed for support from rank-and-file members of organized labor.

The move by Sean O’Brien, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, underscores the fact that his group, unlike other influential umbrella unions that have backed Mr. Biden in the 2024 election, has yet to endorse in the presidential race. Mr. O’Brien has made clear he is delaying a decision until later this year.

Kara Deniz, a spokeswoman for the Teamsters union, confirmed that Mr. O’Brien, through aides, has told officials working on both conventions that he would be interested in speaking at their dayslong nomination events. The Republicans will hold their convention in Milwaukee in July, and the Democrats will hold theirs in Chicago in August.

It would be unusual in the current fractious political climate for someone to speak at both conventions.

Over the course of the year, Mr. O’Brien has invited several presidential candidates, including Mr. Biden, Mr. Trump and independent candidates like Cornel West and Robert F. Kennedy Jr., to speak before his group. But Mr. O’Brien has what people close to Mr. Trump believe is a developing relationship with the former president.

The Teamsters is one of the country’s largest labor unions, with 1.3 million members in sectors like trucking and manufacturing. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the United Automobile Workers have backed Mr. Biden, and Shawn Fain, the president of the U.A.W., has been harshly critical of Mr. Trump.

Mr. O’Brien, however, has appeared more open to the former president.

Mr. O’Brien had a private meeting with Mr. Trump at the beginning of the year at Mar-a-Lago, shortly before the Iowa caucuses that the former president won handily, setting him on a path to become his party’s nominee for a third time.

The following month, the Teamsters gave $45,000 to both the Republican and Democratic convention funds, with officials saying the goal was to make sure its rank-and-file members are heard at the convention.

Mr. Biden has described himself as the most pro-labor president in history. And in 2020, he cut into what had been Mr. Trump’s advantage with ***working-class*** white voters in the 2016 presidential campaign against former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. That year, Mr. Trump’s appeal to voters in the Rust Belt states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania was key to his victory.

Also that year, some of Mr. Trump’s allies, including [*Paul Manafort*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/18/us/politics/manafort-rnc-trump.html), his onetime campaign chairman, tried working connections in the labor movement to see if they could peel off support for Mrs. Clinton from organized labor.

This year, as Mr. Biden has struggled in the Sun Belt swing states, such as Arizona, his path through white ***working-class*** states in the Rust Belt is seen as key.

While Mr. Trump’s camp is hopeful for an endorsement, it has been decades since the Teamsters backed a Republican presidential candidate. But keeping the Teamsters neutral would be viewed as a victory for the Trump team. And even absent an endorsement, having Mr. O’Brien at the Republican National Convention would be politically useful to Mr. Trump, who often highlights relationships to score political points.

The Teamsters endorsed Mr. Biden in 2020, although their support came relatively late in the general election campaign, well after it was clear that the then-candidate would be the presumptive Democratic nominee.

A spokeswoman who represents both the Trump campaign and the Republican National Committee did not respond to a request for comment about whether the GOP will grant Mr. O’Brien a speaking slot.

Kevin Munoz, a spokesman for the Biden campaign, did not address whether the Democrats will give Mr. O’Brien a slot.

“There’s only one candidate in this race fighting for American workers and creating good-paying union jobs here at home, and that’s President Biden,” Mr. Munoz said, saying that Mr. Trump “has spent his entire life fighting against workers’ rights” and that Mr. Biden “will continue to work to earn the Teamsters’ support.”

Mr. O’Brien was [*elected president of the union*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/18/us/politics/manafort-rnc-trump.html) on a wave of reformist energy in 2021. But unlike some umbrella unions that have backed Mr. Biden, Mr. O’Brien has a number of members in southern states who support the former president. And whatever his personal relationship with Mr. Trump, there is likely a benefit to Mr. O’Brien with his own members in being seen as open to talking to Republicans.

PHOTO: Sean O’Brien said he would delay backing a presidential candidate until later in the year. This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** June 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Behind the Scenes, Biden’s Level of Denial Is Stunning Both Parties***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH3-JV61-JBG3-605K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2024 Wednesday 17:32 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 499 words

**Byline:** Patrick Healy

**Highlight:** A grim truth from one of Trump’s pollsters.

**Body**

I’ve heard a lot of misinformation at the Republican National Convention this week, but one of Donald Trump’s pollsters, Tony Fabrizio, delivered a clear truth on Wednesday morning — maybe the quote of the week — at a David Axelrod-led panel discussion here.

“The more the Biden people are in denial about the situation, the better it is for us,” Fabrizio said, referring to the Biden camp’s refusal to accept the grim polling data about the president’s chances — not just in swing states like Pennsylvania and Wisconsin but also traditional Democratic states like Virginia, Minnesota and Maine.

Fabrizio’s point is not just coming from Republicans. I’ve heard it from Democrats repeatedly since President Biden’s news conference last week and his interview with Lester Holt of NBC News on Monday, in which the president was insistent that the polls were going his way and he remains the strongest candidate to face Trump.

“Biden and his closest family members are in total denial, and I’ve been shocked to the degree to which most people have pulled their punches to Biden’s face,” said one Democrat who is close to the Biden camp and who spoke on condition of anonymity to describe private interactions with his team.

Fabrizio — speaking on a University of Chicago Institute of Politics panel with Axelrod, the Democratic strategist Jeff Liszt and Amy Walter, the editor in chief of the Cook Political Report — said the Biden-Trump race was tight, of course, given the relatively slim number of undecided voters. But again echoing Democrats, Fabrizio said that Trump’s voters were far more motivated and energized than Biden’s and that most new support for Biden in national polls was coming in safe Democratic states like California.

Asked how many paths to victory in the Electoral College were available to Trump, Fabrizio said, “The map is expanding and continues to expand,” and later added, “we stopped counting at 25 different paths to 270.” (Another striking comment.)

He said that the selection of Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio as Trump’s running mate helps the Republican ticket in Rust Belt states given Vance’s appeal to ***working-class*** voters in the Midwest, among other groups. “The game is the states,” Fabrizio said. “His story is a compelling story,” he said, referring to Vance. “He has an appeal to blue-collar voters.”

For Democrats, the best hope seems to be that voters will still see the election as a referendum on Trump, his record as president and his plans for a second term (be it Project 2025 or something else). The challenge, though, is that after the assassination attempt, Trump is seen as a fighter and a survivor — “one tough S.O.B.,” as the Teamsters president, Sean O’Brien, called him at the convention on Monday night.

How Democrats reframe attention on Trump as unfit and unacceptable to swing voters is an open question, as is how they make Biden look like a strong candidate and a winner when so many members of his party want to replace him at the top of the ticket.

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris Rallies Exuberant Democrats in Wisconsin: ‘The Baton Is in Our Hands’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJC-S7H1-DXY4-X4FX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 23, 2024 Tuesday 23:09 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1230 words

**Byline:** Reid J. Epstein and Simon J. Levien Reid 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. 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:** Vice President Kamala Harris gave her first speech as the de facto Democratic nominee to a deafening crowd, keeping up her offensive against Donald Trump.

**Body**

Vice President Kamala Harris gave her first speech as the de facto Democratic nominee to a deafening crowd, keeping up her offensive against Donald Trump.

Delivering a jolt of enthusiasm to a party reeling from weeks of infighting, Vice President Kamala Harris rallied Democrats on Tuesday in Wisconsin and laid out a fierce argument against former President Donald J. Trump.

Ms. Harris vowed, in her first rally as the de facto Democratic presidential nominee, to defeat Mr. Trump by attacking him as a prosecutor would. She defined herself as a tribune of the middle class fighting against a tool of billionaires and as a champion of abortion rights against a man who would deny such rights to all Americans.

Ms. Harris offered a far more energetic denunciation of Mr. Trump than President Biden, in front of a crowd that her campaign said was the largest she or Mr. Biden had addressed since their re-election bid began over a year ago. She walked out to cheers [*to the tune of Beyoncé’s “Freedom,”*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) which the singer had allowed her to use. As one attendee put it, the moment felt like a release of months of pent-up Democratic energy.

Interrupted several times by chants of “Ka-ma-la,” Ms. Harris demonstrated how Mr. Biden’s withdrawal from the 2024 race and her elevation have transformed a desultory, almost perfunctory campaign into a bastion of enthusiasm. She highlighted the $100 million in contributions since Sunday and took a victory lap for [*effectively wrapping up the Democratic presidential nomination*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) within 48 hours.

“We have earned the support of enough delegates to secure the Democratic nomination,” Ms. Harris said. “I am so very honored and I pledge to you I will spend the coming weeks continuing to unite our party so that we are ready to win in November.”

The vice president recycled phrases from her 2020 presidential campaign, calling her bid “people-powered” and promising that, as president, she would prioritize the needs of the middle and ***working class*** over the desires of corporate interests and the wealthy.

And in a nod to her relative youth — she is 59, decades younger than the 81-year-old Mr. Biden and the 78-year-old Mr. Trump — and her potential to become the first woman elected as president, Ms. Harris placed the 2024 campaign on a continuum with the civil and voting rights struggles of America’s past.

“The shoulders on which we stand, generations of Americans before us led the fight for freedom and now, Wisconsin, the baton is in our hands,” she said. “We who believe in the sacred freedom to vote will make sure every American has the ability to cast their ballot and have it counted.”

The vice president drew perhaps her largest cheers during the section of her stump speech that compared her biography to Mr. Trump’s. She told of being a local prosecutor and attorney general in California who investigated “fraudsters” and “cheaters,” among other miscreants, and reminded the crowd that Mr. Trump was found liable of sexual assault by a Manhattan civil court.

“So hear me when I say I know Donald Trump’s type,” she said. “In this campaign, I promise you I will proudly put my record against his every day of the week.”

She accused Mr. Trump of aiming “to take our country backward” and said Trump allies’ plans, [*known as “Project 2025,”*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) would damage the middle class. (Mr. Trump has sought to distance himself from the voluminous conservative policy proposals.)

“We know we got to take this seriously,” she said. “Can you believe they put that thing in writing? Read it! It’s 900 pages.”

Ms. Harris arrived in Wisconsin riding a 48-hour wave of momentum from a Democratic Party that swiftly united around her after more than a year of intramural hand-wringing about whether Mr. Biden was its best shot at defeating Mr. Trump.

Also on Tuesday, the Democratic National Committee released draft rules setting the schedule for when it will formalize its nomination. Any candidates must meet certain criteria by July 30. If Ms. Harris remains unchallenged, delegates will begin voting virtually on Aug. 1. The rules will be voted on on Wednesday.

Even before Ms. Harris arrived in Milwaukee, it was clear that local Democrats were excited about the change to the top of the ticket. The Harris campaign said every Democratic statewide officeholder — even the public schools superintendent — would attend the rally in the Milwaukee suburb of West Allis, a stark contrast from Mr. Biden’s last Wisconsin visit, when Senator Tammy Baldwin held her own event 190 miles away from the president’s stop in Madison.

As Ms. Harris stepped off Air Force Two at the Milwaukee airport, Lt. Gov. Sara Rodriguez embraced her and [*insisted on a selfie*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/), as Gov. Tony Evers and Ms. Baldwin hovered in the background.

Public opinion research conducted by Priorities USA, a Democratic super PAC, immediately after Mr. Biden’s exit from the race showed Ms. Harris generating more enthusiasm than he had among young voters — a key group that had never warmed to the president’s re-election bid.

Among Democratic-leaning voters in battleground states who are between the ages of 18 and 34, the percentage of voters who said they would definitely vote increased by five percentage points in the 24 hours after Mr. Biden’s withdrawal, according to the data, which was shared with The New York Times. The Priorities USA survey also found Ms. Harris faring four points better among Black voters and three points better among Latinos than Mr. Biden had.

In a state in which the vast majority of communities are either deep red or deep blue, West Allis, an inner-ring, ***working-class*** Milwaukee suburb named for a [*tractor manufacturing plant*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) that once dominated the community, is a rare battleground city. Mr. Biden won [*55 percent of the city’s vote in 2020*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/).

In the school gymnasium, the crowd held up signs reading “Kamala” and “USA.” One group held up letters that spelled out “Yes we Kam!” in a play on former President Barack Obama’s winning 2008 campaign slogan.

Among the crowd, the most common reactions to Ms. Harris’s presidential run were “excited” and “relieved.”

“We are part of the groundswell,” said Renee Borkowski, a 56-year-old rallygoer from Lake Forest, Ill., adding that this was the first rally she had attended since Jimmy Carter’s 1976 campaign.

Ellen Holly of Elkhorn, Wis., wore a Biden-Harris campaign shirt but took painter’s tape and covered Mr. Biden’s name. She scrawled over it with what has become a rallying cry for the Harris campaign: “Let’s win this.”

“I would vote for a dead animal in the road before I vote for Trump,” said Ms. Holly, 67, a retired teacher who also supported Mr. Biden.

Other attendees highlighted the historic nature of Ms. Harris’s first presidential campaign rally while expressing cautious optimism.

“I’m worried, but I’m more hopeful than I was last week,” Katrice Battle, 37, a Milwaukee photographer, said of Ms. Harris’s candidacy, adding she was invigorated as a Black woman to try to elect the first female president.

But she acknowledged that once the rah-rah feelings of a new campaign fade, Ms. Harris has ground to make up against Mr. Trump. “It was relief, then trepidation,” Ms. Battle said.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris held her first rally since securing the support needed to be the Democratic nominee, in Milwaukee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** July 23, 2024

**End of Document**



[***We Have a Solution to the Housing Crisis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D13-XG21-DXY4-X4S2-00000-00&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:** 1088 words

**Byline:** By Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Tina Smith

**Body**

Stop almost anyone on the street today and you'll hear we're in a housing crisis. In most American counties, minimum-wage workers can't afford to rent even a modest one-bedroom apartment. Working families are bidding against the world's biggest financial firms for homes. On top of it all, people living in public housing complexes across the country are increasingly exposed to inhumane conditions after years of federal neglect and underinvestment.

It's becoming nearly impossible for ***working-class*** people to buy and keep a roof over their heads. Congress must respond with a plan that matches the scale of this crisis.

For generations, the federal government's approach to housing policy has been primarily focused on encouraging single-family homeownership and private investment in rental housing. The mortgage-interest deduction provides roughly $30 billion in tax write-offs to homeowners annually. In addition to their support of the mortgage market, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac provide up to $150 billion in financial backing to the multifamily rental market every year, but much of it goes to large, corporate landlords. These lucrative loans come with very few tenant protections or labor requirements. And the largest affordable housing incentive our government offers -- the low-income housing tax credit -- too often ends up in the hands of for-profit developers.

Outsourcing development to the private market leaves affordable housing subject to the boom-and-bust cycle of private investment. What's more, the federal government relinquishes the oversight needed to protect tenants from abusive landlords and racial discrimination.

The result is a housing market where corporate landlords make record profits while half of America's 44 million renters struggle to pay rent. For a generation of young people, the idea of home has become loaded with anxiety; too many know they can't find an affordable, stable place to rent, let alone buy.

Why is this happening? For decades, thanks to restrictive zoning laws and increasing construction costs, we simply haven't built enough new housing.

There is another way: social housing. Instead of treating real estate as a commodity, we can underwrite the construction of millions of homes and apartments that, by law, must remain affordable. Some would be rental units; others would offer Americans the opportunity to build equity. These models of rent caps and homeownership are already working around the world, such as in Vienna, and in some parts of the United States.

In Congress, the two of us represent very different parts of the country, but New Yorkers and Minnesotans have both benefited from social housing.

The Electchester complex in Queens and Co-op City in the Bronx today house over 50,000 New Yorkers. Co-op City stands as not only one of the largest housing cooperatives in the world -- with its own schools and power plant -- but also the largest, naturally occurring retirement community in the country, a testament to its financial and social sustainability.

In Minnesota, trusts, such as Saint Paul's Rondo Community Land Trust, give people the chance at more affordable homeownership, because the homeowners don't buy the land; instead, it's held in trust and leased to homeowners on a long-term, renewable basis. The model has expanded across Minnesota, in rural and suburban communities alike.

Because we believe that housing is a human right, like food or health care, we believe that more Americans deserve the option of social housing. That's why we're introducing the Homes Act, a plan to establish a new, federally backed development authority to finance and build homes in big cities and small towns across America. These homes would be built to last by union workers and then turned over to entities that agree to manage them for permanent affordability: public and tribal housing authorities, cooperatives, tenant unions, community land trusts, nonprofits and local governments.

Our housing development authority wouldn't be focused on maximizing profit or returns to shareholders. Rent would be capped at 25 percent of a household's adjusted annual gross income. Homes would be set aside for lower-income families in mixed-income buildings and communities. And every home would be built to modern, efficient standards, which would cut residents' utility costs. Renters wouldn't have to worry about the prospect of a big corporation buying up the building and evicting everyone. Some could even come together to purchase their buildings outright.

To fund social housing construction, our development authority would rely on a combination of congressional spending and Treasury-backed loans, making financing resilient to the volatility of our housing market and the political winds of the annual appropriations process.

Our bill would also invest in public housing and repeal the Faircloth Amendment, which prevents the construction of new public housing. Passed in 1998, with the support of both parties, the amendment helped entrench a cycle of stigmatization and disinvestment. Our legislation would reinvest federal money in local public housing authorities to fund the backlog of much-needed repairs.

We know that housing looks a lot different in Bemidji, Minn., than in the Bronx. It shouldn't be a one-size-fits-all approach. That's why our bill would task local governments, unions and established local nonprofits with developing homes that blend seamlessly into the landscape of the town and fit the needs of the people living in them.

Research from New York University, the University of California, Berkeley, and the Climate and Community Institute estimates that our bill could build and preserve more than 1.25 million homes, including more than 850,000 for the lowest-income households.

We can't wait for the private market alone to solve the housing crisis. This is the federal government's chance to invest in social housing and give millions of Americans a safe, comfortable and affordable place to call home -- with the sense of security and dignity that come with it.

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez is a Democratic U.S. representative from New York. Tina Smith is a Democratic U.S. senator from Minnesota.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY KYLE JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

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[***G.O.P. Has Closed Party Identification Gap, a Report Says***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BTD-HFJ1-JBG3-60PK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 991 words

**Byline:** By Ruth Igielnik

**Body**

The trend toward the Republican Party among white voters without a college degree has continued, and Democrats have lost ground among Hispanic voters, too.

In the run-up to the 2020 election, more voters across the country identified as Democrats than Republicans. But four years into Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s presidency, that gap has shrunk, and the United States now sits almost evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans.

Republicans have made significant gains among voters without a college degree, rural voters and white evangelical voters, according to a new report from the Pew Research Center. At the same time, Democrats have held onto key constituencies, such as Black voters and younger voters, and have gained ground with college-educated voters.

The report offers a window into how partisan identification -- that is, the party that voters tell pollsters they identify with or lean toward -- has shifted over the past three decades. The report groups independents, who tend to behave like partisans even if they eschew the label, with the party they lean toward.

''The Democratic and Republican parties have always been very different demographically, but now they are more different than ever,'' said Carroll Doherty, the director of political research at Pew.

The implications of the trend, which has also shown up in party registration data among newly registered voters, remains uncertain, as a voter's party affiliation does not always predict who he or she will select in an election. But partisan affiliation patterns do offer clues to help understand how the shifting coalitions over the last quarter century have shaped recent political outcomes. During the Trump administration, the Democratic Party's coalition grew, helping to bring about huge victories in the 2018 midterm elections and a victory for President Biden in 2020.

The G.O.P. has long struggled with the fact that there have generally been fewer Americans who identified as Republicans than as Democrats. After Barack Obama was re-elected as president in 2012, the Republican Party produced an autopsy report that concluded that in order to be successful in future elections, the party would need to widen its tent to include Black and Hispanic voters, who were not traditionally aligned with the G.O.P.

Twelve years later, the party has made some small gains with Hispanic voters. But it is growth with the white ***working class*** and with rural voters that has propelled Republicans to equity with Democrats.

The catch is that white ***working-class*** voters are slowly declining as a share of registered voters, so the Republican strategy of relying heavily on the group may not be sustainable in the long term.

At the same time, a much talked-about broad political realignment among Black and Hispanic voters has yet to materialize, at least by the metric of party identification.

Republicans' growing strength with white ***working-class*** voters represents one of the biggest political schisms in the country over the past 15 years. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Democrats had a slight partisan identification advantage among voters without a college degree, while college-educated voters were more evenly divided between the two parties. Beginning in the early 2010s -- and accelerating during the presidency of Donald J. Trump -- voters without a college degree, in particular white voters without a degree, increasingly moved toward the Republican Party.

Now, nearly two-thirds of all white noncollege voters identify as Republicans or lean toward the Republican Party.

And Republicans are making gains among white women, as well. In 2018, a year after the Women's March that attracted millions to protest Mr. Trump's policies, the group was split about evenly between Democrats and Republicans. But since then, Republicans have slowly been gaining ground. They now hold a 10 percentage point partisanship advantage.

Overall, over most of the last 30 years, white voters have been more likely to identify as Republicans than Democrats, though the gap closed briefly in the mid-2000s.

While Hispanic voters are still far more likely to identify as Democrats, the party's edge with the group has narrowed in the past few years. Currently, 61 percent of Hispanic voters identify as Democrats or lean toward the Democratic Party, down from nearly 70 percent in 2016. That trend mirrors polling in 2020 and 2024 that has shown the potential for support for Mr. Trump to grow among Hispanic voters.

That change appears most notable among Hispanic voters who do not have a college degree or who identify as Protestant. As recently as 2017, the latter group leaned Democratic; now, it is more likely to identify as Republican, even as Hispanic Catholics are still more likely to identify as Democrats.

These shifts in partisanship fall short of what some predicted to be a political realignment, said Bernard Fraga, an associate professor of political science at Emory University who studies Latino voters.

But Latino voters care deeply about the economy, Mr. Fraga noted, and Latinos who are ideologically conservative are interested in Republicans and their plans for the country.

''It is also important to remember that the Latino population is extremely dynamic,'' Mr. Fraga said. ''There are a tremendous number of newly eligible voters in every election cycle. And what we perceive as a change or shift for Latinos is going to be disproportionately due to new voters.''

''About one third of Latino voters weren't even in the electorate before 2016,'' he added.

Black voters still overwhelmingly associate with the Democratic Party: Eighty-three percent of Black voters identify as Democrats or lean Democratic. There has been a small decline since 2020, when the share of Black voters who identified as Democrats was about five percentage points higher. Among Black men, 15 percent currently identify as Republicans, the same share as 30 years ago.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/09/us/elections/party-identification-democrats-republicans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/09/us/elections/party-identification-democrats-republicans.html)

**Graphic**

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[***All the World's a Stage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYW-0J11-JBG3-63CG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 11; FICTION

**Length:** 938 words

**Byline:** By Joumana Khatib

**Body**

In Jo Hamya's second novel, ''The Hypocrite,'' a 20-something playwright puts her absent, aging writer dad on blast.

THE HYPOCRITE, by Jo Hamya

''The Hypocrite'' is our September Book Club selection. Join the discussion and learn more about it here.

Even bad, absent daddies can set aside ego to appreciate the trappings of a classic. In ''The Hypocrite,'' Jo Hamya's sharp and agile new novel, an unnamed, aging writer admits the brilliance of a nearly 10-minute sex scene to open his daughter's latest play. It's a shame the actor thrusting onstage is a venereal, self-regarding avatar of the writer himself, otherwise he'd tell his daughter how clever she was.

We are in London, in the summer of 2020. The city is cautiously stirring to life after months of lockdown. The play has been warmly received by critics, and its 20-something playwright, Sophia, is unquestionably talented. Also: wounded, blinkered, petulant.

Her father is a middle-aged novelist of moderate renown who is said to ''offend people for a living,'' and whose views aren't quite prehistoric but are premodern enough that I'd prefer not to hear his feelings about women breastfeeding in public. At a glance, he resembles Martin Amis during a low moment. He saw Sophia only intermittently during her childhood, hasn't published a book in years, hasn't navigated the shifting cultural tides terribly well. Settling into his seat at the theater, he had no idea what he was in for.

Their longest stretch of time together, a Sicilian vacation a decade earlier in which Sophia took dictation for his novel-in-progress, is the play's subject. Her memory is ferociously loyal, but unsparing: She nails precise details of the dill-scented kitchen where they worked, his cherished purple shirt, the sexual encounters he thought he'd kept secret. Within moments, the humiliation sets in -- he is reduced to a version of himself that had sex ''like a pig and wrote like a dictator,'' as the audience howls with laughter.

Still, there are crumbs of mercy. Thank God Sophia hasn't cast someone who can replicate the sputtering of his orgasms.

And thankfully, nobody in this appropriately claustrophobic story emerges the clear hero. No one is that doomed L-word, likable. Hamya bats our sympathies between characters: Sophia, the neglected child who craves both her father's approval and his artistic toppling; her father, who seems baffled by how quickly he's encountered irrelevance; and Sophia's mother, who is justifiably fed up after loving two self-engrossed yet profoundly un-self-aware writers.

While her father watches his persona flayed onstage, Sophia and her mother pick at an unbearable lunch, and the story leaps between restaurant and theater. ''When I read his books, they're like prolonged rape scenes in films,'' Sophia confesses. But she's met with little solidarity. With each act, Sophia's mother becomes drunker, crueler, mounting a stubborn defense of her ex. ''It's not very feminist, she says, to write an entire play about your absent father.''

In less capable hands, the novel might have become a tiresome examination of how sexual mores evolve between generations, or a flimsy inversion of Oedipal myth. But as in her 2021 debut novel, ''Three Rooms,'' Hamya is attuned to the precarity that young women inherit, the realization that no amount of privilege, education or artistic chops could confer the freedom or power they desire.

During the play's intermission, Sophia's father spars with a young freelance writer who barely keeps at bay her disdain for him. Countless hours spent online prepared her to rattle off a litany of groups he's insulted: ''Jews. Muslims. Catholics. Christians,'' she sneers. ''Jeremy Corbyn. Paris Hilton. The ***working class***. Old people. Old authors. Young authors.'' All the while, Sophia's father limply grasps an unlit cigarette and later struggles not to wet himself -- paging Dr. Freud!

His opponent and the exchange more broadly feel garishly typecast, cartoonish. In this one interlude the book loses its footing. Overall, Hamya's staging is savvy; each scene is packed with implication and, often, wit. With Sophia's father trapped in his seat and flooded by her point of view, unable to protest or rebut, the setup resembles a tidy revenge fantasy, as if it were done up with hospital corners. Tidy, but also limiting: ''I'm frustrated,'' Sophia tells her therapist, ''by having come up in an age where bonding over trauma seems more correct than bonding over a shared laugh.''

The novel's most gutting sequence details a stilted FaceTime call after the performance, with Sophia's father in a cafe restroom, raw with emotion, his brioche and coffee balanced on the toilet cistern. Sophia weeps as she did when she was a young girl. He refuses, gently, to join the Wi-Fi, unwilling to attempt a solution beyond his comfort that might ease their connection.

Who is the hypocrite of the title? The unexpectedly thin-skinned career provocateur, or the playwright who doesn't accept that her fixations might be as megalomaniacal and scalding as her father's? Privately, the aging writer concedes that the play is ''like the novel Sophia helped him write, but better.'' By the end he's planning his next act, a dreadful-sounding ''internet novel'' structured like the Bible, and it seems clear that father and daughter will joust for another round through their writing.

''You've Me Too'd me. Is there anything I'm allowed to say?'' he asks her, crossly. ''Or will it end up in the sequel?''

THE HYPOCRITE | By Jo Hamya | Pantheon | 233 pp. | $26Joumana Khatib is an editor at the Book Review.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/13/books/review/jo-hamya-the-hypocrite.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/13/books/review/jo-hamya-the-hypocrite.html)

**Graphic**

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[***Iowa's Law On Abortion Is Motivating Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D37-N2B1-JBG3-63HB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Robert Jimison

**Body**

Democrats in a pair of competitive House districts are spotlighting the anti-abortion stances of Republican incumbents after the state enacted one of the most restrictive bans in the country.

Maria Magner was six months pregnant with her second child when a seizure led to the discovery of a brain tumor. Given that she was well into her third trimester, her medical team was hesitant to begin the aggressive treatment needed, but she eventually started chemotherapy, had a successful surgery and underwent radiation. She is now in remission and her daughter is healthy.

That was three years ago, before the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade and Iowa enacted one of the most restrictive abortion laws in the nation, creating new complications for doctors treating pregnant women who face medical emergencies.

Now, Ms. Magner, a registered independent who grew up in a heavily G.O.P.-leaning family, is going door to door in the competitive Third Congressional District telling her story and trying to persuade her neighbors to vote out Representative Zach Nunn, the Republican incumbent, and elect Democrats up and down the ticket.

''If that were me today I wouldn't be alive,'' Ms. Magner said in an interview. She has never gotten involved in politics, she added, but she is volunteering this year because ''I just felt like I should do something. Even if it doesn't work, I can tell my girls that I tried.''

In a state where Republicans hold all four congressional seats, Democrats are banking on voters like Ms. Magner to bolster their chances of picking off G.O.P. incumbents in a pair of competitive districts in the southern part of the state, as they push to win the House majority in November.

At campaign stops and canvassing events and in television ads, they are hoping to harness a backlash to a law that took effect in Iowa in July banning most abortions after about six weeks of pregnancy to target Republican incumbents who have opposed abortion rights. In addition to Mr. Nunn, who once said he believed that all abortions should be illegal in the United States, they are targeting Representative Mariannette Miller-Meeks, who in her first term in Congress cosponsored a bill that would effectively outlaw abortions by giving embryos constitutional rights.

''A lot of people thought this would never happen in Iowa, but now we have one of the strictest bans in the country,'' said Christina Bohannan, who is challenging Ms. Miller-Meeks in Iowa's First Congressional District. ''It is a huge issue because we had in Iowa a very balanced law for a long time.''

Ms. Bohannan, who lost to Ms. Miller-Meeks in 2022 by more than 20,000 votes, focused her first campaign ad this year on attacking the congresswoman on abortion rights.

''Iowa now has one of the strictest abortion bans in the country because of Mariannette Miller-Meeks,'' she says in the spot. The congresswoman had no direct involvement in the statewide law, but the ad alludes to Ms. Miller-Meeks's co-sponsorship in 2021 of the Life at Conception Act, a bill that would grant legal personhood to fertilized eggs, effectively criminalizing abortions without any exceptions for rape or incest, or to save the life of the mother.

Ms. Miller-Meeks, who has yet to sign on to the bill during this Congress, said in an interview this month that she had backed it initially only because she assumed she could make changes, adding that she does believe in those exceptions. She is one of dozens of vulnerable Republican lawmakers who have backed away from the measure following the Supreme Court's overturning of Roe v. Wade, when the specter of a federal abortion ban became a major political liability for the G.O.P.

The ruling boosted their party in the 2022 midterm elections, and Democrats hope that the reaction against it -- and to Iowa's own severe abortion restrictions -- will spur turnout among moderate and independent voters and convince them that sending Democrats to Washington is the only way to change course.

Ms. Miller-Meeks, who has sought to refocus the political conversation around contraception instead of her anti-abortion rights position, says that overturning Roe has brought the issue closer to home, where voters ''are closer to the people that they elected to represent.''

''The best way to prevent abortion is to prevent pregnancy to begin with, making sure women have the proper tools and are empowered to be able to get pregnant on their timelines,'' she said during an interview in which she spoke about legislation she has sponsored that is billed as increasing access to contraception.

Critics contend that the measure, which would direct the Food and Drug Administration to issue guidance for companies that want to make oral contraception available without prescriptions, would have little practical effect. The agency has already approved one such drug and is in the process of reviewing another.

The Democrats running to unseat Ms. Miller-Meeks and Mr. Nunn have tried to tie them not just to the state's strict abortion law, but also to a statewide book ban and Iowa's decision to reject federal aid for summer food programs.

Even though Congress had nothing to do with those measures, Lanon Baccam, the Democrat who is challenging Mr. Nunn, and Ms. Bohannan maintain that dissatisfaction with conservative policies at the state level will translate into a rejection of Republicans up and down the ballot.

''Iowans are just fed up with this Republican regime and they're ready for change,'' Mr. Baccam, an Army veteran and former federal Agriculture Department official, said in an interview.

Mr. Baccam and Democrats have run a series of ads showing a moment from a 2022 Republican primary debate in which Mr. Nunn raised his hand after a moderator asked who would answer yes to the question ''Should all abortions be illegal in this country?''

Mr. Nunn's campaign says the clip distorts his stance, and accuses Democrats of ''intentionally misleading Iowa voters.'' He has since clarified that he believes in exceptions for rape, incest and the life of the mother -- which are also included in Iowa's law.

The Republicans have toiled to shift the campaign conversation to economic issues, asking small-business owners, ***working-class*** families and farmers whether they feel their lives have improved under President Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris.

The answer, they said, has been a frequent and resounding no.

''People are very concerned about the economy, and they know that there was a difference from 2020 and then after 2020,'' Ms. Miller-Meeks said between campaign stops this month in Keokuk and Mount Pleasant. ''And those prices are a direct reflection of the Biden-Harris administration.''

Mr. Nunn, who serves in the Air Force Reserve, has worked to appeal to voters across party lines. He often touts an effort he led to expand parental-leave benefits for members of the military serving in Reserve or National Guard positions, as well as a bill he helped push to enactment that boosted low-income housing developments in rural parts of the country.

''The overwhelming challenge here is going to be able to win cross-party voters,'' Mr. Nunn said. ''It's the largest segment of the voting electorate.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/30/us/politics/iowa-democrats-abortion-law-backlash.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/30/us/politics/iowa-democrats-abortion-law-backlash.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KC MCGINNIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

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[***Many Women See a Setback; Many Disagree***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDD-HX81-DXY4-X070-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2024 Wednesday

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

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**Byline:** By Dionne Searcey

**Body**

Kamala Harris would have been the first female president in the nation's nearly 250-year history. But many women chose Donald Trump, despite his history of sexism and his support for the end of Roe v. Wade.

To many left-leaning Americans, it is resoundingly clear that women who backed Donald J. Trump in the presidential election voted against their own self-interest.

Liberal women, in particular, have spent recent days practically stunned, stewing over how other women could have rejected Kamala Harris, who would have been the first woman to lead the nation in its nearly 250-year history. Instead, they chose a candidate who spews misogyny seemingly with glee. For the second time.

One voter from Maine, interviewed after Mr. Trump declared victory, offered a takeaway shared by many. As she put it, ''The sisterhood did not stand up.''

In many ways the election results seemed to contradict generations of progress made toward women's equality and for feminism generally. Women have made strides in nearly every facet of American life in recent decades, generally making up a greater proportion of the U.S. work force than in the past, taking on high-paying jobs and outpacing men in higher education -- though they remain underrepresented at the top levels of both business and government.

They now find themselves in a country where Mr. Trump won decisively with a campaign that pitted men against women, sitting down with podcasters who trade in sexism and choosing a running mate who had criticized single women as ''childless cat ladies.'' Mr. Trump took credit for appointing the Supreme Court justices who overturned the constitutional right to abortion but appeared to pay little price at the polls. Immediately after the election social media posts were circulating by men that read, ''your body, my choice.''

But women themselves clearly were divided in the election. Exit polls show that 45 percent of female voters cast ballots for Mr. Trump, and far more white women voted for Mr. Trump than Black women. The compounding rejection of first Hillary Clinton then Ms. Harris has exposed an uncomfortable but steady undercurrent of American society: Women do not necessarily agree on what counts as progress or a setback.

For Tiffany Justice, co-founder of Moms for Liberty, a conservative organization, the election of Mr. Trump is ''the liberation of women out of the dark days of so-called feminism.''

''This,'' she said, ''is real American feminism.''

Ms. Justice sees Mr. Trump's elevation of Susie Wiles as the first female chief of staff as the first of many moves by the next president that will be good for women.

''Every woman who feels like Donald Trump is going to be bad for their lives may want to just wait a minute and stop listening to the mainstream media and listen to what President Trump does,'' she said.

In the days since the election, it seems as though womanhood itself has fractured. Plans have yet to emerge for a large show of togetherness like the pussy hat rally in Washington after Mr. Trump's first election in 2016. Liberal women have blamed conservatives for siding with Mr. Trump, a known philanderer who was found liable for the sexual abuse of E. Jean Carroll, the former magazine writer. Some Black women have blamed white women for betraying them by voting for a candidate who says not only sexist but racist things.

Jamila K. Taylor, president and chief executive of the Institute for Women's Policy Research, a think tank that aims to close inequality gaps for women, has tried to parse the fact that women in some states voted to protect abortion rights but also voted for Mr. Trump. To her, that indicates that some voters were uncomfortable voting for Ms. Harris because she is Black.

''We have to call it out -- the misogyny and racism and sexism,'' Dr. Taylor said.

A myth of sisterhood

To academics who study women's movements and activists who have led them, the idea of a sisterhood where women stick together because of their gender, is a myth with deep roots in American society. In examples that start from the nation's earliest days -- through suffragist movements, racial integration and the legalization of abortion -- some of the biggest opponents of women's rights have been women.

''Women don't speak with one voice,'' said Lisa Levenstein, director of the Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies Program at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. ''They never have, they never will.''

Some of the biggest opponents of the fight to allow women to vote in the early 1900s were groups led by women. White mothers were among the loudest opponents of school desegregation and busing. In the 1970s, Phyllis Schlafly ridiculed feminists and glorified traditional roles for women as she fought to block the Equal Rights Amendment, saying it would lead to the complete unraveling of traditional American society.

Still, the election results last week came as a shock to many in a country where popular culture celebrates an awareness of women's struggles and achievements.

America today is awash in examples of feminism's popularity. Beyoncé on her summer tour sang to enormous crowds, ''Who run the world? Girls.'' Taylor Swift sold out arenas across the country calling out sexism she has faced (''If I was out flashing my dollars/I'd be a bitch, not a baller''). The ''Barbie'' movie drew hordes of people to theaters in red and blue states alike to see a doll with impossible curves turned into a feminist icon.

But pop culture did not translate to political culture, and signs of fractures among women were obvious during the campaign.

In Nebraska, female university athletes filmed a TV ad supportive of an ultimately successful ballot measure restricting abortion rights. Well-coiffed women from a North Carolina evangelical charismatic Christian church followed Mr. Trump to rally after rally.

Recently, the ''tradwives'' movement on social media picked up traction, celebrating the return of women to traditional roles as submissive wives. Mainstream media has treated the trend largely as a curiosity.

But for women who stay at home in lieu of low-paying jobs, including taking care of other people's children, or are faced with workplaces where gender pay gaps are still prevalent, focusing on supporting their working husbands to better help their families is its own act of empowerment.

''There is still so much discrimination and pay inequity, you can see why some women would like to boost their husband's status,'' said Katherine Turk, a historian of second-wave feminism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. ''Women who are not feminist have different ideas about what it means to have a self-actualized life and meaningful choices.''

The idea of harnessing a voting bloc of women was shattered in this election, despite appeals from Michelle Obama, the former first lady who, voice nearly trembling at an October rally for Ms. Harris, called Mr. Trump an existential threat to women's rights and told men that a vote for him ''is a vote against us.'' The actress Julia Roberts in an ad for Ms. Harris appealed to female solidarity, reminding wives that their husbands would not know whom they voted for in the privacy of the voting booth.

''Did those ads work? They clearly didn't,'' said Elizabeth McRae, a history professor at Western Carolina University. ''There is a long history of conservative white women moving politics to the right, and it's not because their husbands told them to.''

In 1984 the presidential candidate Walter Mondale picked a woman, Geraldine Ferraro, as his running mate, thinking he would win women's votes. It didn't work. Many white women who voted for Ronald Reagan said they liked his version of a strong man and a strong America.

Some women this year said they themselves were uncomfortable with a woman being president.

''I'm a woman and it probably goes against the grain, but I think we need a man to deal with foreign countries,'' said Lynn Lewis of Old Fort, N.C., who voted for Mr. Trump.

In the days before the election Mr. Trump vowed to be a protector of women, ''whether the women like it or not.'' Some women were offended, but for others that message appealed. Ms. Lewis, 60, said she fears foreign leaders might think they could push around a female president.

''There are certain things that men need to lead,'' she said.

Unequal gains

Many historians of women's equality movements through the decades say that the gains won by women often didn't benefit all women; rather, they helped privileged women secure more opportunities in society. The fight for legal equality allowed women with the necessary means to pay for college and find jobs with good salaries, for instance. That's part of the reason women have not been unified in what they want from politicians.

In last week's election, some women said they specifically appreciated Mr. Trump's support for their role as mothers.

Conservative women argued that the national movement for transgender rights took power away from mothers to make decisions for their children. Some believe Mr. Trump will support their position that parents, not the government should decide whether children are vaccinated. They think his crackdown on the border will stop their children from accessing fentanyl, even though the largest group of known fentanyl smugglers are Americans, not immigrants, crossing through legal points of entry. And they said they saw the rising cost of groceries as an affront to women trying to feed their families, and something they think Mr. Trump can stem.

In her campaign, Ms. Harris tried to appeal to mothers and others by advancing ''the care economy,'' a set of policies aimed at helping parents and other caregivers.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, who gained renown after her article for The Atlantic about the difficulty of career advancement for professional women with children, said she once focused her fight for gender equity on the workplace and now sees it as just as important for women who care for others.

''Feminism should be framed in terms of care and career, but within that there are going to be lots of debates about what care reasonably encompasses,'' she said. ''I would not include it to mean control over all my children's choices, but that is complicated ground.''

What's clear in looking back at feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s is that women in the past were far more organized, historians said. But that's largely because they were united in fighting for a set of fundamental rights.

Back then few women were decision makers in government, boardrooms or in families. Women had trouble getting a driver's license or passport or registering to vote unless they took their husband's last name. Marital rape was legal. Most could not open credit cards in their own name until the mid-1970s.

Gloria Steinem, perhaps the country's best-known feminist activist, said she wasn't certain that Ms. Harris lost because of her gender -- ''We don't know what's in the heart of each woman'' who voted for Mr. Trump, she said -- but said women had made huge gains that shouldn't be forgotten because of this election's outcome.

''It is within my memory that it was not possible in many states to get a prescription for birth control unless you were married and had the written permission of your husband and not possible to have an abortion without some access to an illegal network. Those are huge,'' said Ms. Steinem, who is 90.

Ms. Steinem has been thinking of another setback for a woman who wanted to be president: the 1972 bid by Shirley Chisholm, who was the first Black woman to serve in Congress and the first woman to seek the Democratic nomination for presidency. Ms. Steinem was a delegate for the unsuccessful campaign where Ms. Chisholm had tried to consolidate Black, female and ***working-class*** voters but faced institutional sexism and racism.

Ms. Steinem offered practical advice for women distraught by what they see as a reversal for women's rights with the election of Mr. Trump: focus on equality in the workplace, she said, and treat daughters the same as sons.

''The lesson is less in the national and world atmosphere and more in the home and employment atmosphere in which we have some control,'' she said. ''We shouldn't give up the power we have.''

Murray Carpenter and Mark Barrett contributed reporting.Murray Carpenter and Mark Barrett contributed reporting.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, watching Vice President Kamala Harris deliver her concession speech in Washington last week. Left, Trump supporters at an October rally in Greenville, N.C. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Voting in Waynesburg, Pa., last week. Exit polls showed that 45 percent of female voters cast ballots for Donald J. Trump. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** November 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Vance, a Onetime Critic of Trump, Is Selected as His Running Mate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGT-XPF1-JBG3-602W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 16, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1895 words

**Byline:** By Michael Gold

**Body**

A political newcomer and former Trump critic turned ally, Senator Vance is an ambitious ideologue who relishes the spotlight and has already shown he can energize donors.

Former President Donald J. Trump has chosen Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio to be his running mate, wagering that the young senator will bring fresh energy to the Republican ticket and ensure that the movement Mr. Trump began nearly a decade ago can live on after him.

Mr. Vance, 39, is a political newcomer who entered the Senate only last year, but he has spent that time methodically ascending the conservative firmament. Once an acerbic Trump critic -- attacking Mr. Trump as ''reprehensible'' and calling him ''cultural heroin'' -- he won Mr. Trump's backing in his 2022 Senate race by wholly embracing his politics and his lies about a stolen election. The endorsement lifted him above a crowded field, and ultimately to the Senate.

Mr. Vance, a venture capitalist in Silicon Valley who became best known for writing the memoir ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' did not forget it. He quickly emerged as a top defender of the former president in the halls of Congress and on television, taking his cues from Mr. Trump while frequently bucking the priorities of Senator Mitch McConnell, the chamber's longtime Republican leader.

Mr. Trump announced his choice in a post on his social media platform Truth Social on Monday, as the Republican National Convention was getting underway in Milwaukee. He said that Mr. Vance was ''the person best suited'' to be his potential vice president. He highlighted Mr. Vance's time in the Marine Corps and his memoir, saying he believed Mr. Vance was a champion for hardworking people, particularly the workers and farmers in a number of key swing states.

Mr. Trump's selection came just days after he survived an assassination attempt at a rally in Pennsylvania, an episode that underlined the significance of his choosing a running mate who might be in line as Mr. Trump's successor.

Mr. Vance, an ardent and vocal defender of Mr. Trump, went further than many of his allies, directly attributing the shooting to the rhetoric of President Biden and his campaign, even as Mr. Trump and his campaign called for unity.

''The central premise of the Biden campaign is that President Donald Trump is an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs. That rhetoric led directly to President Trump's attempted assassination,'' Mr. Vance wrote on X.

In Mr. Vance, Mr. Trump has tapped an ambitious ideologue who relishes the spotlight and has already shown he can energize donors on behalf of the presumptive nominee. His youth -- there are nearly 40 years separating them, and Mr. Vance is the first millennial nominated to a major-party ticket -- could prove a boon to the ticket, as voters have expressed concern over both Mr. Trump's and President Biden's ages.

Mr. Vance was formally nominated as the Republican Party's vice-presidential nominee about two hours after Mr. Trump's announcement. As Ohio's lieutenant governor, Jon Husted, nominated him and praised his conservative bona fides, Mr. Vance beamed. With his wife, Usha, next to him, he seemed almost overcome with emotion as delegates began chanting his first name.

The choice also positions Mr. Vance, intentionally or not, as the likeliest Republican yet to carry Mr. Trump's ideological legacy beyond a potential second term in the White House.

Mr. Vance achieved renown after the publication in 2016 of ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' about growing up poor in Ohio and Kentucky. The timing dovetailed with Mr. Trump's political rise, and Mr. Vance, then a ''Never Trump'' conservative, became sought out for his perspective on what fueled Mr. Trump's popularity among white ***working-class*** voters.

At the time, Mr. Vance argued that Mr. Trump was guiding ''the white ***working class*** to a very dark place,'' particularly over his offensive remarks about immigration and his efforts to blame immigrants for economic woes. He once told a former classmate at Yale that he thought Mr. Trump was ''America's Hitler.''

But Mr. Vance said his views shifted during the Trump presidency. And by the time he entered the Republican primary for a Senate seat in Ohio in 2021, he had adopted Mr. Trump's hard-right messaging and renounced his previous views about immigration and trade.

Three weeks before the primary, Mr. Trump rewarded his conversion with an endorsement that carried Mr. Vance to victory in a crowded primary. And in the Senate, Mr. Vance's adherence to Trumpism stood out among his peers.

Yet the two men's similarities could prove a drawback. Mr. Vance has rooted his career in speaking for the ***working class*** against elites, but in aligning himself so squarely with Mr. Trump, it is unclear whether he can bring voters to the table who are not already on board. Mr. Vance is in lock step with Mr. Trump on nearly every issue, and he may not have much to offer more moderate or independent voters unenthusiastic about Mr. Trump's policies or turned off by his actions leading up to and on Jan. 6, 2021, when a mob of his supporters stormed the U.S. Capitol in an effort to overturn the 2020 election results.

Mr. Biden, responding to the news, told reporters that Mr. Vance was ''a clone of Trump on the issues.'' And Jaime Harrison, the chair of the Democratic National Committee, said in a statement that Mr. Vance ''championed and enabled Trump's worst policies for years.''

Mr. Trump's choice of Mr. Vance capped months of feverish running-mate speculation -- and followed an intense anti-Vance lobbying effort that tried to get the former president to pick other top contenders such as Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota or Senator Marco Rubio of Florida. Some of those pressuring Mr. Trump to not select Mr. Vance included major Republican donors and Rupert Murdoch, the billionaire media mogul.

The other politicians considered in the top tier of candidates for Mr. Trump's running mate had competed against him in Republican presidential primaries: Mr. Rubio ran against him in 2016, and Mr. Burgum and Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, another name long in the mix, both ran in the primary this year.

Compared with other possible selections, Mr. Vance has relatively little governing experience should he ascend to the presidency. But he has never directly competed against Mr. Trump, and his political career exemplifies how devotion to Mr. Trump has practically become a precondition in Republican politics.

Embracing Mr. Trump's false claims of widespread election fraud in 2020, similarly, proved a key loyalty litmus test for any candidate angling for the vice-presidential slot. More than any other top contender for a spot on the ticket, Mr. Vance has endorsed and promoted Mr. Trump's lies that the election was stolen. Unlike Mr. Rubio or Mr. Scott, who both voted to certify Mr. Biden's victory after the police had managed to clear the Capitol of rioters on Jan. 6, Mr. Vance was not in the Senate then and did not have to put his position on the record.

Mr. Vance is part of a group of roughly a dozen Republican senators who have tried to push the Senate toward Mr. Trump's MAGA ideology, particularly with isolationist views on foreign policy. He unsuccessfully clashed with Mr. McConnell to block a foreign aid package that provided $61 billion to Ukraine and repeatedly opposed efforts to avert a government shutdown.

During his frequent television interviews this year, and as he has hit the campaign trail for Mr. Trump, Mr. Vance has echoed the former president's hard-line views on immigration and his stance on trade.

In addition to his news media appearances defending Mr. Trump, which The New York Times has reported played a role in the selection process, Mr. Vance also notably joined Mr. Trump's entourage during his criminal trial in Manhattan in May. Outside the courthouse, he held a news conference attacking the prosecution's star witness, Michael D. Cohen, while Mr. Trump was bound by a gag order that prohibited him from doing so.

Raised largely by his maternal grandparents, Mr. Vance, whose mother battled drug addiction, grew up in Middletown, Ohio, a steel mill town which saw its fortunes decline as blue-collar jobs disappeared. After enlisting in the Marines and doing public affairs work in Iraq, Mr. Vance graduated summa cum laude from Ohio State University, then went on to Yale Law School.

Mr. Vance met his wife, Usha Vance, at Yale, and the two have three children. After time working in corporate law, Mr. Vance went to San Francisco, where he worked as a venture capitalist for Peter Thiel, a well-known conservative donor who influenced Mr. Vance's politics and who helped support his Senate race.

Democrats on Monday began attacking Mr. Vance over previous comments on abortion, one of the few places where he and Mr. Trump have diverged. Mr. Vance, during his Senate run, suggested he did not believe in exceptions to abortion restrictions in cases of rape or incest and said he would support a 15-week federal abortion ban that had been proposed by Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina.

Mr. Vance has more recently taken a softer stance, echoing Mr. Trump's belief that abortion decisions must be left to the states, and that Republicans must soften their demands for abortion restrictions in order to win elections.

Mini Timmaraju, the president of Reproductive Freedom for All, criticized Mr. Vance's views on abortion on a call with reporters hosted by the Biden campaign. ''At the end of the day, we always knew Trump would pick someone just as committed to taking away reproductive freedom,'' she said. ''But now that it's official, it couldn't be more clear.''

And though Mr. Vance's fealty to Mr. Trump may have been an asset in the race for running mate -- loyalty is a quality Mr. Trump values above most others -- it could pose a political threat in November. Mr. Biden and his campaign have been attacking Mr. Trump as a threat to democracy and are eager to remind voters about his 2020 election lies and his role in spurring supporters to storm the Capitol to overturn the election.

In news media appearances, Mr. Vance has echoed Mr. Trump's widely debunked claims that the 2020 election was stolen. In an interview with ABC News this year, he backed schemes to create alternative slates of electors in key battleground states that Mr. Trump lost, saying, ''We needed to have multiple slates of electors, and I think the U.S. Congress should have fought over it from there.''

More recently, Mr. Vance has maintained that Mr. Trump had legitimate grievances over how the election was conducted, even as most of Mr. Trump's claims of voter fraud have been debunked. And he has said that if he had been vice president on Jan. 6, 2021, he would have encouraged Congress to consider false slates of pro-Trump electors before certifying the election.

Mr. Trump's vice president at the time, Mike Pence, bucked Mr. Trump's calls to reject Mr. Biden's victory in 2020. After Mr. Trump publicly criticized his vice president's refusal as disloyal, some Trump supporters who stormed the Capitol chanted threats to hang Mr. Pence, who was forced to flee the mob, which had come within 40 feet of him.

But Mr. Vance told CNN this year that he was ''extremely skeptical that Mike Pence's life was ever in danger.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: J.D. Vance and his wife, Usha, on Monday, when he became the G.O.P.'s vice-presidential nominee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A!4) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** July 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In His Final Months as President, Biden Is Both Liberated and Resigned***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXC-6471-DXY4-X1R6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 8, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 862 words

**Byline:** By Zolan Kanno-Youngs

**Body**

President Biden spent decades seeking the highest office, only to drop his bid for re-election under pressure. These final months before the November election are bittersweet, his allies say.

President Biden began the final stretch of his political career this week freed from the rigors of running for re-election, appearing by turns nostalgic, liberated and -- in some cases -- resigned to finding himself once again in a supporting role.

After a two-week summer vacation, Mr. Biden has been campaigning for Vice President Kamala Harris, now at the top of the Democratic ticket, and traveling the country to promote his administration's accomplishments.

But for a man who has spent decades seeking the highest office, only to drop his bid for re-election under pressure from his own party, these final months before the November election are bittersweet, his allies say.

''For my whole career I've either been too young or too old, never in between,'' Mr. Biden told a crowd of union workers on Friday in Ann Arbor, Mich. The president, who was not yet 30 when he first won a Senate seat in 1972, cracked that he went on to serve for ''374 years.''

Earlier in the week, Mr. Biden appeared unbothered about alienating conservatives when he attacked Senator Ron Johnson of Wisconsin -- in the Republican's home state -- for not voting for the Inflation Reduction Act, the president's signature legislation.

And on Monday in Pittsburgh, during an event with Ms. Harris, Mr. Biden did not seem particularly keen to cede the spotlight. He spoke eight minutes longer than the vice president, even as he said he would be ''on the sidelines'' going forward.

''It's complicated because this is not the September he had planned,'' said David Axelrod, a former senior aide to former President Barack Obama. He described the president as relaxed, candid and -- to borrow a term from Ms. Harris's allies -- unburdened.

''He's not doing much 'Well, I shouldn't say that' anymore,'' Mr. Axelrod said. ''And that's probably good.''

The Harris campaign is deploying Mr. Biden in a targeted way -- mostly to the swing states of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan, where he still appeals to white, ***working-class*** voters and union members.

But Ms. Harris will try to forge her own political identity.

Last month, in their first joint public appearance since Mr. Biden dropped out of the race, Ms. Harris was clearly the main figure during a health care event in Largo, Md.

She was the one who thanked all the elected officials by name. She was the one who set the tone for the event. While she spoke, he stood quietly to the side, his hands clasped in front of him, almost as if he were the vice president again. It was a role he played for eight years under Mr. Obama, but one he thought was behind him.

Mr. Biden's allies emphasize that he is still the president, and that he is still navigating crises both at home and abroad, including the wars in Ukraine and Gaza. In blunt terms, he told reporters on Monday that he did not think Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel was doing enough to bring home hostages.

Three days later, he accused Republicans of failing to address gun violence after two students and two teachers were shot and killed in the deadliest episode of school violence in Georgia history.

''We need more than thoughts and prayers,'' Mr. Biden said. ''Some of my Republican friends in Congress just finally have to say: 'Enough is enough. We have to do something.'''

And while the pressures of the campaign may have relented, Mr. Biden is still facing personal difficulty as his son, Hunter, faces the possibility of time behind bars in a federal tax case.

Mr. Biden has spent much of his time on the trail burnishing his own legacy and dipping into the past, nothing new for a president known to embrace storytelling. (He often adds an emphatic ''Not a joke!'' in the middle of a tale.)

But now, in the final months of his presidency, Mr. Biden appears to be looking back a bit more than usual. This week, he described the joy he felt during his first Senate race when a steelworker named Hughie endorsed him. He told stories about his great-grandfather working in mining in Pennsylvania. He shouted out his friends in the Senate, reminding voters that he grew up in the same neighborhood as Bob Casey of Pennsylvania.

''The literal weight of the world is not solely on his shoulders,'' said Quentin James, an ally of Mr. Biden and a co-founder of the Collective PAC, which aims to rally Black voters. ''I think he is able to be unfiltered. To be relaxed.''

On Friday, he took a particularly unfiltered tone toward former President Donald J. Trump, the person he felt duty bound to keep out of the White House.

Choking up as he remembered his son, Beau, who served in Iraq and later died of brain cancer, Mr. Biden said he was enraged by comments attributed to Mr. Trump, that American soldiers killed in combat were ''losers'' and ''suckers.''

''I mean this from the bottom of my heart, I'm glad I wasn't there,'' Mr. Biden said. ''I think I would've done something.''

Peter Baker contributed reporting.Peter Baker contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/06/us/politics/biden-harris-campaign.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/06/us/politics/biden-harris-campaign.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: President Biden returning to the White House on Monday after campaigning for Vice President Kamala Harris in Pittsburgh. Left, signs of gratitude at the Democratic National Convention. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENT NISHIMURA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** September 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Ill at Ease? It Seems to Run in the Family.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0W-YB31-JBG3-64D3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 20, 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:** 956 words

**Byline:** By Manohla Dargis

**Body**

Natasha Lyonne, Carrie Coon and Elizabeth Olsen play sisters who are caring for their dying father in this tender, funny family drama.

Every so often in the heart-heavy drama ''His Three Daughters,'' the filmmaker Azazel Jacobs frames the actress Natasha Lyonne in radiant close-up. Her character, Rachel, is one of the daughters of the title, and while she thrums with palpable energy, she also has a quality of stillness about her. When Rachel stares into the distance, as she tends to do, lost in thought or maybe just lost -- her huge eyes shining, her face edged by flaming red hair -- she brings to mind a hummingbird hovering in midair, its wings beating impossibly fast against the strongest headwind.

Rachel is one of three sisters who've convened to care for their father, Vincent (Jay O. Sanders), at the end of his life. With her siblings Katie (Carrie Coon) and Christina (Elizabeth Olsen), Rachel drifts through the New York apartment where their father is fading away, his heartbeat now supplanted by the beeping machinery that he's hooked up to, which creates an eerie rhythm throughout. It's a hard, painful setup but also absurdly funny, intimate and human. Jacobs is sensitive to life's contradictions; he knows how abruptly love seems to boil over into hate, and how quickly adult siblings can turn into whining, raging children.

Set over an inexact number of days and nights, the movie tracks the sisters during the course of their vigil. Katie is the scold (and surrogate angry patriarch), who also lives in the city, while Christina (an anxious maternal type from California) plays the part of the diplomat. Outwardly, at least, Rachel -- who lives with their father in the apartment -- slips readily into the role of the black sheep (and unruly child), especially given her pursuits and pastimes. When she's not fleeing from her sisters, Rachel is hunkered down in her room, watching sports on TV, playing the odds and taking hits off a blunt. Rachel seems to be in a fog, but she's perfectly lucid.

Most of the movie takes place in the apartment, a modest, pointedly ordinary space with plenty of windows and a couple of bedrooms on the upper floor of a building in a large complex. It's humble by mainstream, art-directed movie standards; it looks like a real apartment where real people live. There's nothing fancy about it, just photos, tchotchkes and furniture people might actually use, middle-class people, ***working-class*** people, people lucky enough to have an affordable New York (Manhattan!) apartment. It's a moving emblem of a nearly lost city and, by turns, a haunted house, a cozy home and a theater for the family's drama, one that the sisters enact at times while reciting grievances they clearly committed to heart long ago.

Emotions are already raw when the movie opens on Katie. Seated against a white wall, arms tightly folded across her chest, she is in the midst of an epic tirade directed at an offscreen, silent Rachel. As the camera holds on Katie, she talks and talks, her words running together into a near-indistinguishable slurry. It's as if she didn't believe in punctuation or the niceties of conversation; it soon becomes clear she has next to no patience for Rachel. Katie asks her a question without waiting for the answer, emphasizes the obvious, makes demands. It's not for nothing that the first time you see each sister she is alone in the frame.

As the vigil continues, things shift and settle, and other characters come and go, including a hospice worker, Angel (Rudy Galvan); a security guard, Victor (Jose Febus); and Rachel's friend, Benjy (Jovan Adepo). Each brings some air into the fraught scene; more subtly, they reveal something about how the sisters relate to the larger world. Katie, for one, jokingly refers to the hospice aide as an Angel of Death, which isn't funny the first or the second time she does so. That Rachel talks more readily to Victor than to her sisters says much about the family -- about the siblings' relations, worldviews and aching need for connection -- as does the moment when, in her bedroom, she wearily rests her head on Benjy's shoulder.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

In time, the sisters come to terms with their father's illness and with one another, although nothing happens easily or programmatically. Jacobs doesn't sentimentalize his characters, which deepens the story's realism. Instead, working with his three strong, nicely syncopated leads, he gradually pries open each sister until you see just enough of her darkness and her light to sense where she's coming from and why. Just enough for you to grasp how life has roughed them up and, by turns, strengthened or weakened their defenses. You may laugh, seeing yourself in each of the sisters, at least in part; you may also wince in embarrassed recognition.

One of Jacobs's reference points is the French filmmaker Ã‰ric Rohmer, whose characters partly emerge in free-flowing conversations. The title ''His Three Daughters'' also brings to mind stories about other fictional siblings, including Chekhov's play ''Three Sisters.'' The father in that drama is already dead by the time it opens, and there's a brother complicating the sisters' dynamic. Even so, like Chekhov's troika, Jacobs's women are at once clinging to the past and looking toward the future. It's the present that proves so extraordinarily difficult for them, a truth that Jacobs beautifully conveys in a movie that is very much about agonizing loss yet is also, fundamentally, about what it simply takes to keep on living.

His Three DaughtersRated R for language. Running time: 1 hour 41 minutes. Watch on Netflix. His Three DaughtersRated R for language. Running time:1 hour 41 minutes. On Netflix.

**Graphic**

PHOTO: From left, Elizabeth Olsen, Carrie Coon and Natasha Lyonne in ''His Three Daughters,'' directed by Azazel Jacobs. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SAM LEVY/NETFLIX) This article appeared in print on page C4.

**Load-Date:** September 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Mike Kehoe, Missouri’s Lieutenant Governor, Wins G.O.P. Primary for Governor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNG-NF11-JBG3-6000-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 6, 2024 Tuesday 23:23 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 645 words

**Byline:** Ernesto Londoño Ernesto Londo&amp;#241;o is a Times reporter based in Minnesota, covering news in the Midwest and drug use and counternarcotics policy.

**Highlight:** The winner of the Republican primary is likely to become Missouri’s next governor. But a ballot measure on abortion that is widely expected to appear in November could boost liberal turnout.

**Body**

The winner of the Republican primary is likely to become Missouri’s next governor. But a ballot measure on abortion that is widely expected to appear in November could boost liberal turnout.

Lt. Gov. Mike Kehoe of Missouri won the Republican primary for governor on Tuesday, according to The Associated Press, giving him the upper hand in a contest in November to succeed Mike Parson.

Mr. Kehoe, 62, defeated two rivals who portrayed themselves as more conservative alternatives to the current state leadership. They included Missouri’s secretary of state, Jay Ashcroft, the son of the former Missouri governor and U.S. senator and attorney general John Ashcroft. Jay Ashcroft finished third behind State Senator Bill Eigel, who pledged to act aggressively to expel all undocumented immigrants from Missouri.

Mr. Parson, 68, who has served as governor since June 2018 and [*remains broadly popular*](https://themissouritimes.com/parson-garners-near-historic-job-approval-among-republican-voters/#:~:text=His%20overall%20his%20approval%20rating,approving%20of%20his%20job%20performance.), is barred by term limits from running this year. He endorsed Mr. Kehoe last month.

In the Democratic primary, State Representative Crystal Quade, the House minority leader, defeated Mike Hamra, a businessman.

Democrats had long been competitive in national and statewide races in Missouri. The state had a Democratic governor, Jay Nixon, as recently as 2017 and a Democrat in the U.S. Senate, Claire McCaskill, as recently as 2019. Former President Barack Obama [*narrowly lost*](https://themissouritimes.com/parson-garners-near-historic-job-approval-among-republican-voters/#:~:text=His%20overall%20his%20approval%20rating,approving%20of%20his%20job%20performance.) Missouri in 2008.

But the election of former President Donald J. Trump in 2016 made clear that Missouri had turned into a solidly red state. That means that the winner of the Republican primary is widely expected to become the next governor, said Daniel Butler, a political scientist at Washington University in St. Louis.

One factor that could upend conventional wisdom in the race is [*a ballot measure*](https://themissouritimes.com/parson-garners-near-historic-job-approval-among-republican-voters/#:~:text=His%20overall%20his%20approval%20rating,approving%20of%20his%20job%20performance.) that voters are likely to consider in November, which could enshrine a right to abortion in Missouri’s Constitution. Similar initiatives have helped boost Democrats in other red-leaning states since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade in 2022.

Professor Butler said the abortion measure made the contest for the governor’s race in November less predictable than it would have been, and the Democrats in the race had expressed hope that the measure could help improve their chances in the general election. Nearly all abortions are illegal in Missouri.

All three Republican candidates for governor had said they opposed abortion, although Mr. Kehoe [*said last year*](https://themissouritimes.com/parson-garners-near-historic-job-approval-among-republican-voters/#:~:text=His%20overall%20his%20approval%20rating,approving%20of%20his%20job%20performance.) that he would consider amending the state’s law to include exceptions for rape and incest. During [*a recent debate*](https://themissouritimes.com/parson-garners-near-historic-job-approval-among-republican-voters/#:~:text=His%20overall%20his%20approval%20rating,approving%20of%20his%20job%20performance.) that Mr. Kehoe did not attend, Mr. Ashcroft and Mr. Eigel signaled support for a stricter ban than what Mr. Kehoe favored.

The two Democrats running for governor supported legalizing the right to abortion.

Mr. Kehoe, a former car salesman, presented himself as a self-made businessman raised by a single mother who was attuned to the needs and aspirations of ***working class*** voters.

Mr. Ashcroft, 51, entered the race with significant name recognition as the son of one of the best-known political figures in the state. He campaigned on a promise to cut taxes and government spending, and prevent Chinese firms from buying farmland in Missouri.

Mr. Eigel, 46, gained attention during the final stretch of the race by running ads presenting him as the toughest candidate on immigration. One featured a Spanish-speaking interpreter who appeared to panic halfway through the ad as Mr. Eigel sternly declared “we’re throwing them in jail, and sending them back where they came from.”

In late July, Mr. Trump endorsed all three, preventing any one of the candidates from receiving a singular boost from his support.

“Choose any one of them,” Mr. Trump [*wrote*](https://themissouritimes.com/parson-garners-near-historic-job-approval-among-republican-voters/#:~:text=His%20overall%20his%20approval%20rating,approving%20of%20his%20job%20performance.). “You can’t go wrong!”

PHOTO: Lt. Gov. Mike Kehoe of Missouri at the State of the State address in January. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jeff Roberson/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***J.D. Vance Is Trump’s Pick for Vice President***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGN-XDC1-DXY4-X0DJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 15, 2024 Monday 10:35 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1923 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold Michael Gold is a political correspondent for The Times covering the campaigns of Donald J. Trump and other candidates in the 2024 presidential elections.

**Highlight:** A political newcomer and former Trump critic turned ally, Senator Vance is an ambitious ideologue who relishes the spotlight and has already shown he can energize donors.

**Body**

A political newcomer and former Trump critic turned ally, Senator Vance is an ambitious ideologue who relishes the spotlight and has already shown he can energize donors.

Follow the latest news from the [*Republican National Convention*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention).

Former President Donald J. Trump has chosen Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio to be his running mate, wagering that the young senator will bring fresh energy to the Republican ticket and ensure that the movement Mr. Trump began nearly a decade ago can live on after him.

Mr. Vance, 39, is a political newcomer who entered the Senate only last year, but he has spent that time methodically ascending the conservative firmament. Once an acerbic Trump critic — attacking Mr. Trump as “reprehensible” and calling him “cultural heroin” — he won Mr. Trump’s backing in his 2022 Senate race by wholly embracing his politics and his lies about a stolen election. The endorsement lifted him above a crowded field, and ultimately to the Senate.

Mr. Vance, a venture capitalist in Silicon Valley who became best known for writing the memoir “Hillbilly Elegy,” did not forget it. He quickly emerged as a top defender of the former president in the halls of Congress and on television, taking his cues from Mr. Trump while frequently bucking the priorities of Senator Mitch McConnell, the chamber’s longtime Republican leader.

Mr. Trump announced his choice in a post on his social media platform Truth Social on Monday, as the Republican National Convention was getting underway in Milwaukee. He said that Mr. Vance was “the person best suited” to be his potential vice president. He highlighted Mr. Vance’s time in the Marine Corps and his memoir, saying he believed Mr. Vance was a champion for hardworking people, particularly the workers and farmers in a number of key swing states.

Mr. Trump’s selection came just days after he survived an assassination attempt at a rally in Pennsylvania, an episode that underlined the significance of his choosing a running mate who might be in line as Mr. Trump’s successor.

Mr. Vance, an ardent and vocal defender of Mr. Trump, went further than many of his allies, directly attributing the shooting to the rhetoric of President Biden and his campaign, even as Mr. Trump and his campaign called for unity.

“The central premise of the Biden campaign is that President Donald Trump is an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs. That rhetoric led directly to President Trump’s attempted assassination,” [*Mr. Vance wrote on X*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention).

In Mr. Vance, Mr. Trump has tapped an ambitious ideologue who relishes the spotlight and has already shown he can energize donors on behalf of the presumptive nominee. His youth — there are nearly 40 years separating them, and Mr. Vance is the first millennial nominated to a major-party ticket — could prove a boon to the ticket, as voters have expressed concern over both Mr. Trump’s and President Biden’s ages.

Mr. Vance was formally nominated as the Republican Party’s vice-presidential nominee about two hours after Mr. Trump’s announcement. As Ohio’s lieutenant governor, Jon Husted, nominated him and praised his conservative bona fides, Mr. Vance beamed. With his wife, Usha, next to him, he seemed almost overcome with emotion as delegates began chanting his first name.

The choice also positions Mr. Vance, intentionally or not, as the likeliest Republican yet to carry Mr. Trump’s ideological legacy beyond a potential second term in the White House.

Mr. Vance achieved renown after the publication in 2016 of “Hillbilly Elegy,” about growing up poor in Ohio and Kentucky. The timing dovetailed with Mr. Trump’s political rise, and Mr. Vance, then a “Never Trump” conservative, became sought out for his perspective on what fueled Mr. Trump’s popularity among white ***working-class*** voters.

At the time, Mr. Vance argued that Mr. Trump was guiding “the [*white* ***working class*** *to a very dark place*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention),” particularly over his offensive remarks about immigration and his efforts to blame immigrants for economic woes. He once told a former classmate at Yale that he thought Mr. Trump was “[*America’s Hitler*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention).”

But Mr. Vance said his views shifted during the Trump presidency. And by the time he [*entered the Republican primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention) for a Senate seat in Ohio in 2021, he had adopted Mr. Trump’s hard-right messaging and renounced his previous views about immigration and trade.

Three weeks before the primary, Mr. Trump rewarded his conversion with an endorsement that carried Mr. Vance to victory in a crowded primary. And in the Senate, Mr. Vance’s adherence to Trumpism stood out among his peers.

Yet the two men’s similarities could prove a drawback. Mr. Vance has rooted his career in speaking for the ***working class*** against elites, but in aligning himself so squarely with Mr. Trump, it is unclear whether he can bring voters to the table who are not already on board. Mr. Vance is in lock step with Mr. Trump on nearly every issue, and he may not have much to offer more moderate or independent voters unenthusiastic about Mr. Trump’s policies or turned off by his actions leading up to and on Jan. 6, 2021, when a mob of his supporters stormed the U.S. Capitol in an effort to overturn the 2020 election results.

Mr. Biden, responding to the news, told reporters that Mr. Vance was “a clone of Trump on the issues.” And Jaime Harrison, the chair of the Democratic National Committee, said in a statement that Mr. Vance “championed and enabled Trump’s worst policies for years.”

Mr. Trump’s choice of Mr. Vance capped months of feverish running-mate speculation — and followed an intense anti-Vance lobbying effort that tried to get the former president to pick other top contenders such as Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota or Senator Marco Rubio of Florida. Some of those pressuring Mr. Trump to not select Mr. Vance included major Republican donors and Rupert Murdoch, the billionaire media mogul.

The other politicians considered in the top tier of candidates for Mr. Trump’s running mate had competed against him in Republican presidential primaries: Mr. Rubio ran against him in 2016, and Mr. Burgum and Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, another name long in the mix, both ran in the primary this year.

Compared with other possible selections, Mr. Vance has relatively little governing experience should he ascend to the presidency. But he has never directly competed against Mr. Trump, and his political career exemplifies how devotion to Mr. Trump has practically become a precondition in Republican politics.

Embracing Mr. Trump’s false claims of widespread election fraud in 2020, similarly, proved a key loyalty litmus test for any candidate angling for the vice-presidential slot. More than any other top contender for a spot on the ticket, Mr. Vance has endorsed and promoted Mr. Trump’s lies that the election was stolen. Unlike Mr. Rubio or Mr. Scott, who both voted to certify Mr. Biden’s victory after the police had managed to clear the Capitol of rioters on Jan. 6, Mr. Vance was not in the Senate then and did not have to put his position on the record.

Mr. Vance is part of a group of roughly a dozen Republican senators who have tried to push the Senate toward Mr. Trump’s MAGA ideology, particularly with isolationist views on foreign policy. He unsuccessfully clashed with Mr. McConnell to block a foreign aid package that provided $61 billion to Ukraine and repeatedly opposed efforts to avert a government shutdown.

During his frequent television interviews this year, and as he has hit the campaign trail for Mr. Trump, Mr. Vance has echoed the former president’s hard-line views on immigration and his stance on trade.

In addition to his news media appearances defending Mr. Trump, which The New York Times has reported played a role in the selection process, Mr. Vance also notably joined Mr. Trump’s entourage during his criminal trial in Manhattan in May. Outside the courthouse, he held a news conference attacking the prosecution’s star witness, Michael D. Cohen, while Mr. Trump was bound by a gag order that prohibited him from doing so.

Raised largely by his maternal grandparents, Mr. Vance, whose mother battled drug addiction, grew up in Middletown, Ohio, a steel mill town which saw its fortunes decline as blue-collar jobs disappeared. After enlisting in the Marines and doing public affairs work in Iraq, Mr. Vance graduated summa cum laude from Ohio State University, then went on to Yale Law School.

Mr. Vance met his wife, [*Usha Vance*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention), at Yale, and the two have three children. After time working in corporate law, Mr. Vance went to San Francisco, where he worked as a venture capitalist for Peter Thiel, a well-known conservative donor who influenced Mr. Vance’s politics and who helped support his Senate race.

Democrats on Monday began attacking Mr. Vance over previous comments on abortion, one of the few places where he and Mr. Trump have diverged. Mr. Vance, during his Senate run, suggested he [*did not believe in exceptions*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention) to abortion restrictions in cases of rape or incest and said he would support a 15-week federal abortion ban that had been proposed by Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina.

Mr. Vance has more recently taken a softer stance, echoing Mr. Trump’s belief that abortion decisions must be left to the states, and that Republicans must soften their demands for abortion restrictions in order to win elections.

Mini Timmaraju, the president of Reproductive Freedom for All, criticized Mr. Vance’s views on abortion on a call with reporters hosted by the Biden campaign. “At the end of the day, we always knew Trump would pick someone just as committed to taking away reproductive freedom,” she said. “But now that it’s official, it couldn’t be more clear.”

And though Mr. Vance’s fealty to Mr. Trump may have been an asset in the race for running mate — loyalty is a quality Mr. Trump values above most others — it could pose a political threat in November. Mr. Biden and his campaign have been attacking Mr. Trump as a threat to democracy and are eager to remind voters about his 2020 election lies and his role in spurring supporters to storm the Capitol to overturn the election.

In news media appearances, Mr. Vance has echoed Mr. Trump’s widely debunked claims that the 2020 election was stolen. In an [*interview with ABC News this year*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention), he backed schemes to create alternative slates of electors in key battleground states that Mr. Trump lost, saying, “We needed to have multiple slates of electors, and I think the U.S. Congress should have fought over it from there.”

More recently, Mr. Vance has maintained that Mr. Trump had legitimate grievances over how the election was conducted, even as most of Mr. Trump’s claims of voter fraud have been debunked. And he has said that if he had been vice president on Jan. 6, 2021, he would have encouraged Congress to consider false slates of pro-Trump electors before certifying the election.

Mr. Trump’s vice president at the time, Mike Pence, bucked Mr. Trump’s calls to reject Mr. Biden’s victory in 2020. After Mr. Trump publicly criticized his vice president’s refusal as disloyal, some Trump supporters who stormed the Capitol chanted threats to hang Mr. Pence, who was forced to flee the mob, [*which had come within 40 feet of him*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/07/18/us/trump-rnc-republican-convention).

But Mr. Vance told CNN this year that he was “extremely skeptical that Mike Pence’s life was ever in danger.”

PHOTOS: J.D. Vance and his wife, Usha, on Monday, when he became the G.O.P.’s vice-presidential nominee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A!4) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2024

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[***Will the Real Midwest Please Stand Up?; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D32-1JM1-JBG3-6296-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1245 words

**Highlight:** The vice-presidential debate, pitting Senator JD Vance of Ohio against Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, shines the spotlight on a complicated region.

**Body**

The vice-presidential debate, pitting Senator JD Vance of Ohio against Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, shines the spotlight on a complicated region.

My father grew up in a small town in southwestern Ohio. He met my mother in Madison, Wis., where I was conceived. I mention these facts not to assert my authentic Midwestern identity but to question if such a thing really exists.

Whatever else happens at the vice-presidential debate on Tuesday night, the Midwest is sure to be an important theme. Both JD Vance and Tim Walz have become national figures by trading on their biographical ties to the region. The ideological distance between them can hardly be overstated, but each grounds his political persona — the [*small-town football-coaching dad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/tim-walz-coach.html?searchResultPosition=2), the [*up-by-the-bootstraps grandchild of hillbillies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/tim-walz-coach.html?searchResultPosition=2) — in an appeal to the values and traditions of the heartland. An implicit argument on Tuesday night will be about who more genuinely reflects those values, the progressive governor of Minnesota or the right-wing junior senator from Ohio?

The answer might be both. The Midwest is a curious region, often treated less as a distinct geographical or demographic zone than as a symbol, a synonym for the country as a whole. While the U.S. Census Bureau specifies a [*sprawling expanse of 12 states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/tim-walz-coach.html?searchResultPosition=2) — east of the Rockies, west of the Alleghenies, south of Canada and north of the South, home to nearly 70 million people — in the cultural imagination “Midwest” is code for the average, ordinary, normal, real America.

Bland as they may sound, those adjectives have always been fighting words, and it’s no accident that in presidential elections — quadrennial contests about who we, as a nation, really are — the Midwest serves as a battleground and a bellwether.

Like “***working class***,” “Midwestern” too often assumes a default setting of whiteness, and papers over profound political divisions. The region has been a fertile breeding ground for leaders of every factional stripe. Robert M. La Follette, the tribune of early-20th-century progressivism, represented Wisconsin in the U.S. Senate, as did the anti-communist crusader Joseph McCarthy a generation later. In the decades between the Civil War and the Great Depression, Ohio alone, known as “the cradle of presidents,” sent [*seven of its sons to the White House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/us/tim-walz-coach.html?searchResultPosition=2), all of them Republicans.

Since World War II, Minnesota has spawned three Democratic vice-presidential nominees: Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale and now Tim Walz. Indiana is responsible for Mike Pence, Pete Buttigieg and Eugene V. Debs, who won nearly a million votes as a socialist presidential candidate in 1920, at a time when the state was a hotbed of the Ku Klux Klan.

Illinois can claim Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama in addition to Adlai Stevenson II, Hillary Rodham Clinton and William Jennings Bryan, the silver-tongued orator who lost the 1896 and 1900 elections to the Ohioan William McKinley.

The list goes on (we see you, Bob Dole), but let’s not forget the quintessential Illinoisan (though Kentucky-born) Abraham Lincoln, everybody’s favorite president even as he may have been the single most divisive political figure in U.S. history. In that way he crystallizes a quintessential heartland — and American — paradox: the entanglement of intractable conflict and smiling consensus. The Midwest is a tidy house with a picket fence, perpetually divided against itself.

In the years before the Civil War, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa and Nebraska were scorched earth in the Indian wars and the sectional fight over the expansion of slavery, a history that was all but forgotten a century later. That amnesia, the unacknowledged persistence of old wounds, is the deep subject of Marilynne Robinson’s “Gilead” and its companion novels, “Home,” “Jack” and “Lila.” At the same time, those books, which take place in a small Iowa town in the 1950s, are sincere celebrations of faith, family, neighborliness and hard work — ideals central to the mythology of the Midwest.

The two-sided moral coin — the buffalo nickel, the wheat penny — has been in circulation for a long time; doubleness is the currency of the region that volunteers itself as America’s Main Street. “Main Street,” as it happens, was the title Sinclair Lewis chose for his breakout novel, an acid-tinged study of small-town narrow-mindedness and hypocrisy set in his native Minnesota. The action takes place mainly in the fictional Gopher Prairie, though the heroine, Carol Milford, hails from Mankato, the real town where Tim and Gwen Walz taught high school. Carol, curious and independent-minded, with a zeal for civic improvement, is stymied by the conformity and complacency of Gopher Prairie, where she moves after marrying a local doctor.

Her plight struck a chord with the reading public, and also stirred up some discord. At least one small-town library banned “Main Street” from its shelves, and the Pulitzer board, overruling its own jury, denied Lewis the prize. But the book was the best-selling novel of 1921. Nearly as popular was Lewis’s follow-up, “Babbitt,” a literary sensation whose protagonist’s name entered the language as a synonym for provincial boosterism.

In 1930, Lewis became the first American — North or South — awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, for his “ability to create, with wit and humor, new types of characters.” His work can fairly be said to poke fun at ordinary Americans, but it also expresses the self-critical, self-satirizing spirit that has always been a feature of American literature.

Perhaps especially the literature of the Midwest. In the roster of American Nobel laureates, the region is a dominant and multifarious presence. T.S. Eliot, born in St. Louis, may or may not count, since he embraced British citizenship. But Ernest Hemingway, a child of Oak Park, Ill., surely does, in spite of all the years in Paris and Cuba. So does the mighty Chicagoan Saul Bellow, who had the nerve to be born in Quebec. And so, of course, do Toni Morrison, whose imagination was rooted in the soil of Ohio, and Minnesota’s own Bob Dylan.

The very middleness of this stretch of America has made it a crossroads and a patchwork, a landing place and transit point for migrants from east to west, south to north, countryside to city. Swedes, Germans and Irish in the mid-19th century; Jewish and gentile Eastern Europeans after that; African Americans and Appalachians between and after the world wars; strivers from Haiti, Somalia and Central America in the present.

The culture of the Midwest reflects this mix, this constant flux and refinement of identities. Indiana was the birthplace of Hoagy Carmichael, Axl Rose, Michael Jackson and Freddie Gibbs. Michigan gave us Motown, and also Eminem. Minnesota is Hüsker Dü and Prince. Charlie Parker, Aretha Franklin, Doris Day, Kanye West — all Midwesterners. You can make your own list, and your own arguments about authenticity.

My two cents, offered in a modest, friendly, cheerful spirit, is that authenticity is a counterfeit coin. The Midwest is above all a land of self-invention. I can say that: It’s where I come from.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

PHOTO: Clockwise from top left: Barack Obama, Mike Pence, Toni Morrison, Ronald Reagan, Marilynne Robinson and Sinclair Lewis. The Midwest is a fertile breeding ground for leaders of every factional stripe and a wellspring of literary diversity. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Jessica White/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 2, 2024

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[***In Iowa, Democrats Count on Backlash to Abortion Law to Bolster Bids for Congress***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D33-5TR1-JBG3-62GM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1220 words

**Byline:** Robert Jimison

**Highlight:** Democrats in a pair of competitive House districts are spotlighting the anti-abortion stances of Republican incumbents after the state enacted one of the most restrictive bans in the country.

**Body**

Democrats in a pair of competitive House districts are spotlighting the anti-abortion stances of Republican incumbents after the state enacted one of the most restrictive bans in the country.

Maria Magner was six months pregnant with her second child when a seizure led to the discovery of a brain tumor. Given that she was well into her third trimester, her medical team was hesitant to begin the aggressive treatment needed, but she eventually started chemotherapy, had a successful surgery and underwent radiation. She is now in remission and her daughter is healthy.

That was three years ago, before the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade and Iowa enacted one of the most restrictive abortion laws in the nation, creating new complications for doctors treating pregnant women who face medical emergencies.

Now, Ms. Magner, a registered independent who grew up in a heavily G.O.P.-leaning family, is going door to door in the competitive Third Congressional District telling her story and trying to persuade her neighbors to vote out Representative Zach Nunn, the Republican incumbent, and elect Democrats up and down the ticket.

“If that were me today I wouldn’t be alive,” Ms. Magner said in an interview. She has never gotten involved in politics, she added, but she is volunteering this year because “I just felt like I should do something. Even if it doesn’t work, I can tell my girls that I tried.”

In a state where Republicans hold all four congressional seats, Democrats are banking on voters like Ms. Magner to bolster their chances of picking off G.O.P. incumbents in a pair of competitive districts in the southern part of the state, as they push to win the House majority in November.

At campaign stops and canvassing events and in television ads, they are hoping to harness a backlash to a law that took effect in Iowa in July banning most abortions after about six weeks of pregnancy to target Republican incumbents who have opposed abortion rights. In addition to Mr. Nunn, who once said he believed that all abortions should be illegal in the United States, they are targeting Representative Mariannette Miller-Meeks, who in her first term in Congress cosponsored a bill that would effectively outlaw abortions by giving embryos constitutional rights.

“A lot of people thought this would never happen in Iowa, but now we have one of the strictest bans in the country,” said Christina Bohannan, who is challenging Ms. Miller-Meeks in Iowa’s First Congressional District. “It is a huge issue because we had in Iowa a very balanced law for a long time.”

Ms. Bohannan, who lost to Ms. Miller-Meeks in 2022 by more than 20,000 votes, focused her first campaign ad this year on attacking the congresswoman on abortion rights.

“Iowa now has one of the strictest abortion bans in the country because of Mariannette Miller-Meeks,” she says in the [*spot*](https://x.com/BohannanIowa/status/1820887338165399592). The congresswoman had no direct involvement in the statewide law, but the ad alludes to [*Ms. Miller-Meeks’s co-sponsorship in 2021 of the Life at Conception Act*](https://x.com/BohannanIowa/status/1820887338165399592), a bill that would grant legal personhood to fertilized eggs, effectively criminalizing abortions without any exceptions for rape or incest, or to save the life of the mother.

Ms. Miller-Meeks, who has yet to sign on to the bill during this Congress, [*said in an interview this month*](https://x.com/BohannanIowa/status/1820887338165399592) that she had backed it initially only because she assumed she could make changes, adding that she does believe in those exceptions. She is one of [*dozens of vulnerable Republican lawmakers who have backed away from the measure*](https://x.com/BohannanIowa/status/1820887338165399592) following the Supreme Court’s overturning of Roe v. Wade, when the specter of a federal abortion ban became a major political liability for the G.O.P.

The ruling boosted their party in the 2022 midterm elections, and Democrats hope that the reaction against it — and to Iowa’s own severe abortion restrictions — will spur turnout among moderate and independent voters and convince them that sending Democrats to Washington is the only way to change course.

Ms. Miller-Meeks, who has [*sought to refocus the political conversation around contraception*](https://x.com/BohannanIowa/status/1820887338165399592) instead of her anti-abortion rights position, says that overturning Roe has brought the issue closer to home, where voters “are closer to the people that they elected to represent.”

“The best way to prevent abortion is to prevent pregnancy to begin with, making sure women have the proper tools and are empowered to be able to get pregnant on their timelines,” she said during an interview in which she spoke about legislation she has sponsored that is billed as increasing access to contraception.

Critics contend that the measure, which would direct the Food and Drug Administration to issue guidance for companies that want to make oral contraception available without prescriptions, would have little practical effect. The agency has already approved one such drug and is in the process of reviewing another.

The Democrats running to unseat Ms. Miller-Meeks and Mr. Nunn have tried to tie them not just to the state’s strict abortion law, but also to a statewide [*book ban*](https://x.com/BohannanIowa/status/1820887338165399592) and Iowa’s decision to [*reject federal aid for summer food programs*](https://x.com/BohannanIowa/status/1820887338165399592).

Even though Congress had nothing to do with those measures, Lanon Baccam, the Democrat who is challenging Mr. Nunn, and Ms. Bohannan maintain that dissatisfaction with conservative policies at the state level will translate into a rejection of Republicans up and down the ballot.

“Iowans are just fed up with this Republican regime and they’re ready for change,” Mr. Baccam, an Army veteran and former federal Agriculture Department official, said in an interview.

Mr. Baccam and Democrats have run a series of ads [*showing a moment from a 2022 Republican primary debate*](https://x.com/BohannanIowa/status/1820887338165399592) in which Mr. Nunn raised his hand after a moderator asked who would answer yes to the question “Should all abortions be illegal in this country?”

Mr. Nunn’s campaign says the clip distorts his stance, and accuses Democrats of “intentionally misleading Iowa voters.” He has since clarified that he believes in exceptions for rape, incest and the life of the mother — which are also included in Iowa’s law.

The Republicans have toiled to shift the campaign conversation to economic issues, asking small-business owners, ***working-class*** families and farmers whether they feel their lives have improved under President Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris.

The answer, they said, has been a frequent and resounding no.

“People are very concerned about the economy, and they know that there was a difference from 2020 and then after 2020,” Ms. Miller-Meeks said between campaign stops this month in Keokuk and Mount Pleasant. “And those prices are a direct reflection of the Biden-Harris administration.”

Mr. Nunn, who serves in the Air Force Reserve, has worked to appeal to voters across party lines. He often touts an effort he led to expand parental-leave benefits for members of the military serving in Reserve or National Guard positions, as well as a bill he helped push to enactment that boosted low-income housing developments in rural parts of the country.

“The overwhelming challenge here is going to be able to win cross-party voters,” Mr. Nunn said. “It’s the largest segment of the voting electorate.”

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KC MCGINNIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

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[***Issues Strain a Stripper's Relationship at Home***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPD-13G1-DXY4-X41R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1482 words

**Byline:** By Edie Montana

**Body**

My job has meant independence, healing and freedom. Why couldn't my partner see that?

I was 24 when I started stripping. A friend and I were sipping tea on the couch, two young idealists in Berlin discussing how we needed money. From there, things went surprisingly fast, as they tend to do in this industry. My friend saw an ad on Craigslist, and not long after we found ourselves staggering half-naked down a smoky, strip-club hallway in high platform heels.

Now that I have six years of experience, my perception of the industry has become more nuanced than it was during that teatime chat. What hasn't changed are the questions I am routinely asked as a stripper, most commonly: ''Do you have a boyfriend? What does he say about your job?''

In whatever variation this question is asked (''Is it possible to find a boyfriend with this job?'' ''Isn't your boyfriend jealous?''), it always assumes a boyfriend. The possibility of me being attracted to women is rarely mentioned.

Strip clubs are still bound to traditional gender norms, at least in my experience. The expression of nonconforming gender is not welcome, and a jarring transphobia soaks the clubs' smelly, champagne-stained carpets. Female-presenting strippers are expected to perform hyper-femininity while male customers exhibit hyper-masculinity through expressions of machismo and financial power, whether real or staged.

In this context, heterosexuality is taken for granted. Yet what I realized throughout the years is that the strip club is not a parallel universe; it's more a mirror of society, amplified by bright lights. And so was my first relationship with a straight man as a stripper.

When I first met the man who would become my boyfriend, I told him about my job and my bisexuality and he claimed to be cool about both. He called himself a feminist. He told me he found it ''cool to date a stripper.'' It was when our relationship became official that the problems started, and he began expressing displeasure with my career choice. I had seen this happen to so many of my colleagues, yet unlike my colleagues' partners, my man called himself a feminist.

''Why don't you like my job?'' I asked. I had given him the ''Game of Thrones'' cookbook, and we had spent a wholesome day cooking odd recipes that we would never cook again. I had been holding back asking that question for about six months until it finally erupted.

''I never thought about it,'' he said. ''I just don't like it and probably never will.''

I put my fork down. The food didn't taste interesting anymore.

Nevertheless, I stayed with him. Relationships, I knew, were made of compromises.

I stayed, and I tried to make it work. I thought that if I showed him my world, he would realize he had nothing to worry about. When I introduced him to my stripper friends, who had become some of the most important people in my life, he sat at the table with his head down and didn't speak a word to them.

I started producing events aimed at destigmatizing stripping and exploring its creative side. I invited him to each one of them, but he never showed up. Every time I went to work, he was at home with a headache.

A year into the relationship, he still dropped sentences like, ''My friends ask me how I can be with a stripper.''

He had the chance to listen and learn from my experience. Instead, he regurgitated the judgment of his friends who had never spoken to a stripper in their lives.

I decided to go for shock therapy.

On a quiet weeknight at work, I met a funny, rich customer who stayed until the club closed. When the bartender announced last call, this man offered me money to continue the party at his hotel, meaning a social, not sexual, engagement, and one that I handled with all the precautions I'd take on any date, like sending my location and hourly updates to friends. The hotel turned out to be the Ritz Carlton.

As a country girl who grew up in a ***working-class*** family in northern Italy, I am not used to fancy places. Stripping has the remarkable capacity to bridge the gap between classes; it introduced me to the world of fancy hotels, champagne and expensive dates.

Still, the ***working-class*** girl in me never disappeared, and when I saw the marble bathroom in his suite, I thought it would be epic to send around a picture of my near-naked butt at the Ritz. I got out of my jogging pants, stripped down to my lingerie and posed. The customer took the picture, and I sent it to my boyfriend. It was 7 a.m., and you could see the customer's knee in the frame.

I know this sounds insane, but there was a logic to me sending him the picture. By showing him where I was, I was trying to indicate that I wasn't doing anything wrong, because why would I send him a picture if I were?

But apparently that logic wasn't so sound, because all my friends said my reasoning made no sense. And the truth is that I wanted to provoke him, to make a statement. He was so skittish about my stripping, and critical of it, that in a way I hoped bombarding him with this kind of content would eventually normalize my world for him.

After sending the picture, I didn't hear from him for three days. That's what made me realize: My boyfriend saw me through the eyes of a customer, the kind who doesn't understand stripping as a performance of hypersexuality and hyper-femininity, and as professional entertainment.

I see it like this: If a flight attendant smiles at you when asking if you want orange juice, do you think they are really into you? Or do you think they are smiling because it's their job to smile? It's the same with stripping. We aren't taking off our clothes and acting seductive because we have fallen for our customers; we're doing it because it's our job.

If my boyfriend had ever gone to a strip club, he might have been one of those customers who asks you for your number or to go out to breakfast after your shift because they mistake a transactional connection for a real one.

In the end, we broke up. The paradox is that he should have felt safe about our relationship with me working at the strip club, because the more I worked, the less I was attracted to men in my free time. In truth, it's my stripper colleagues he should have worried about me falling in love with, but, contrary to his attitude toward my male customers, he never saw them as a threat.

The same way he fetishized me as a stripper, he also fetishized my bisexuality, as many straight men do. People often see bisexuality as being open to the idea of having sexual relationships with people of either sex. This perception has always stung me as invalidating, and it irks me.

I am not ''open to the idea'' of being with a woman as well as a man. I fall in love with women. I yearn for them. My boyfriend should have been aware of the difference, after having spent hours listening to the stories of my past homoerotic heartbreaks and how I had cried over colleagues who had friend-zoned me after giving me confusing signals.

Still, his jealousy was never directed toward women, and he never perceived them as competition, which means he never took my queerness seriously. His fetishization showed, and he liked it when I commented that this or that colleague of mine was hot, comparing his taste to mine.

He may have never thought about why he didn't like my job, as he said -- but I did. And what I thought is that he saw my body as his property. He couldn't stand the fact that strangers saw me naked, disclosing the secret that he thought should belong only to our bedroom intimacy. His early words were revealing: ''It's cool to date a stripper.'' As if I were a trophy to be put on his shelf, a hot statue wrapped in lace underwear.

He did not see how stripping gave me financial independence and allowed me to travel the world. He did not see how it healed the wounds of a strict, religious upbringing, freeing me from a lot of Catholic shame. He did not see how it uplifted the insecure child I used to be, making me the self-confident person he liked.

The only thing he could see were my naked breasts displayed for strangers. Stripping for him was reduced to the crime of making my flesh public -- for other men, because other women didn't matter as much. In the end, I'm not sure he saw me at all. The person inside the skin who is proud, and loves fully, and, like anyone, is merely doing her job.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/style/modern-love-stripper-boyfriend.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/style/modern-love-stripper-boyfriend.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page ST8.

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**End of Document**



[***Was the Trump Election a Setback for Women? Even Women Do Not Agree.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD7-1DR1-DXY4-X465-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 2133 words

**Byline:** Dionne SearceyDionne Searcey is a Times reporter who writes about how the choices made by people and corporations affect the future of the planet.

**Highlight:** Kamala Harris would have been the first female president in the nation’s nearly 250-year history. But many women chose Donald Trump, despite his history of sexism and his support for the end of Roe v. Wade.

**Body**

Kamala Harris would have been the first female president in the nation’s nearly 250-year history. But many women chose Donald Trump, despite his history of sexism and his support for the end of Roe v. Wade.

To many left-leaning Americans, it is resoundingly clear that women who backed Donald J. Trump in the presidential election voted against their own self-interest.

Liberal women, in particular, have spent recent days practically stunned, stewing over how other women could have rejected Kamala Harris, who would have been the first woman to lead the nation in its nearly 250-year history. Instead, they chose a candidate who spews misogyny seemingly with glee. For the second time.

One voter from Maine, interviewed after Mr. Trump declared victory, offered a takeaway shared by many. As she put it, “The sisterhood did not stand up.”

In many ways the election results seemed to contradict generations of progress made toward women’s equality and for feminism generally. Women have made strides in nearly every facet of American life in recent decades, generally making up a greater proportion of the U.S. work force than in the past, taking on high-paying jobs and outpacing men in higher education — though they remain underrepresented at the top levels of both business and government.

They now find themselves in a country where Mr. Trump won decisively with a campaign that pitted men against women, sitting down with podcasters who trade in sexism and choosing a running mate who had criticized single women as “childless cat ladies.” Mr. Trump took credit for appointing the Supreme Court justices who overturned the constitutional right to abortion but appeared to pay little price at the polls. Immediately after the election social media posts were circulating by men that read, “your body, my choice.”

But women themselves clearly were divided in the election. Exit polls show that 45 percent of female voters cast ballots for Mr. Trump, and far more white women voted for Mr. Trump than Black women. The compounding rejection of first Hillary Clinton then Ms. Harris has exposed an uncomfortable but steady undercurrent of American society: Women do not necessarily agree on what counts as progress or a setback.

For Tiffany Justice, co-founder of Moms for Liberty, a conservative organization, the election of Mr. Trump is “the liberation of women out of the dark days of so-called feminism.”

“This,” she said, “is real American feminism.”

Ms. Justice sees Mr. Trump’s elevation of [*Susie Wiles as the first female chief of staff*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) as the first of many moves by the next president that will be good for women.

“Every woman who feels like Donald Trump is going to be bad for their lives may want to just wait a minute and stop listening to the mainstream media and listen to what President Trump does,” she said.

In the days since the election, it seems as though womanhood itself has fractured. Plans have yet to emerge for a large show of togetherness like the pussy hat rally in Washington after Mr. Trump’s first election in 2016. Liberal women have blamed conservatives for siding with Mr. Trump, a known philanderer who was [*found liable for the sexual abuse of E. Jean Carroll, the former magazine writer.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) Some Black women have blamed white women for betraying them by voting for a candidate who says not only sexist but racist things.

Jamila K. Taylor, president and chief executive of the Institute for Women’s Policy Research, a think tank that aims to close inequality gaps for women, has tried to parse the fact that women in some states voted to protect abortion rights but also voted for Mr. Trump. To her, that indicates that some voters were uncomfortable voting for Ms. Harris because she is Black.

“We have to call it out — the misogyny and racism and sexism,” Dr. Taylor said.

A myth of sisterhood

To academics who study women’s movements and activists who have led them, the idea of a sisterhood where women stick together because of their gender, is a myth with deep roots in American society. In examples that start from the nation’s earliest days — through suffragist movements, racial integration and the legalization of abortion — some of the biggest opponents of women’s rights have been women.

“Women don’t speak with one voice,” said Lisa Levenstein, director of the Women’s, Gender and Sexuality Studies Program at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. “They never have, they never will.”

Some of the biggest opponents of the fight to allow women to vote in the early 1900s were [*groups led by women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html). [*White*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) [*mothers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) were among the loudest opponents of school desegregation and busing. In the 1970s, [*Phyllis Schlafly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) ridiculed feminists and glorified traditional roles for women as she fought to block the Equal Rights Amendment, saying it would lead to the complete unraveling of traditional American society.

Still, the election results last week came as a shock to many in a country where popular culture celebrates an awareness of women’s struggles and achievements.

America today is awash in examples of feminism’s popularity. Beyoncé on her summer tour sang to enormous crowds, “Who run the world? Girls.” Taylor Swift sold out arenas across the country calling out sexism she has faced (“If I was out flashing my dollars/I’d be a bitch, not a baller”). The “Barbie” movie drew hordes of people to theaters in red and blue states alike to see a doll with impossible curves turned into a feminist icon.

But pop culture did not translate to political culture, and signs of fractures among women were obvious during the campaign.

In Nebraska, female university athletes [*filmed a TV ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) supportive of an ultimately successful ballot measure restricting abortion rights. [*Well-coiffed women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) from a North Carolina evangelical charismatic Christian church followed Mr. Trump to rally after rally.

Recently, the “tradwives” movement on social media picked up traction, celebrating the return of women to traditional roles as submissive wives. [*Mainstream media*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) has treated the trend largely as a curiosity.

But for women who stay at home in lieu of low-paying jobs, including taking care of other people’s children, or are faced with workplaces where gender pay gaps are still prevalent, focusing on supporting their working husbands to better help their families is its own act of empowerment.

“There is still so much discrimination and pay inequity, you can see why some women would like to boost their husband’s status,” said Katherine Turk, a historian of second-wave feminism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. “Women who are not feminist have different ideas about what it means to have a self-actualized life and meaningful choices.”

The idea of harnessing a voting bloc of women was shattered in this election, despite appeals from Michelle Obama, the former first lady who, voice nearly trembling [*at an October rally*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) for Ms. Harris, called Mr. Trump an existential threat to women’s rights and told men that a vote for him “is a vote against us.” The actress Julia Roberts in [*an ad for Ms. Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) appealed to female solidarity, reminding wives that their husbands would not know whom they voted for in the privacy of the voting booth.

“Did those ads work? They clearly didn’t,” said Elizabeth McRae, a history professor at Western Carolina University. “There is a long history of conservative white women moving politics to the right, and it’s not because their husbands told them to.”

In 1984 the presidential candidate Walter Mondale picked a woman, Geraldine Ferraro, as his running mate, thinking he would win women’s votes. It didn’t work. Many white women who voted for Ronald Reagan said they liked his version of a strong man and a strong America.

Some women this year said they themselves were uncomfortable with a woman being president.

“I’m a woman and it probably goes against the grain, but I think we need a man to deal with foreign countries,” said Lynn Lewis of Old Fort, N.C., who voted for Mr. Trump.

In the days before the election Mr. Trump vowed to be a protector of women, “whether the women like it or not.” Some women were offended, but for others that message appealed. Ms. Lewis, 60, said she fears foreign leaders might think they could push around a female president.

“There are certain things that men need to lead,” she said.

Unequal gains

Many historians of women’s equality movements through the decades say that the gains won by women often didn’t benefit all women; rather, they helped privileged women secure more opportunities in society. The fight for legal equality allowed women with the necessary means to pay for college and find jobs with good salaries, for instance. That’s part of the reason women have not been unified in what they want from politicians.

In last week’s election, some women said they specifically appreciated Mr. Trump’s support for their role as mothers.

Conservative women argued that the national movement for transgender rights took power away from mothers to make decisions for their children. Some believe Mr. Trump will support their position that parents, not the government should decide whether children are vaccinated. They think his crackdown on the border will stop their children from accessing fentanyl, [*even though the largest group of known fentanyl smugglers are Americans, not immigrants, crossing through legal points of entry.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) And they said they saw the rising cost of groceries as an affront to women trying to feed their families, and something they think Mr. Trump can stem.

In her campaign, Ms. Harris tried to appeal to mothers and others by advancing “the care economy,” a set of policies aimed at helping parents and other caregivers.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, who gained renown after [*her article for The Atlantic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html) about the difficulty of career advancement for professional women with children, said she once focused her fight for gender equity on the workplace and now sees it as just as important for women who care for others.

“Feminism should be framed in terms of care and career, but within that there are going to be lots of debates about what care reasonably encompasses,” she said. “I would not include it to mean control over all my children’s choices, but that is complicated ground.”

What’s clear in looking back at feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s is that women in the past were far more organized, historians said. But that’s largely because they were united in fighting for a set of fundamental rights.

Back then few women were decision makers in government, boardrooms or in families. Women had trouble getting a driver’s license or passport or registering to vote unless they took their husband’s last name. Marital rape was legal. Most could not open credit cards in their own name until the mid-1970s.

Gloria Steinem, perhaps the country’s best-known feminist activist, said she wasn’t certain that Ms. Harris lost because of her gender — “We don’t know what’s in the heart of each woman” who voted for Mr. Trump, she said — but said women had made huge gains that shouldn’t be forgotten because of this election’s outcome.

“It is within my memory that it was not possible in many states to get a prescription for birth control unless you were married and had the written permission of your husband and not possible to have an abortion without some access to an illegal network. Those are huge,” said Ms. Steinem, who is 90.

Ms. Steinem has been thinking of another setback for a woman who wanted to be president: the 1972 bid by Shirley Chisholm, who was the first Black woman to serve in Congress and [*the first woman to seek the Democratic nomination for presidency*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/susie-wiles-trump-white-house-chief-of-staff.html). Ms. Steinem was a delegate for the unsuccessful campaign where Ms. Chisholm had tried to consolidate Black, female and ***working-class*** voters but faced institutional sexism and racism.

Ms. Steinem offered practical advice for women distraught by what they see as a reversal for women’s rights with the election of Mr. Trump: focus on equality in the workplace, she said, and treat daughters the same as sons.

“The lesson is less in the national and world atmosphere and more in the home and employment atmosphere in which we have some control,” she said. “We shouldn’t give up the power we have.”

Murray Carpenter and Mark Barrett contributed reporting.

Murray Carpenter and Mark Barrett contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Above, watching Vice President Kamala Harris deliver her concession speech in Washington last week. Left, Trump supporters at an October rally in Greenville, N.C. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES; DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Voting in Waynesburg, Pa., last week. Exit polls showed that 45 percent of female voters cast ballots for Donald J. Trump. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2024

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[***A Sleeper Senate Race Tightens in Nebraska as an Independent Gains***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D80-H021-JBG3-61HJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 23, 2024 Wednesday 21:29 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

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**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:** Dan Osborn, a labor leader and mechanic who is running as an independent, is making Republicans sweat with his dark horse bid to oust Senator Deb Fischer. Can he turn the buzz into votes?

**Body**

At a recent series of campaign stops in small-town Nebraska, Dan Osborn, the little-known labor leader and car mechanic who is running for Senate as an independent, made his pitch to voters in the form of an allegory about the mice who elect cats to represent them.

As Mr. Osborn tells it, the mice keep voting for different breeds of cats in the hope that one will make good on their promises to make things better, but none ever do. Eventually, the mice realize that their real problem is not which cat they elect — it’s that they keep electing cats in the first place.

“We have to stop electing cats,” Mr. Osborn told about 50 supporters who had gathered in his campaign’s new field office in downtown Kearney on a recent Sunday afternoon, one of four opened weeks before Election Day as part of a last-minute campaign sprint. “We are ruled by the millionaire and billionaire class that are inoculated from the very laws that they make.”

The populist appeal — in which members of both major political parties are cast as feline villains and Mr. Osborn as one of the preyed-upon rodents — has helped propel his challenge to Senator Deb Fischer, a second-term Republican who until recently had appeared to be on a glide path to re-election. Now, polls show the two in a tightening race that could potentially sway the balance of power in the Senate.

Over the past two decades, Republicans have consolidated a [*near monopoly in the Great Plains*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html), a shift across a stretch of prairie once dominated by Democrats that could become complete in November if Senator Jon Tester of Montana loses his seat.

But this year, Nebraska has thrown Republicans for a loop. Mr. Osborn’s dark-horse, grass-roots campaign has transformed what was expected to be a sleepy race into a late-breaking and high-stakes clash that has forced Ms. Fischer and her allies to invest millions of dollars to avoid an upset.

In the Omaha suburbs, one of Republicans’ most battle-tested incumbents in Congress, Representative Don Bacon, is [*facing stiff headwinds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html), thanks to his party’s lurch to the right and his recent endorsement of eliminating a provision that [*awards an electoral vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html) to the party that wins his district. The result has been an influx of cash into Mr. Bacon’s increasingly liberal district, leaving him in an uphill fight for political survival.

In the Senate contest, Mr. Osborn is tapping into a well of discontent with Congress and leaning on his status as a political newcomer and his background as a union laborer to appeal to ***working-class*** voters from across the political spectrum. He has eschewed any connection with Democrats, rejecting an endorsement from the Nebraska Democratic Party this year and insisting that he would not caucus with either party if elected.

That has not stopped Ms. Fischer from labeling him as a “Democrat in disguise.” Mr. Osborn’s deep experience in the labor movement — he is best known for [*leading 500 of his workers out of a Kellogg’s cereal plant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html) in Omaha and onto a picket line — and his support for codifying abortion rights into federal law seem to indicate that he would side with Democrats on at least some major economic and social issues.

Still, Mr. Osborn appears to be drawing interest among voters of different political stripes. At recent events, several attendees said they planned to vote for former President Donald J. Trump, and a few indicated they were supporters of Vice President Kamala Harris.

Ms. Fischer, a former school board member and state lawmaker whose family owns a cattle ranch, won both of her previous Senate races by double-digit margins and has kept a relatively low profile since taking office. She has voted multiple times to repeal the Affordable Care Act. Soon after taking office in 2013, she cosponsored the [*Life at Conception Act*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html), which would have effectively outlawed all abortions without exception and aspects of certain fertility treatments, such as in vitro fertilization. Ms. Fischer, who praises the overturning of Roe v. Wade, has said in recent weeks that she would support exceptions to an abortion ban for cases of rape and incest and to protect the life of the mother.

Mr. Osborn, who enlisted in the Navy after high school and served in the Nebraska Army National Guard, has pitched himself as a consensus-builder across party lines. At his recent events, he described how he tried to make the Kellogg’s strike a nonpartisan issue by persuading Mr. Bacon to walk the picket line with the workers and Pete Ricketts, the governor at the time, to write a letter to company executives urging them to make a deal. (Mr. Ricketts, a Republican and now Nebraska’s junior senator, is expected to handily win a special election and retain the seat he was appointed to in 2023 after [*Senator Ben Sasse resigned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html).)

“I didn’t see men or women, or Black or white, or Republican or Democrat out on the picket line,” said Mr. Osborn, who was recruited to run by railroad unions in western Nebraska that turned against Ms. Fischer because of her backing for legislation that is favorable to the rail industry. “I just saw people that wanted to go to work for a fair wage and fair benefits.”

When he jumped into the political fray last September, Mr. Osborn had little name recognition and even less money, and pundits and the news media had largely written off the race. But funding is no longer a barrier; his campaign hauled in close to $3.3 million last quarter and spent nearly all of it on advertising, according to federal filings.

As polls have shown Mr. Osborn closing the gap, Ms. Fischer and her Republican allies have been forced to pour millions of their own into the race. Two recent nonaffiliated surveys showed Mr. Osborn within a few points of Ms. Fischer. The Senate Leadership Fund, a Republican super PAC, on Monday [*promised an additional $3 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html) in ad spending in the final two weeks before the election.

Ms. Fischer’s campaign has called Mr. Osborn “simply too far left” and is running multiple ads that quote him saying that he “loves” Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent known for his progressive policies. (According to audio circulated by Republicans, Mr. Osborn apparently made the remark as a point of contrast as he discussed the need to appeal to conservatives.)

“Nebraskans support me because I’ve delivered results,” Ms. Fischer, whose campaign did not respond to a request for an interview, said in a statement. “I have a long, conservative record that’s helped build Nebraska and keep America strong.”

Some of the Republican attacks on Mr. Osborn appear to be resonating with voters. Peter Rishel, a retired police officer who attended his event in Kearney, asked whether it was true that Mr. Osborn wanted to give Social Security cards to illegal migrants, a claim made in several of Ms. Fischer’s ads.

Mr. Osborn chuckled before bluntly declaring that, no, he does not want “amnesty” for “people who come here unlawfully,” nor does he want to give them Social Security benefits. He then criticized Ms. Fischer for voting twice against the bipartisan border bill led by Senator James Lankford, Republican of Oklahoma, at the behest of Mr. Trump.

Mr. Rishel, who said he planned to vote for Mr. Trump, left the event intrigued by Mr. Osborn, who he said gave a “pretty impressive” pitch for how he would take on Washington elites. But Mr. Rishel said he was reluctant to vote against Ms. Fischer, whose office helped him and his wife navigate a dispute with the Internal Revenue Service over their income tax refund.

“I just thought the world of her when she helped us,” Mr. Rishel said. “And to step away from that — God, that’s a pretty big step.”

Abortion could also play a role in the race. Nebraska voters face two competing ballot measures this year that would alter the state’s abortion law, which bans the procedure at 12 weeks with exceptions for rape and incest and to protect the life of the mother. One of the proposals, which has garnered national support and funding from abortion rights groups, would enshrine the rights in the state Constitution up to the point of viability. The other would add a 14-week ban to Nebraska’s Constitution.

During a swing through small towns in western Nebraska on a recent Sunday afternoon, after several voters asked for his stance, Mr. Osborn said he supported codifying the protections of Roe v. Wade into federal law.

“I don’t believe it’s my place or the government’s place to tell people when they should or shouldn’t start families, and that includes I.V.F. and contraceptives,” Mr. Osborn told the crowd at his newly opened office in Grand Island.

Earlier that day, in response to a similar question from a voter in Hastings, Mr. Osborn said: “Bottom line is, since Roe&#39;s been overturned, women are dying. And I’ve got a problem with that.”

Catie Edmondson contributed reporting.

Catie Edmondson contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Dan Osborn’s dark-horse campaign has transformed what was expected to be a sleepy Senate race into a high-stakes clash. Below, Mr. Osborn opened four campaign offices weeks before Election Day, including in Grand Island, left, and Hastings. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL CIAGLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** October 24, 2024

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[***Austrian Far-Right Party Wins Vote, but Its Rivals Vow to Exclude It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D31-N7P1-DXY4-X50D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1183 words

**Byline:** By Christopher F. Schuetze

**Body**

The Freedom Party has made itself the country's most popular party, with calls to bar asylum seekers. It is poised to come out on top in parliamentary elections for the first time.

He calls himself the ''Volkskanzler,'' or people's chancellor, a term associated with the Nazis.

He has demanded stopping all new asylum seekers to make Austria a ''fortress of freedom.'' He calls his political opponents ''traitors'' and has said he wants to put unfriendly journalists on ''arrest lists.'' The World Health Organization, he has warned, is a dictatorship.

To the growing ranks of his supporters, Herbert Kickl, the chancellor candidate of the far-right Austrian Freedom Party, coolly diagnoses the country's problems and offers reasonable solutions. To his detractors, the former interior minister is a dangerous right-wing extremist who trades in conspiracy theories.

But after Austrians vote in a national election on Sunday, Mr. Kickl may end up as the man Austria's other parties will have to either work with or work around.

Five years after his party was ousted by a jaw-dropping scandal involving cocaine, a fake niece of a Russian oligarch, influence peddling and a secret video recording, the Freedom Party is back, and is now the most popular party in Austria.

It could come out on top for the first time ever in elections. The party is expected to win 27 percent of votes or more, polls show, beating out the incumbent center-right Austrian People's Party by several percentage points, and other mainstream parties by even more.

Unlike in neighboring Germany, where the growing popularity of the far-right Alternative for Germany, or AfD, has set off anxious hand-wringing in the political establishment, in Austria few seem especially concerned by the rise of the Freedom Party.

Founded by former SS men in the 1950s, the Freedom Party has long been part of Austria's political landscape. It has been the junior partner in four separate governments since the 1980s.

The party ''is so normalized in Austria that few people will be shocked by it -- and they have already had parliamentary election results on this scale,'' said Laurenz Ennser-Jedenastik, a professor of Austrian politics at the University of Vienna.

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Austria is more akin to Italy or the Netherlands, where anti-immigrant sentiment has fueled the rise of far-right parties that work within the established political ecosystem.

Mr. Kickl often praises Hungary, where the nationalist Fidesz party has governed virtually unopposed for more than a decade, for its ability to keep out migrants.

The coronavirus pandemic and Austria's strict lockdown rules helped Mr. Kickl re-energize his party after it was kicked out of the government five years ago. Mr. Kickl demanded a public inquest into government actions around lockdowns, which he called ''dictatorial.'' At the time of the pandemic, Mr. Kickl was a proponent of the anti-parasite drug ivermectin.

At the height of the pandemic in 2021, he told supporters: ''The Austrian population is part of a large field study by pharmaceutical companies.''

But much of his focus in the recent campaign has been on immigrants. Besides calling for more deportations, the Freedom Party's platform also demands new legislation that would stop refugees from getting any social services and bar them for life from obtaining Austrian citizenship.

Besides refugees, Mr. Kickl attacks supranational institutions, like the European Union, NATO (of which Austria is not a member), the International Criminal Court and the World Health Organization as meddling in Austrian affairs.

The party is also close to Russia. In 2016, it signed a formal declaration of friendship with President Vladimir V. Putin's party, United Russia. Karin Kneissl, the Freedom Party's choice for foreign minister in 2017, moved to Russia after its invasion of Ukraine. While the rest of Europe has mostly cut off its use of Russian energy since the invasion, Austria has not done so.

Mr. Kickl, 55, has portrayed himself as a kind of father figure to voters but has kept his private life mostly out of the spotlight. He started working for the Freedom Party as a student in history and philosophy, and he quickly rose through the ranks.

He served as a speechwriter for JÃ¶rg Haider, who took over the party in 1986 and moved it further toward far-right populism. Mr. Kickl was responsible for some of his most incendiary speeches. Mr. Haider, who later left the party and created a new one, died in a car accident in 2008.

As Austrian interior minister from 2017 to 2019, Mr. Kickl focused on border security, but he may be best remembered for overseeing a raid on the country's domestic intelligence agency. At the time, Mr. Kickl's clear political influence over the service made it a pariah among partner agencies.

In rallies, debates and advertisements, Mr. Kickl has distanced himself from his party's former coalition partner, the conservative Austrian People's Party, which was itself roiled by a scandal involving fake polls in recent years.

Mr. Kickl now blames his biggest opponent for inflation and a declining standard of living.

''We have actually come through difficult times reasonably well, as far as the Ukraine war is concerned,'' said Nina Horaczek, who has written a book on Mr. Kickl. ''But at the same time, there is an incredible dissatisfaction in parts of the population, and he is channeling that very, very well.''

Karl Nehammer, the current chancellor, said that if the Freedom Party won, he would not form a coalition government that would make Mr. Kickl chancellor. But he has stopped short of vowing not to work with the far-right party itself, something that experts say could happen if the People's Party comes in first, thus ensuring that Mr. Nehammer remains chancellor.

If the far right wins, Mr. Nehammer could choose to isolate the Freedom Party and form a government with center-left Social Democrats and possibly a third party.

But a coalition between the conservatives and the far right is still considered a likely outcome, ''simply because the parties are relatively close on many issues,'' said Thomas Meyer, a politics professor at the University of Vienna.

Predicting the outcome has been made even harder this year by two tiny parties -- the Austrian Communists and the Beer Party -- that are close to reaching the 4 percent needed to enter the 183-seat Parliament.

Severe flooding in early September also led to a suspension of national campaigning and may give a boost to the Greens, a junior partner in the current government.

On a recent evening in Simmering, a ***working-class*** district in Vienna, Sascha Kaiser, a resident, was having a drink after work and mulling whom to vote for. ''I don't know whether to vote strategic or follow my heart,'' he said. ''But I don't want Kickl to get in.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/29/world/europe/austria-election-freedom-party-kickl.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/29/world/europe/austria-election-freedom-party-kickl.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Herbert Kickl, center left, leader of the Freedom Party of Austria, on Sunday in Vienna, after the party got almost 30 percent of the national vote, the best result since its formation in the 1950s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FILIP SINGER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** September 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***New York to Replace Student MetroCards With Less Restrictive OMNY Cards***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CK2-0W31-DXY4-X2JP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2024 Friday 17:37 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 524 words

**Byline:** Claire Fahy Claire Fahy reports on New York City and the surrounding area for The Times. She can be reached at , [*claire.fahy@nytimes.com*](mailto:claire.fahy@nytimes.com)

**Highlight:** New OMNY transit cards for public school students, rolling out in September, will be usable 24 hours a day throughout the calendar year.

**Body**

New OMNY transit cards for public school students, rolling out in September, will be usable 24 hours a day throughout the calendar year.

New York City students will have expanded access to the transit system beginning this coming school year, city officials announced on Thursday.

A new OMNY transit card will replace the MetroCards that have been given to public school students across the city since 1997, Janno Lieber, the chief executive of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, said at a news conference.

Students will be able to use the new cards all day long, and can take four rides every 24 hours, a marked departure from the MetroCards, which offered students only three rides a day, and only between 5:30 a.m. and 8:30 p.m. on school days. And while each MetroCard was valid for only one semester, the OMNY cards will work year-round, including on weekends and holidays and during the summer.

The move comes as the city is working to phase out the MetroCard for all transit riders in favor of the digital tap-and-go system provided by OMNY — short for One Metro New York — and as [*the cost of riding the subway has increased*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/19/nyregion/mta-subway-fare-hikes.html#:~:text=277-,Price%20of%20N.Y.C.,riders%20lost%20during%20the%20pandemic.).

“These expanded student OMNY cards are a game changer for families across New York City,” Mayor Eric Adams said in a statement on Thursday. “Particularly for ***working-class*** families that need just a little more help to afford our city — families where older siblings pick their younger brothers and sisters up from school, or where kids have after-school and summer jobs to help make ends meet.”

The new student cards — physical green-and-white passes that can be tapped at electronic readers at subway turnstiles and on city buses — will be distributed in September.

Azza El, 17, who lives in the South Slope neighborhood of Brooklyn, said she was glad that the student card program was improving, since the MetroCard system was so popular.

“I would use those cards until like 9 o’clock on the dot,” she said. “I used to hate the time limits. So the fact that they don’t have that anymore is good.”

Angelie Cando, 16, who lives in Queens, agreed.

“No time restraints is way better,” she said. “Sometimes I would be getting out of school late, like when you stay for programs or clubs, and then the card stops working so we would have to pay out of pocket.”

Ms. Cando’s friend, Daniela Zamora, 16, who also lives in Queens, was more excited about the updated technology.

Ms. Zamora hoped that she would be able to add the new OMNY card to her phone’s Apple Wallet, which would make it easier to use. The old MetroCards were hard to keep track of, she said, and would stop working if they got bent.

“I think I lost it during last school year two times,” she said of her MetroCard. “I had to pay $3 to get it back.”

Overall, the new cards will make taking the subway more seamless, said Denise Cortez, 16, who lives in the Bronx.

“It will be way easier,” she said. “We’ve been riding the subway every day this summer.”

PHOTO: The old student MetroCards could be used for only three rides a day, and only between 5:30 a.m. and 8:30 p.m. on school days. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lila Barth for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘His Three Daughters’ Review: Sisters at Odds Together; Critic’s pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0P-BJ61-JBG3-63RJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2024 Thursday 10:12 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 984 words

**Byline:** Manohla DargisManohla Dargis is the chief film critic for The Times.

**Highlight:** Natasha Lyonne, Carrie Coon and Elizabeth Olsen play sisters who are caring for their dying father in this tender, funny family drama.

**Body**

Natasha Lyonne, Carrie Coon and Elizabeth Olsen play sisters who are caring for their dying father in this tender, funny family drama.

Every so often in the heart-heavy drama “His Three Daughters,” the filmmaker Azazel Jacobs frames the actress Natasha Lyonne in radiant close-up. Her character, Rachel, is one of the daughters of the title, and while she thrums with palpable energy, she also has a quality of stillness about her. When Rachel stares into the distance, as she tends to do, lost in thought or maybe just lost — her huge eyes shining, her face edged by flaming red hair — she brings to mind a hummingbird hovering in midair, its wings beating impossibly fast against the strongest headwind.

Rachel is one of three sisters who’ve convened to care for their father, Vincent (Jay O. Sanders), at the end of his life. With her siblings Katie (Carrie Coon) and Christina (Elizabeth Olsen), Rachel drifts through the New York apartment where their father is fading away, his heartbeat now supplanted by the beeping machinery that he’s hooked up to, which creates an eerie rhythm throughout. It’s a hard, painful setup but also absurdly funny, intimate and human. Jacobs is sensitive to life’s contradictions; he knows how abruptly love seems to boil over into hate, and how quickly adult siblings can turn into whining, raging children.

Set over an inexact number of days and nights, the movie tracks the sisters during the course of their vigil. Katie is the scold (and surrogate angry patriarch), who also lives in the city, while Christina (an anxious maternal type from California) plays the part of the diplomat. Outwardly, at least, Rachel — who lives with their father in the apartment — slips readily into the role of the black sheep (and unruly child), especially given her pursuits and pastimes. When she’s not fleeing from her sisters, Rachel is hunkered down in her room, watching sports on TV, playing the odds and taking hits off a blunt. Rachel seems to be in a fog, but she’s perfectly lucid.

Most of the movie takes place in the apartment, a modest, pointedly ordinary space with plenty of windows and a couple of bedrooms on the upper floor of a building in a large complex. It’s humble by mainstream, art-directed movie standards; it looks like a real apartment where real people live. There’s nothing fancy about it, just photos, tchotchkes and furniture people might actually use, middle-class people, ***working-class*** people, people lucky enough to have an affordable New York (Manhattan!) apartment. It’s a moving emblem of a nearly lost city and, by turns, a haunted house, a cozy home and a theater for the family’s drama, one that the sisters enact at times while reciting grievances they clearly committed to heart long ago.

Emotions are already raw when the movie opens on Katie. Seated against a white wall, arms tightly folded across her chest, she is in the midst of an epic tirade directed at an offscreen, silent Rachel. As the camera holds on Katie, she talks and talks, her words running together into a near-indistinguishable slurry. It’s as if she didn’t believe in punctuation or the niceties of conversation; it soon becomes clear she has next to no patience for Rachel. Katie asks her a question without waiting for the answer, emphasizes the obvious, makes demands. It’s not for nothing that the first time you see each sister she is alone in the frame.

As the vigil continues, things shift and settle, and other characters come and go, including a hospice worker, Angel (Rudy Galvan); a security guard, Victor (Jose Febus); and Rachel’s friend, Benjy (Jovan Adepo). Each brings some air into the fraught scene; more subtly, they reveal something about how the sisters relate to the larger world. Katie, for one, jokingly refers to the hospice aide as an Angel of Death, which isn’t funny the first or the second time she does so. That Rachel talks more readily to Victor than to her sisters says much about the family — about the siblings’ relations, worldviews and aching need for connection — as does the moment when, in her bedroom, she wearily rests her head on Benjy’s shoulder.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/K0jwAP2fS1E)]

In time, the sisters come to terms with their father’s illness and with one another, although nothing happens easily or programmatically. Jacobs doesn’t sentimentalize his characters, which deepens the story’s realism. Instead, working with his three strong, nicely syncopated leads, he gradually pries open each sister until you see just enough of her darkness and her light to sense where she’s coming from and why. Just enough for you to grasp how life has roughed them up and, by turns, strengthened or weakened their defenses. You may laugh, seeing yourself in each of the sisters, at least in part; you may also wince in embarrassed recognition.

One of Jacobs’s reference points is the French filmmaker Éric Rohmer, whose characters partly emerge in free-flowing conversations. The title “His Three Daughters” also brings to mind stories about other fictional siblings, including Chekhov’s play “Three Sisters.” The father in that drama is already dead by the time it opens, and there’s a brother complicating the sisters’ dynamic. Even so, like Chekhov’s troika, Jacobs’s women are at once clinging to the past and looking toward the future. It’s the present that proves so extraordinarily difficult for them, a truth that Jacobs beautifully conveys in a movie that is very much about agonizing loss yet is also, fundamentally, about what it simply takes to keep on living.

His Three Daughters

Rated R for language. Running time: 1 hour 41 minutes. [*Watch on Netflix.*](http://youtube.com/embed/K0jwAP2fS1E)

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PHOTO: From left, Elizabeth Olsen, Carrie Coon and Natasha Lyonne in “His Three Daughters,” directed by Azazel Jacobs. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SAM LEVY/NETFLIX) This article appeared in print on page C4.

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***After Address to G.O.P., Teamsters Leader Draws Labor's Rebuke and Praise***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHN-S2V1-DXY4-X1G0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 20, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1317 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

Sean O'Brien delivered one of the most memorable addresses to the convention, calling out corporations and business groups as anti-worker. It's divided union leaders.

Of the dozens of speeches at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee, none perhaps was as surprising -- or as immediately divisive-- as Teamsters President Sean O'Brien's on the conclave's first night.

Business groups recoiled. Many rank-and-file union members were furious. And within the labor movement's leadership, Mr. O'Brien's words -- both soothing and challenging to the Republican Party -- are still reverberating. Was the head of a union 1.3 million members strong actually flirting with former President Donald J. Trump, or was he surreptitiously sticking it to the party of Big Business?

Probably both.

''I, like others, wondered what he was doing,'' Randi Weingarten, the president of the American Federation of Teachers and a staunch Democrat, said in an interview Thursday, ''but I listened to the speech, and I was impressed that he gave not only such a pro-worker speech, but at its foundation, he said these greedy corporations are hurting us, and you can't have it both ways, Republican Party. If you want labor's support, you can't just pander at election time. You have to walk the walk and give workers a chance to thrive.''

That's not how others in unions saw it.

''O'Brien wants kinder, gentler, more patriotic bosses, and anyone that thinks he's preaching class war is a mark,'' fired back C.M. Lewis, president of the Seven Mountains A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Central Pennsylvania, on social media. ''He heaped praise on Trump, a silver spoon-fed caricature of the corporate elite -- utterly clownish.''

In response to the criticism, Teamsters officials encouraged people to read the speech. In it, Mr. O'Brien began by extending a respectful hand to Mr. Trump, who stocked his Labor Department and National Labor Relations Board with anti-union lawyers and backed a series of court cases to weaken collective bargaining.

''In light of what happened to him on Saturday, he has proven to be one tough S.O.B.,'' the Teamsters leader said. He then praised other Republicans like Senator Roger Marshall of Kansas and Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, who is running for re-election this year against a Democrat, Lucas Kunce, who has most of the state's unions behind him.

But once Mr. O'Brien softened the skeptical crowd, he turned to the labor part of his speech, castigating companies that stand against union organizing and that fire labor leaders for union activism. He called out Republican mainstays like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and Business Roundtable as hypocritical: They oppose workers uniting to bargain collectively for wage and benefit improvements, he said, but they are functionally unions for big business, colluding against their workers.

And he singled out companies by name.

''Massive companies like Amazon, Uber, Lyft, and Wal-Mart take zero responsibility for the workers they employ,'' he told a hushed audience. ''These companies offer no real health insurance, no retirement benefits, no paid leave, relying on underfunded public assistance. And who foots the bill? The individual taxpayer.''

The response from the Republican attendees was not good. Most stood in silence. Some walked away. Business groups were none too pleased.

''The partnership between employers and employees in the United States has produced the strongest and most resilient economy in the world,'' said Michael Steel, a spokesman for the Business Roundtable, which represents the chief executive officers of the nation's largest corporations. ''Attempts to pit American business and labor against each other for partisan gain make it harder for America to succeed.''

The fallout from Mr. O'Brien's speech captures the dilemma facing organized labor as Mr. Trump emerges from his convention, and his brush with an assassin's bullet, confident he will recapture the White House. After he stepped down from the stage, Mr. O'Brien said on CNN that President Biden ''is definitely the most pro-labor president we've ever had.'' The president pushed for and then invested $36 billion in rescuing the Teamsters' pension plan.

But that might be beside the point if he loses or drops his re-election bid, so do labor leaders attempt cooperation with Mr. Trump, or do they dig in and fight?

Ms. Weingarten's answer contradicted Mr. O'Brien's stance.

''Presidential elections are not times for games,'' she said. ''They are serious, and this is particularly serious. We face a choice: democracy or autocracy.''

The Teamsters are the last major union not to endorse in the presidential race, and Mr. O'Brien's words could be parsed to either side's advantage. Most union leaders fear that long after the substance of the speech is forgotten, the image of a burly, truck-driving union president will be heaped with others, from the former pro wrestler Hulk Hogan to the aging rocker Kid Rock, to attest to Mr. Trump's ***working class*** appeal.

''It gave the Republicans credibility,'' Randy Bryce, a Wisconsin iron worker who runs a pro-union super PAC, said of the O'Brien speech.

Still, most union members panned Mr. O'Brien's speech. A Teamsters-owned social media account this week appeared to have gone rogue, posting, ''Unions gain nothing from endorsing the racist, misogynistic, and anti-trans politics of the far right.'' The post was quickly taken down and the Teamsters declined to comment on the matter.

And Mr. Trump's call in his acceptance speech on Thursday night for the United Automobile Workers to fire its aggressive and popular new president, Shawn Fain, for backing Mr. Biden and his administration's effort to get more Americans to transition to electric vehicles underscored his contempt for labor, U.A.W. officials said.

''America's autoworkers aren't the problem,'' Mr. Fain declared on Friday. ''Our union isn't the problem. The ***working class*** isn't the problem. Corporate greed and the billionaires' hero, mascot, and lap dog Donald Trump, are the problem.''

He added, ''Don't get played by this scab billionaire,'' using slang for a strikebreaker.

Mr. Bryce said before the speech that he had been supportive of Mr. O'Brien's appearance at the Republican convention, arguing to friends that the labor movement needed to take its message to people of all political persuasions. Afterward, he said that though he appreciated some of the messages, he thought it was a bad idea. Under Wisconsin's former Republican governor, Scott Walker, public sector unions were gutted and mandatory union dues at union-organized employers were ended.

With Republicans favored to take control of all three branches of the federal government, ''this was not the time,'' Mr. Bryce said. ''You have to pick one side right now. They're out to get us.''

Mr. O'Brien's performance has Democrats in something of a bind. Mr. O'Brien, who declined to comment, has said publicly that he requested speaking slots at both the Republican and Democratic conventions. At Mr. Trump's insistence, the G.O.P. agreed. The Democrats have not.

Democratic convention and Biden campaign aides said they have not yet invited any speakers for the August convention in Chicago. And unlike the Republicans, the Democrats have numerous labor leaders who would love a slot. If they gave one to Mr. O'Brien, they would feel pressure from dozens of other union presidents.

For now, Mr. Biden is confident that unions are staying with him, perhaps among the last bulwark publicly calling him to stay in the race.

''Joe Biden knows unions built this country and the middle class,'' Julie Chavez Rodriguez, the campaign manager for Mr. Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris, said in a statement. ''Donald Trump will always choose big greedy corporations and anti-union extremists over the working men and women of America.''

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Sean O'Brien, head of the 1.3 million-member Teamsters union, speaking on Monday at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee. (PHOOTGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***As Austrians Vote, Far Right Awaits Its Biggest Success***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2T-7D61-DXY4-X3DH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 29, 2024 Sunday 22:47 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1219 words

**Highlight:** The Freedom Party has made itself the country’s most popular party, with calls to bar asylum seekers. It is poised to come out on top in parliamentary elections for the first time.

**Body**

The Freedom Party has made itself the country’s most popular party, with calls to bar asylum seekers. It is poised to come out on top in parliamentary elections for the first time.

He calls himself the “Volkskanzler,” or people’s chancellor, a term associated with the Nazis.

He has demanded stopping all new asylum seekers to make Austria a “fortress of freedom.” He calls his political opponents “traitors” and has said he wants to put unfriendly journalists on “arrest lists.” The World Health Organization, he has warned, is a dictatorship.

To the growing ranks of his supporters, Herbert Kickl, the chancellor candidate of the far-right Austrian Freedom Party, coolly diagnoses the country’s problems and offers reasonable solutions. To his detractors, the former interior minister is a dangerous right-wing extremist who trades in conspiracy theories.

But after Austrians vote in a national election on Sunday, Mr. Kickl may end up as the man Austria’s other parties will have to either work with or work around.

Five years after his party was ousted by a [*jaw-dropping scandal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/18/world/europe/austria-strache-resigns-video.html) involving cocaine, a fake niece of a Russian oligarch, influence peddling and a secret video recording, the Freedom Party is back, and is now the most popular party in Austria.

It could come out on top for the first time ever in elections. The party is expected to win 27 percent of votes or more, polls show, beating out the incumbent center-right Austrian People’s Party by several percentage points, and other mainstream parties by even more.

Unlike in neighboring Germany, where the growing popularity of the far-right Alternative for Germany, or AfD, has set off anxious hand-wringing in the political establishment, in Austria few seem especially concerned by the rise of the Freedom Party.

Founded by former SS men in the 1950s, the Freedom Party has long been part of Austria’s political landscape. It has been the junior partner in four separate governments since the 1980s.

The party “is so normalized in Austria that few people will be shocked by it — and they have already had parliamentary election results on this scale,” said Laurenz Ennser-Jedenastik, a professor of Austrian politics at the University of Vienna.

In Germany, mainstream parties have vowed never to work with the AfD. And the German domestic intelligence service has labeled some AfD state chapters as extremist and is actively monitoring the party, which it considers a threat to the Constitution.

Austria is more akin to Italy or the Netherlands, where anti-immigrant sentiment has fueled the rise of far-right parties that work within the established political ecosystem.

Mr. Kickl often praises Hungary, where the nationalist Fidesz party has governed virtually unopposed for more than a decade, for its ability to keep out migrants.

The coronavirus pandemic and Austria’s strict lockdown rules helped Mr. Kickl re-energize his party after it was kicked out of the government five years ago. Mr. Kickl demanded a public inquest into government actions around lockdowns, which he called “dictatorial.” At the time of the pandemic, Mr. Kickl was a proponent of the anti-parasite drug ivermectin.

At the height of the pandemic in 2021, he told supporters: “The Austrian population is part of a large field study by pharmaceutical companies.”

But much of his focus in the recent campaign has been on immigrants. Besides calling for more deportations, the Freedom Party’s platform also demands new legislation that would stop refugees from getting any social services and bar them for life from obtaining Austrian citizenship.

Besides refugees, Mr. Kickl attacks supranational institutions, like the European Union, NATO (of which Austria is not a member), the International Criminal Court and the World Health Organization as meddling in Austrian affairs.

The party is also close to Russia. In 2016, it signed a formal declaration of friendship with President Vladimir V. Putin’s party, United Russia. Karin Kneissl, the Freedom Party’s choice for foreign minister in 2017, moved to Russia after its invasion of Ukraine. While the rest of Europe has mostly cut off its use of Russian energy since the invasion, Austria has not done so.

Mr. Kickl, 55, has portrayed himself as a kind of father figure to voters but has kept his private life mostly out of the spotlight. He started working for the Freedom Party as a student in history and philosophy, and he quickly rose through the ranks.

He served as a speechwriter for Jörg Haider, who took over the party in 1986 and moved it further toward far-right populism. Mr. Kickl was responsible for some of his most incendiary speeches. Mr. Haider, who later left the party and created a new one, died in a car accident in 2008.

As Austrian interior minister from 2017 to 2019, Mr. Kickl focused on border security, but he may be best remembered for overseeing a raid on the country’s domestic intelligence agency. At the time, Mr. Kickl’s clear [*political influence over the service*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/18/world/europe/austria-strache-resigns-video.html) made it a pariah among partner agencies.

In rallies, debates and advertisements, Mr. Kickl has distanced himself from his party’s former coalition partner, the conservative Austrian People’s Party, which was itself roiled by [*a scandal involving fake polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/18/world/europe/austria-strache-resigns-video.html) in recent years.

Mr. Kickl now blames his biggest opponent for inflation and a declining standard of living.

“We have actually come through difficult times reasonably well, as far as the Ukraine war is concerned,” said Nina Horaczek, who has written a book on Mr. Kickl. “But at the same time, there is an incredible dissatisfaction in parts of the population, and he is channeling that very, very well.”

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If the far right wins, Mr. Nehammer could choose to isolate the Freedom Party and form a government with center-left Social Democrats and possibly a third party.

But a coalition between the conservatives and the far right is still considered a likely outcome, “simply because the parties are relatively close on many issues,” said Thomas Meyer, a politics professor at the University of Vienna.

Predicting the outcome has been made even harder this year by two tiny parties — the Austrian Communists and the Beer Party — that are close to reaching the 4 percent needed to enter the 183-seat Parliament.

Severe flooding in early September also led to a suspension of national campaigning and may give a boost to the Greens, a junior partner in the current government.

On a recent evening in Simmering, a ***working-class*** district in Vienna, Sascha Kaiser, a resident, was having a drink after work and mulling whom to vote for. “I don’t know whether to vote strategic or follow my heart,” he said. “But I don’t want Kickl to get in.”

PHOTO: Herbert Kickl, center left, leader of the Freedom Party of Austria, on Sunday in Vienna, after the party got almost 30 percent of the national vote, the best result since its formation in the 1950s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FILIP SINGER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***S.E.I.U. Plans $200 Million Effort to Aid Biden and Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BJB-FTD1-DXY4-X00R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 13, 2024 Wednesday 09:30 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 416 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:** The program would be the largest investment ever for the union, which spent around $150 million in the 2020 presidential cycle.

**Body**

The program would be the largest investment ever for the union, which spent around $150 million in the 2020 presidential cycle.

The Service Employees International Union said on Wednesday that it would spend $200 million to reach out and mobilize ***working-class*** voters to back President Biden and other Democrats.

The union, which represents about two million health-care, service and government workers, hopes to harness the upswing in union activity, not just among industrial unions like the United Automobile Workers but less traditional work forces such as nurses, Hollywood writers and actors, students and Starbucks workers.

The S.E.I.U. said it hoped to reach six million voters of color in the battleground states of Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

“Workers walked the picket lines for better pay and better jobs, and we will vote for the same reasons,” the union’s secretary-treasurer, April Verrett, said in a statement. “Workers of all races know what’s at stake in this election.”

The $200 million effort would be the largest investment ever for the union, which spent around $150 million in the 2020 presidential cycle. Mr. Biden has called himself the most pro-union president in history, as have some of his allies in organized labor, and Rocio Sáenz, the executive vice president of the S.E.I.U., cited the president’s [*walking the picket line with the U.A.W.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/26/us/politics/biden-uaw-strike-picket-michigan.html) and other efforts to help unions as a reason to mobilize.

***Working-class*** voters, especially Black and Latino blue-collar workers, will be a key constituency in the coming presidential campaign. Mr. Biden believes his policies have benefited such voters, especially those in unions. But former President Donald J. Trump has made inroads in the traditional Democratic voting bloc, which has expressed frustration about inflation and could prove open to his anti-immigration message.

A number of groups have pledged financial firepower to Mr. Biden’s re-election efforts. They include VoteVets, which supports veterans running for office, with a $45 million plan to back Mr. Biden and other Democrats. Future Forward, the main Democratic super PAC aiding Mr. Biden’s bid, is planning to spend [*$250 million on advertising*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/26/us/politics/biden-uaw-strike-picket-michigan.html). And MoveOn [*has announced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/26/us/politics/biden-uaw-strike-picket-michigan.html) a $32 million program.

PHOTO: Members of the Service Employees International Union protesting outside the site of a Republican presidential debate last year in Milwaukee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kenny Holston/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why Are We Obsessed With Breasts?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BYX-9061-JBG3-6193-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 7, 2024 Tuesday 10:08 EST

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**Section:** WELL; live

**Length:** 1150 words

**Byline:** Alisha Haridasani Gupta Alisha Haridasani Gupta is a Times reporter covering women&amp;#8217;s health and health inequities.

**Highlight:** After her own mastectomy, sociologist Sarah Thornton sought to answer the question.

**Body**

After her own mastectomy, sociologist Sarah Thornton sought to answer the question.

The day before her double mastectomy surgery six years ago, the author and cultural sociologist Sarah Thornton let her breasts free. She went swimming in an outdoor pool in the San Francisco Bay Area and untied her bikini top, allowing her 34Bs to sway in the water and soak up the sunshine. It was her way of saying goodbye to them, she said in a recent interview.

“I was someone who kind of dismissed them as just dumb boobs, irrelevant, not important,” she said. As a self-proclaimed feminist, she used to think that any obsession with breasts was vain and distasteful, driven by a superficial need to please the male gaze. Her own breasts were the focus of two sexual harassment incidents in her teens, and, about a decade ago, they became a source of fear: Breast cancer ran in the family and doctors discovered atypical cells. After much prodding and testing, getting rid of a part of her body that she wasn’t particularly attached to seemed like an easy precaution to take.

But months after her surgery, which included getting implants that felt like “silicone impostors” — so foreign and inanimate to her that she felt compelled to give them the names Bert and Ernie — she became “just a total muddle of emotions around what I lost and what I gained,” she said. “Bert and Ernie were really weird for me — they were larger than I’d ever had before, they were hard, I had no nipple sensation anymore.” (For our video interview, Thornton wore a crew neck T-shirt with a drawing of Bert, Ernie and other Sesame Street residents across her chest). It was then that she realized she hadn’t appreciated her breasts enough.

Thornton’s exploration into the cultural significance of breasts resulted in her new [*book*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/review/tits-up-sarah-thornton.html), “Tits Up: What Sex Workers, Milk Bankers, Plastic Surgeons, Bra Designers, and Witches Tell Us About Breasts,” which will be published on May 7. “Tits,” she writes, is her preferred word; “breasts” sounds sterile and is associated with cancer and feeding, while “boobs” suggests unseriousness, like “booby prize” or “booby trap.”

Thornton wrote the book “in order to help women reappraise their chests in positive ways, and men, too,” she said. “Actually, I would really like men to read the book because so many of them think they really know about tits.”

This interview has been edited and condensed for clarity.

How do you feel about ‘Bert’ and ‘Ernie’ now, after writing this book?

After I finished the book last November, I actually had another surgery. I got rid of Bert and Ernie. And I now have Glenda and Brenda. And the good thing about Glenda and Brenda, compared to Bert and Ernie, is they’re smaller, they are much more comfortable. I like these girls now. I can wear some of my old jackets. Actually last night, I wore a jacket I hadn’t worn since before I had the first surgery.

My attitude toward this part of our bodies has been totally transformed. [*Studies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/review/tits-up-sarah-thornton.html) [*show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/review/tits-up-sarah-thornton.html) that most women in America are dissatisfied with this part of their body. And these days I’m like, Are you kidding me? This is the emblem of womanhood and it’s right under our face, it’s front and center.

You note in the book that much of the dissatisfaction women feel stems from the pressure to fit a specific idea of attractiveness. How did breasts become a subject of eroticism?

In the early 20th century, legs were most fetishized. You have to remember that women had been wearing long skirts throughout the 19th century and then, in the ’20s, there was a radical shift in the clothing women wore — legs started to be seen after World War I. Of course, you usually only saw them from the knee down. Betty Grable? Her legs were [*insured for a million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/review/tits-up-sarah-thornton.html) dollars. That was partly a publicity stunt, but it was because her legs were her asset.

That totally shifts after World War II. There’s a shift with pinups and Hollywood and magazine publishing. But very importantly, there’s also the rise of baby formula. You don’t have the full sexualization of the breast when they’re associated with breastfeeding. There’s a correlation you can see between breast milk substitutes and the sexualization of breasts because, if a baby owns a breast, it interrupts a man’s ownership of the breast.

More recently, the sexualization of breasts has resulted in the huge popularity of breast augmentation. Are we still obsessed with big breasts?

I don’t think big is best anymore. I would say that augmentation reached a peak in 2007 — there is a sense that the really big boobs look old-fashioned.

Augmentation also skews more ***working class*** nowadays — actually, I would say conspicuous boob jobs skew ***working class***. In [*one study*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/review/tits-up-sarah-thornton.html), a segment of British ***working class*** women, for example, see fake tits as a form of consumption that gives them status and signals that they are independent women in command of the male gaze. And then similarly, a contingent of Brazilian women who began their lives in poverty want people to know they have implants as a form of financial accomplishment.

The whole notion that big breasts are the benchmark beauty ideal is particularly American and possibly runs right through the Americas. But in Asia, for example, there’s a very long history of breast binding. And actually the sexiest women had flat chests. You can see that in the costume of a geisha. In Africa — I reference a sculpture from the Dogon tribe, but you can see this in other tribal aesthetic traditions as well — this kind of dagger-like breast, a downward pointy breast, is the beauty standard and it’s absolutely related to nursing.

Peoples living in hot climates did not tend to cover their chest, male or female, and breasts were not sexualized and still are not sexualized in those cultures. Breasts are honored principally for their hydrating, nutritional and immunological functions. And their eroticization is a kind of perverse import.

In your book, you touch on the breast-related legends and symbols embedded in many major religions. Was there an idea you came across that stands out?

In south India, there’s this notion that nipples are a [*third eye*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/review/tits-up-sarah-thornton.html). That I find hugely appealing, because I didn’t realize how sentient and living my nipples were until I lost all my breast tissue and the nerves to my nipples were cut off. We also know that the relationship between mother and child is absolutely a communicative one — an infant’s saliva and body temperature and everything about an infant during nursing is in a feedback loop with the mother’s body and the breast milk will accommodate, in different ways, infant nutritional need. This kind of interpersonal communication through the breast is [*validated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/review/tits-up-sarah-thornton.html) by [*medical*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/review/tits-up-sarah-thornton.html) studies. Actually, a milk scholar that I have in the book calls this “corporeal communication.” I actually really love that term.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Vanessa Saba; Photographs by Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Mayor’s Commission Scales Back Plan to Curb City Council’s Power***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJV-8K21-JBG3-60BX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 25, 2024 Thursday 12:05 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 575 words

**Byline:** Dana RubinsteinDana Rubinstein covers New York City politics and government for The Times.

**Highlight:** New Yorkers will be able to vote on a plan to add 30 days to City Council deliberations on public safety legislation. An earlier plan would have slowed the process further.

**Body**

New Yorkers will be able to vote on a plan to add 30 days to City Council deliberations on public safety legislation. An earlier plan would have slowed the process further.

In a surprising about-face, the New York City Charter Revision Commission on Thursday dramatically scaled back its plan to hamper the City Council’s ability to pass public safety legislation.

Earlier this week, the commission had proposed altering the city’s governing charter by [*adding roughly 90 days to City Council deliberations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/23/nyregion/charter-revision-adams-council.html) on bills related to public safety.

But the commission on Thursday cut the proposed additional review time to 30 days.

New York City voters will have the opportunity to vote on the proposal in November. Should it pass, it will apply to legislation touching on the public safety operations of the Police, Fire and Correction Departments.

Carlo Scissura, the commission’s chair, said he had directed the commission to alter the proposal in response to concerns from City Council members and other constituents, and that he had not spoken to “anybody” — including the mayor, who appointed the commission’s members, or the mayor’s chief adviser — before doing so.

“I don’t know how anyone would oppose 30 additional days of opportunity for New Yorkers to speak,” Mr. Scissura said by phone after the unanimous commission vote.

But the ballot proposal’s very existence, even if it is watered down, will have other repercussions. Thanks to the arcane rules governing such referendums, the proposal will supplant a separate ballot proposal from the City Council that would have enhanced its own power by granting it the right to vote down the mayor’s appointments of 20 agency commissioners.

“The mayor’s Charter Revision Commission’s proposed changes to the city’s constitution represent a power grab that will make government less responsive to New Yorkers by consolidating even more power to the mayor and his agencies,” Adrienne Adams, the speaker of the City Council, said in a statement Thursday afternoon.

“The mayor’s commission is not only blocking voters’ rights to decide on the existing advice-and-consent proposal on the November ballot,” she said, “but is also taking away the will of the voters who elected 51 council members to represent them.”

The mayor [*announced his charter revision commission in May*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/23/nyregion/charter-revision-adams-council.html), just as the City Council was planning to introduce its bill requiring more advice and consent. He filled it with [*loyalists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/23/nyregion/charter-revision-adams-council.html).

The Council speaker and her allies accused the commission of acting with undue haste in an effort to thwart the Council’s own legislation, assertions the mayor rejected.

“On behalf of 8.3 million New Yorkers, I want to thank the distinguished members of this Charter Revision Commission for volunteering their service to our city,” Mr. Adams said in a statement on Thursday.

“This dedicated group of veteran civil servants, former elected officials, community activists and religious and business leaders brought their vast experience and diverse voices to the table,” he said, “to ensure that our city is working as efficiently as possible for all its residents and delivering a city government that reflects the needs and aspirations of millions of ***working-class*** New Yorkers.”

PHOTO: Adrienne Adams, the speaker of the New York City Council, called the proposed changes to the city charter a “power grab that will make government less responsive.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jeenah Moon for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Tina Smith: Our Solution to the Housing Crisis; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0G-CDH1-JBG3-62G7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2024 Wednesday 21:38 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1098 words

**Byline:** Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Tina Smith

**Highlight:** Instead of treating real estate as a commodity, we can underwrite the construction of millions of permanently affordable homes and apartments.

**Body**

Stop almost anyone on the street today and you’ll hear we’re in a housing crisis. In most American counties, minimum-wage workers can’t afford to rent even a modest one-bedroom apartment. Working families are bidding against the world’s biggest financial firms for homes. On top of it all, people living in public housing complexes across the country are increasingly exposed to inhumane conditions after years of federal neglect and underinvestment.

It’s becoming nearly impossible for ***working-class*** people to buy and keep a roof over their heads. Congress must respond with a plan that matches the scale of this crisis.

For generations, the federal government’s approach to housing policy has been primarily focused on encouraging single-family homeownership and private investment in rental housing. The mortgage-interest deduction provides roughly $30 billion in tax write-offs to homeowners annually. In addition to their support of the mortgage market, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac provide up to $150 billion in financial backing to the multifamily rental market every year, but much of it goes to large, corporate landlords. These lucrative loans come with very few tenant protections or labor requirements. And the largest affordable housing [*incentive*](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.html) our government offers — the low-income housing tax credit — too often ends up in the hands of for-profit developers.

Outsourcing development to the private market leaves affordable housing subject to the boom-and-bust cycle of private investment. What’s more, the federal government relinquishes the oversight needed to protect tenants from abusive landlords and racial discrimination.

The result is a housing market where corporate landlords make record profits while [*half*](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.html) of America’s 44 million renters struggle to pay rent. For a generation of young people, the idea of home has become loaded with anxiety; too many know they can’t find an affordable, stable place to rent, let alone buy.

Why is this happening? For decades, thanks to restrictive zoning laws and increasing construction costs, we simply haven’t built enough new housing.

There is another way: social housing. Instead of treating real estate as a commodity, we can underwrite the construction of millions of homes and apartments that, by law, must remain affordable. Some would be rental units; others would offer Americans the opportunity to build equity. These models of rent caps and homeownership are already working around the world, [*such as in Vienna*](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.html), and in some parts of the United States.

In Congress, the two of us represent very different parts of the country, but New Yorkers and Minnesotans have both benefited from social housing.

The Electchester complex in Queens and Co-op City in the Bronx today house over 50,000 New Yorkers. Co-op City stands as not only one of the largest housing cooperatives in the world — with its own schools and power plant — but also the [*largest, naturally occurring retirement community*](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.html) in the country, a testament to its financial and social sustainability.

In Minnesota, trusts, such as Saint Paul’s Rondo Community Land Trust, give people the chance at more affordable homeownership, because the homeowners don’t buy the land; instead, it’s held in trust and leased to homeowners on a long-term, renewable basis. The model has expanded across Minnesota, in rural and suburban communities alike.

Because we believe that housing is a human right, like food or health care, we believe that more Americans deserve the option of social housing. That’s why we’re introducing the Homes Act, a plan to establish a new, federally backed development authority to finance and build homes in big cities and small towns across America. These homes would be built to last by union workers and then turned over to entities that agree to manage them for permanent affordability: public and tribal housing authorities, cooperatives, tenant unions, community land trusts, nonprofits and local governments.

Our housing development authority wouldn’t be focused on maximizing profit or returns to shareholders. Rent would be capped at 25 percent of a household’s adjusted annual gross income. Homes would be set aside for lower-income families in mixed-income buildings and communities. And every home would be built to modern, efficient standards, which would cut residents’ utility costs. Renters wouldn’t have to worry about the prospect of a big corporation buying up the building and evicting everyone. Some could even come together to purchase their buildings outright.

To fund social housing construction, our development authority would rely on a combination of congressional spending and Treasury-backed loans, making financing resilient to the volatility of our housing market and the political winds of the annual appropriations process.

Our bill would also invest in public housing and repeal the Faircloth Amendment, which prevents the construction of new public housing. Passed in 1998, with the support of both parties, the amendment helped entrench a cycle of stigmatization and disinvestment. Our legislation would reinvest federal money in local public housing authorities to fund the backlog of much-needed repairs.

We know that housing looks a lot different in Bemidji, Minn., than in the Bronx. It shouldn’t be a one-size-fits-all approach. That’s why our bill would task local governments, unions and established local nonprofits with developing homes that blend seamlessly into the landscape of the town and fit the needs of the people living in them.

[*Research*](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.html) from New York University, the University of California, Berkeley, and the Climate and Community Institute estimates that our bill could build and preserve more than 1.25 million homes, including more than 850,000 for the lowest-income households.

We can’t wait for the private market alone to solve the housing crisis. This is the federal government’s chance to invest in social housing and give millions of Americans a safe, comfortable and affordable place to call home — with the sense of security and dignity that come with it.

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez is a Democratic U.S. representative from New York. Tina Smith is a Democratic U.S. senator from Minnesota.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.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.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.html).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY KYLE JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** September 20, 2024

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[***Teamsters Leader’s Speech to Republicans Still Reverberates***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHH-MRM1-JBG3-6001-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 19, 2024 Friday 20:12 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1338 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:** Sean O’Brien delivered one of the most memorable addresses to the convention, calling out corporations and business groups as anti-worker. It’s divided union leaders.

**Body**

Sean O’Brien delivered one of the most memorable addresses to the convention, calling out corporations and business groups as anti-worker. It’s divided union leaders.

Of the dozens of speeches at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee, none perhaps was as surprising — or as immediately divisive— as Teamsters President Sean O’Brien’s on the conclave’s first night.

Business groups recoiled. Many rank-and-file union members were furious. And within the labor movement’s leadership, Mr. O’Brien’s words — both soothing and challenging to the Republican Party — are still reverberating. Was the head of a union 1.3 million members strong actually flirting with former President Donald J. Trump, or was he surreptitiously sticking it to the party of Big Business?

Probably both.

“I, like others, wondered what he was doing,” Randi Weingarten, the president of the American Federation of Teachers and a staunch Democrat, said in an interview Thursday, “but I listened to the speech, and I was impressed that he gave not only such a pro-worker speech, but at its foundation, he said these greedy corporations are hurting us, and you can’t have it both ways, Republican Party. If you want labor’s support, you can’t just pander at election time. You have to walk the walk and give workers a chance to thrive.”

That’s not how others in unions saw it.

“O’Brien wants kinder, gentler, more patriotic bosses, and anyone that thinks he’s preaching class war is a mark,” fired back C.M. Lewis, president of the Seven Mountains A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Central Pennsylvania, on social media. “He heaped praise on Trump, a silver spoon-fed caricature of the corporate elite — utterly clownish.”

In response to the criticism, Teamsters officials encouraged people to read the speech. In it, Mr. O’Brien began by extending a respectful hand to Mr. Trump, who stocked his Labor Department and National Labor Relations Board with anti-union lawyers and backed a series of court cases to weaken collective bargaining.

“In light of what happened to him on Saturday, he has proven to be one tough S.O.B.,” the Teamsters leader said. He then praised other Republicans like Senator Roger Marshall of Kansas and Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, who is running for re-election this year against a Democrat, Lucas Kunce, [*who has most of the state’s unions*](https://lucaskunce.com/endorsements/) behind him.

But once Mr. O’Brien softened the skeptical crowd, he turned to the labor part of his speech, castigating companies that stand against union organizing and that fire labor leaders for union activism. He called out Republican mainstays like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and Business Roundtable as hypocritical: They oppose workers uniting to bargain collectively for wage and benefit improvements, he said, but they are functionally unions for big business, colluding against their workers.

And he singled out companies by name.

“Massive companies like Amazon, Uber, Lyft, and Wal-Mart take zero responsibility for the workers they employ,” he told a hushed audience. “These companies offer no real health insurance, no retirement benefits, no paid leave, relying on underfunded public assistance. And who foots the bill? The individual taxpayer.”

The response from the Republican attendees was not good. Most stood in silence. Some walked away. Business groups were none too pleased.

“The partnership between employers and employees in the United States has produced the strongest and most resilient economy in the world,” said Michael Steel, a spokesman for the Business Roundtable, which represents the chief executive officers of the nation’s largest corporations. “Attempts to pit American business and labor against each other for partisan gain make it harder for America to succeed.”

The fallout from Mr. O’Brien’s speech captures the dilemma facing organized labor as Mr. Trump emerges from his convention, and his brush with an assassin’s bullet, confident he will recapture the White House. After he stepped down from the stage, Mr. O’Brien [*said on CNN that President Biden*](https://lucaskunce.com/endorsements/) “is definitely the most pro-labor president we’ve ever had.” The president pushed for and then invested [*$36 billion in rescuing the Teamsters’ pension plan*](https://lucaskunce.com/endorsements/).

But that might be beside the point if he loses or drops his re-election bid, so do labor leaders attempt cooperation with Mr. Trump, or do they dig in and fight?

Ms. Weingarten’s answer contradicted Mr. O’Brien’s stance.

“Presidential elections are not times for games,” she said. “They are serious, and this is particularly serious. We face a choice: democracy or autocracy.”

The Teamsters are the last major union not to endorse in the presidential race, and Mr. O’Brien’s words could be parsed to either side’s advantage. Most union leaders fear that long after the substance of the speech is forgotten, the image of a burly, truck-driving union president will be heaped with others, from the former pro wrestler Hulk Hogan to the aging rocker Kid Rock, to attest to Mr. Trump’s ***working class*** appeal.

“It gave the Republicans credibility,” Randy Bryce, a Wisconsin iron worker who runs a pro-union super PAC, said of the O’Brien speech.

Still, most union members panned Mr. O’Brien’s speech. A Teamsters-owned social media account this week appeared to have gone rogue, posting, “Unions gain nothing from endorsing the racist, misogynistic, and anti-trans politics of the far right.” The post was quickly taken down and the Teamsters declined to comment on the matter.

And Mr. Trump’s call in his acceptance speech on Thursday night for the United Automobile Workers to fire its aggressive and popular new president, Shawn Fain, for backing Mr. Biden and his administration’s effort to get more Americans to transition to electric vehicles underscored his contempt for labor, U.A.W. officials said.

“America’s autoworkers aren’t the problem,” Mr. Fain declared on Friday. “Our union isn’t the problem. The ***working class*** isn’t the problem. Corporate greed and the billionaires’ hero, mascot, and lap dog Donald Trump, are the problem.”

He added, “Don’t get played by this scab billionaire,” using slang for a strikebreaker.

Mr. Bryce said before the speech that he had been supportive of Mr. O’Brien’s appearance at the Republican convention, arguing to friends that the labor movement needed to take its message to people of all political persuasions. Afterward, he said that though he appreciated some of the messages, he thought it was a bad idea. Under Wisconsin’s former Republican governor, Scott Walker, public sector unions were gutted and mandatory union dues at union-organized employers were ended.

With Republicans favored to take control of all three branches of the federal government, “this was not the time,” Mr. Bryce said. “You have to pick one side right now. They’re out to get us.”

Mr. O’Brien’s performance has Democrats in something of a bind. Mr. O’Brien, who declined to comment, has said publicly that he requested speaking slots at both the Republican and Democratic conventions. At Mr. Trump’s insistence, the G.O.P. agreed. The Democrats have not.

Democratic convention and Biden campaign aides said they have not yet invited any speakers for the August convention in Chicago. And unlike the Republicans, the Democrats have numerous labor leaders who would love a slot. If they gave one to Mr. O’Brien, they would feel pressure from dozens of other union presidents.

For now, Mr. Biden is confident that unions are staying with him, perhaps among the last bulwark publicly calling him to stay in the race.

“Joe Biden knows unions built this country and the middle class,” Julie Chavez Rodriguez, the campaign manager for Mr. Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris, said in a statement. “Donald Trump will always choose big greedy corporations and anti-union extremists over the working men and women of America.”

PHOTO: Sean O’Brien, head of the 1.3 million-member Teamsters union, speaking on Monday at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** July 21, 2024

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[***Ken Loach Stands With the Strugglers and Stragglers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BV9-KJY1-JBG3-60T3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 20, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1068 words

**Byline:** By Jeannette Catsoulis

**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'') and homelessness (''Cathy Come Home'') 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 (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''), labor rights (''Riff-Raff''), unemployment (''Raining Stones''), domestic abuse (''Ladybird, Ladybird'') and addiction (''My Name is Joe'') 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,'' 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'' (2016) -- whose release in Britain sparked a parliamentary discussion -- 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,'' 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'' (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'' (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.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/19/movies/ken-loach-movies.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/19/movies/ken-loach-movies.html)

**Graphic**

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 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Wednesday Briefing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0F-JF71-DXY4-X1CJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2024 Wednesday 07:44 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1149 words

**Highlight:** A pager attack against Hezbollah

**Body**

A pager attack against Hezbollah

Thousands injured by exploding pagers in Lebanon

Hundreds of pagers [*blew up at the same time across Lebanon yesterday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) in an apparent operation against Hezbollah.

Israel [*hid small amounts of explosives in the pagers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html), which were made in Taiwan, before they were imported into Lebanon, U.S. and other officials said. At 3:30 p.m. local time on Tuesday, the pagers received a message that appeared as though it was coming from Hezbollah’s leadership. Instead, the message activated the explosives.

At least 11 people, including a young girl, were killed, and more than 2,700 were injured, the country’s health minister said. Iran’s ambassador to Lebanon was also wounded, and Hezbollah said that at least eight of its fighters had been killed. The Israeli military has not commented or claimed responsibility.

Witnesses reported seeing smoke coming from people’s pockets, followed by small blasts. [*Videos showed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) people being knocked off their feet. A doctor who visited hospitals where some of the wounded were taken said so many people had suffered wounds to their eyes that there was a shortage of eye surgeons.

What’s next: Lebanon’s foreign minister, Abdallah Bou Habib, said the country was bracing for a major retaliation by Hezbollah.

In Israel: Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is said to be considering [*firing his defense minister*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html), Yoav Gallant.

Harris, Trump and their allies planned $500 million in ads

Over the final seven weeks of the campaign, groups backing Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald Trump have reserved more than half a billion dollars in television and radio ads — [*63 percent of which will support Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

Democrats have significantly outraised Republicans since Harris succeeded President Biden on the ticket, and groups supporting her have reserved $332 million worth of airtime. Just about $194 million will come from groups backing Trump.

The candidates and their allies plan to spend $133 million in Pennsylvania. Democrats have an advantage of about $21 million in the state. The next noisiest state will be Michigan, where about $95 million will be spent on television, and Democrats have a $23 million advantage there.

Dominique Pelicot took the stand in his rape trial

Addressing his ex-wife, Gisèle Pelicot, whom he is accused of drugging, raping and inviting other men to rape, Dominique Pelicot said, “I regret what I did and ask for forgiveness, even if it’s unforgivable,” as she stood in the middle of the court looking directly at him.

[*Testifying for the first time in a trial that has transfixed and horrified France*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html), Pelicot said that he had been controlled by a sex addiction created by traumatic episodes in his childhood, notably a sexual assault he said he had suffered at age 9.

Details: A total of 51 men are on trial — a cross-section of working- and middle-class rural France, ranging in age from 26 to 74 — including Pelicot, mostly on charges of the aggravated rape of Gisèle Pelicot. More than a dozen have admitted their guilt.

MORE TOP NEWS

* Tech: Instagram unveiled sweeping changes to [*beef up privacy and limit social media’s intrusive effects*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) for users under 18.

1. Ukraine: U.S. and European officials are struggling to honor their pledge to [*use Russian assets to aid Ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).
2. Portugal: More than 5,000 workers are battling wildfires that began over the weekend. [*At least four people have died*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).
3. E.U.: Ursula von der Leyen, the European Commission president, [*announced her new team*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) as she navigates challenges like the rise of nationalist forces.
4. Myanmar: The U.N. said that the junta has killed thousands of civilians, but is [*losing ground and now controls 40 percent of the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).
5. Mali: An Islamist group tied to Al Qaeda said it was responsible for [*an assault on two military sites*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) in the capital, Bamako.
6. U.S.: At the public hearings on the Titan submersible disaster, a pilot [*described a harrowing trip*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) in which OceanGate’s founder caused a submersible to become stuck.
7. Law: Sean Combs, the American music mogul, was denied bail after [*pleading not guilty to charges of sex trafficking and racketeering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

SPORTS NEWS

* Soccer: Rodri, a Manchester City midfielder, said that players are “close” to striking over the [*expanded soccer schedule*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

1. Champions League: The competition [*is back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html), with a new format, more games and lots more goals.
2. Basketball: [*Michael Jordan’s Illinois mansion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) is poised to be sold after 12 years on the market.

Morning Read

A group of artists transformed a derelict townhouse in Brussels [*into the city’s most disruptive art project*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html). It took three months to make the place habitable; in the dead of winter, they all slept in one room to conserve body heat. In December, their lease runs out, and the house will be gutted. Their plan: Start again.

Lives lived: Derek Boshier, a ***working-class***, left-wing British Pop Art star who collaborated with David Bowie and the Clash, [*died at 87*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

Conversation Starters

* Pretty sweet: The artist Noah Verrier has carved out a niche with his [*still lives of junk food*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

1. Dressing up: London Fashion Week just turned 40. What happens when [*a wild child of dress hits middle age?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html)
2. Book talk: [*Zadie Smith spoke with Ezra Klein*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) about populists, frauds and freedom.

ARTS AND IDEAS

After the film festivals, Oscar season takes shape

Film festivals in Venice, Telluride, Colo., and Toronto have concluded, which means the countdown to the big prize, the Oscars, has begun.

Two movies already look like significant contenders, [*Kyle Buchanan, our awards season columnist, writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html). “Conclave,” starring Ralph Fiennes, above, and Stanley Tucci, is a thriller about sneaky cardinals plotting to pick a new pope. Brady Corbet’s “The Brutalist” chronicles the epic tribulations of a Jewish architect, played by Adrien Brody, after World War II.

Daniel Craig appears likely to earn his first Oscar nomination, for Luca Guadagnino’s “Queer.” Nicole Kidman won the best actress award at Venice for the erotic “Babygirl,” but she faces competition from Angelina Jolie as the opera diva Maria Callas in “Maria,” and Tilda Swinton and Julianne Moore in Pedro Almodóvar’s “The Room Next Door,” which won the top prize in Venice.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Cook: Ten years ago we started the NYT Cooking app. To celebrate, [*we collected the 50 best recipes according to the community*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

Listen: An album by the Pakistani singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan from 1990 [*has been discovered*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) in the vaults of Peter Gabriel’s label.

Read: Check out these [*11 fashion books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) coming out this fall.

Exercise: To prevent injury, [*train your tendons*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

Play the [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html). And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html) and [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html). [*You can find all our puzzles here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

That’s it for today’s briefing. See you tomorrow. — Whet

Reach Whet and the team at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-pager-explosions-lebanon.html).

PHOTO: At least 11 people were killed and more than 2,700 were injured by the explosions. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Wael Hamzeh/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2024

**End of Document**



[***I’m a Stripper. My Boyfriend Saw Me Through the Eyes of a Customer.; Modern Love***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNX-R8F1-DXY4-X1SF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1473 words

**Byline:** Edie Montana

**Highlight:** My job has meant independence, healing and freedom. Why couldn’t my partner see that?

**Body**

My job has meant independence, healing and freedom. Why couldn’t my partner see that?

I was 24 when I started stripping. A friend and I were sipping tea on the couch, two young idealists in Berlin discussing how we needed money. From there, things went surprisingly fast, as they tend to do in this industry. My friend saw an ad on Craigslist, and not long after we found ourselves staggering half-naked down a smoky, strip-club hallway in high platform heels.

Now that I have six years of experience, my perception of the industry has become more nuanced than it was during that teatime chat. What hasn’t changed are the questions I am routinely asked as a stripper, most commonly: “Do you have a boyfriend? What does he say about your job?”

In whatever variation this question is asked (“Is it possible to find a boyfriend with this job?” “Isn’t your boyfriend jealous?”), it always assumes a boyfriend. The possibility of me being attracted to women is rarely mentioned.

Strip clubs are still bound to traditional gender norms, at least in my experience. The expression of nonconforming gender is not welcome, and a jarring transphobia soaks the clubs’ smelly, champagne-stained carpets. Female-presenting strippers are expected to perform hyper-femininity while male customers exhibit hyper-masculinity through expressions of machismo and financial power, whether real or staged.

In this context, heterosexuality is taken for granted. Yet what I realized throughout the years is that the strip club is not a parallel universe; it’s more a mirror of society, amplified by bright lights. And so was my first relationship with a straight man as a stripper.

When I first met the man who would become my boyfriend, I told him about my job and my bisexuality and he claimed to be cool about both. He called himself a feminist. He told me he found it “cool to date a stripper.” It was when our relationship became official that the problems started, and he began expressing displeasure with my career choice. I had seen this happen to so many of my colleagues, yet unlike my colleagues’ partners, my man called himself a feminist.

“Why don’t you like my job?” I asked. I had given him the “Game of Thrones” cookbook, and we had spent a wholesome day cooking odd recipes that we would never cook again. I had been holding back asking that question for about six months until it finally erupted.

“I never thought about it,” he said. “I just don’t like it and probably never will.”

I put my fork down. The food didn’t taste interesting anymore.

Nevertheless, I stayed with him. Relationships, I knew, were made of compromises.

I stayed, and I tried to make it work. I thought that if I showed him my world, he would realize he had nothing to worry about. When I introduced him to my stripper friends, who had become some of the most important people in my life, he sat at the table with his head down and didn’t speak a word to them.

I started producing events aimed at destigmatizing stripping and exploring its creative side. I invited him to each one of them, but he never showed up. Every time I went to work, he was at home with a headache.

A year into the relationship, he still dropped sentences like, “My friends ask me how I can be with a stripper.”

He had the chance to listen and learn from my experience. Instead, he regurgitated the judgment of his friends who had never spoken to a stripper in their lives.

I decided to go for shock therapy.

On a quiet weeknight at work, I met a funny, rich customer who stayed until the club closed. When the bartender announced last call, this man offered me money to continue the party at his hotel, meaning a social, not sexual, engagement, and one that I handled with all the precautions I’d take on any date, like sending my location and hourly updates to friends. The hotel turned out to be the Ritz Carlton.

As a country girl who grew up in a ***working-class*** family in northern Italy, I am not used to fancy places. Stripping has the remarkable capacity to bridge the gap between classes; it introduced me to the world of fancy hotels, champagne and expensive dates.

Still, the ***working-class*** girl in me never disappeared, and when I saw the marble bathroom in his suite, I thought it would be epic to send around a picture of my near-naked butt at the Ritz. I got out of my jogging pants, stripped down to my lingerie and posed. The customer took the picture, and I sent it to my boyfriend. It was 7 a.m., and you could see the customer’s knee in the frame.

I know this sounds insane, but there was a logic to me sending him the picture. By showing him where I was, I was trying to indicate that I wasn’t doing anything wrong, because why would I send him a picture if I were?

But apparently that logic wasn’t so sound, because all my friends said my reasoning made no sense. And the truth is that I wanted to provoke him, to make a statement. He was so skittish about my stripping, and critical of it, that in a way I hoped bombarding him with this kind of content would eventually normalize my world for him.

After sending the picture, I didn’t hear from him for three days. That’s what made me realize: My boyfriend saw me through the eyes of a customer, the kind who doesn’t understand stripping as a performance of hypersexuality and hyper-femininity, and as professional entertainment.

I see it like this: If a flight attendant smiles at you when asking if you want orange juice, do you think they are really into you? Or do you think they are smiling because it’s their job to smile? It’s the same with stripping. We aren’t taking off our clothes and acting seductive because we have fallen for our customers; we’re doing it because it’s our job.

If my boyfriend had ever gone to a strip club, he might have been one of those customers who asks you for your number or to go out to breakfast after your shift because they mistake a transactional connection for a real one.

In the end, we broke up. The paradox is that he should have felt safe about our relationship with me working at the strip club, because the more I worked, the less I was attracted to men in my free time. In truth, it’s my stripper colleagues he should have worried about me falling in love with, but, contrary to his attitude toward my male customers, he never saw them as a threat.

The same way he fetishized me as a stripper, he also fetishized my bisexuality, as many straight men do. People often see bisexuality as being open to the idea of having sexual relationships with people of either sex. This perception has always stung me as invalidating, and it irks me.

I am not “open to the idea” of being with a woman as well as a man. I fall in love with women. I yearn for them. My boyfriend should have been aware of the difference, after having spent hours listening to the stories of my past homoerotic heartbreaks and how I had cried over colleagues who had friend-zoned me after giving me confusing signals.

Still, his jealousy was never directed toward women, and he never perceived them as competition, which means he never took my queerness seriously. His fetishization showed, and he liked it when I commented that this or that colleague of mine was hot, comparing his taste to mine.

He may have never thought about why he didn’t like my job, as he said — but I did. And what I thought is that he saw my body as his property. He couldn’t stand the fact that strangers saw me naked, disclosing the secret that he thought should belong only to our bedroom intimacy. His early words were revealing: “It’s cool to date a stripper.” As if I were a trophy to be put on his shelf, a hot statue wrapped in lace underwear.

He did not see how stripping gave me financial independence and allowed me to travel the world. He did not see how it healed the wounds of a strict, religious upbringing, freeing me from a lot of Catholic shame. He did not see how it uplifted the insecure child I used to be, making me the self-confident person he liked.

The only thing he could see were my naked breasts displayed for strangers. Stripping for him was reduced to the crime of making my flesh public — for other men, because other women didn’t matter as much. In the end, I’m not sure he saw me at all. The person inside the skin who is proud, and loves fully, and, like anyone, is merely doing her job.

[*Edie Montana*](https://www.ediemontana.com/) is a performer and writer in Berlin.

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This article appeared in print on page ST8.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Donald Trump Returns to Power, Ushering in New Era of Uncertainty***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBY-6831-JBG3-64KW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 10:16 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1854 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher and Lisa LererShane 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:** He played on fears of immigrants and economic worries to defeat Vice President Kamala Harris. His victory signaled the advent of isolationism, sweeping tariffs and score settling.

**Body**

Donald J. Trump rode a promise to smash the American status quo to win the presidency for a second time, surviving a criminal conviction, indictments, an assassin’s bullet, accusations of authoritarianism and an unprecedented switch of his opponent to complete a remarkable return to power.

Mr. Trump’s victory caps the astonishing political comeback of a man who was charged with plotting to overturn the last election but who tapped into frustrations and fears about the economy and illegal immigration to defeat Vice President Kamala Harris.

His defiant plans to upend the country’s political system held appeal to tens of millions of voters who feared that the American dream was drifting further from reach and who turned to Mr. Trump as a battering ram against the ruling establishment and the expert class of elites.

In a deeply divided nation, voters embraced Mr. Trump’s pledge to seal the southern border by almost any means, to revive the economy with 19th-century-style tariffs that would restore American manufacturing and to lead a retreat from international entanglements and global conflict.

Now, Mr. Trump will serve as the 47th president four years after reluctantly leaving office as the 45th, the first politician since Grover Cleveland in the late 1800s to lose re-election to the White House and later mount a successful run. At the age of 78, Mr. Trump has become the oldest man ever elected president, breaking a record held by President Biden, whose mental competence Mr. Trump has savaged.

His win ushers in an era of uncertainty for the nation.

To roughly half the country, Mr. Trump’s rise portends a dark turn for American democracy, whose future will now depend on a man who has openly talked about undermining the rule of law. Mr. Trump helped inspire an assault on the Capitol in 2021, has threatened to imprison political adversaries and was denounced as a fascist by former aides. But for his supporters, Mr. Trump’s provocations became selling points rather than pitfalls.

On Wednesday, the results showed Mr. Trump improving on his 2020 showing in a red wave of counties all across America with only limited exceptions. Mr. Trump had flipped Georgia and held North Carolina in the Sun Belt, while sweeping the so-called Blue Wall states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. The victories vaulted him far past the 270 Electoral College votes he needed to win the White House.

Mr. Trump was leading in the tally of two other swing states — Arizona and Nevada — leaving open the possibility of a clean sweep. He also held an early edge in the popular vote, which he had lost in 2016 even while winning the White House.

Republicans also picked up at least three Senate seats, in Ohio, Montana and West Virginia, to give the party a majority in the Senate. Control of the House of Representatives was still too close to call.

In a victory speech in West Palm Beach, Fla., Mr. Trump declared that he was the leader of “the greatest political movement of all time.”

“We overcame obstacles that nobody thought possible,” he said, adding that he would take office with an “unprecedented and powerful mandate.”

Ms. Harris called Mr. Trump to concede on Wednesday and an aide said they discussed the peaceful transfer of power. She is set to deliver a concession speech at Howard University in Washington in the evening.

Mr. Trump seemingly had to win two races this year.

First, he overcame Mr. Biden, who quit the race after a halting debate performance raised questions about the president’s fitness to serve four more years. Then, he defeated Ms. Harris in a caustic 107-day crucible of a campaign that was ugly, insult-filled and bitter. Mr. Trump questioned Ms. Harris’s racial identity at one point and frequently denigrated her intelligence. They clashed over wildly divergent views of not just the issues facing the country but also the nature of democracy itself.

Mr. Trump has systematically sought to undercut some of the country’s foundational principles, eroding trust in an independent press and the judicial system and sowing doubts about free and fair elections. He has refused to accept his loss four years ago, falsely claiming to this day that a second term was stolen from him in 2020. Instead of hindering his rise, his denial took hold across a Republican Party he remade.

Now, Mr. Trump has vowed a radical reshaping of American government, animated by his promises of “retribution” and of rooting out domestic opponents he casts as “the enemy within.” He has pledged to oversee the biggest wave of deportations in U.S. history, suggested deploying troops domestically, proposed sweeping tariffs and largely advocated the greatest consolidation of power in the history of the American presidency.

Pointing to the mob of Trump supporters who sacked the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, violently trying to prevent the certification of his defeat, Ms. Harris’s campaign loudly cautioned that Mr. Trump in a second term would be “unhinged, unstable and unchecked.” But voters heeded neither her warnings nor those of some of the most senior former Trump administration officials and military advisers who testified to his autocratic instincts.

After nearly a decade as the dominant face of the Republican Party, Mr. Trump and his blunt-force approach to politics seemed to lose their shock value. Instead, for millions of disillusioned Americans mistrustful of institutions and of a political system that they felt had failed them, his agent-of-chaos persona became an asset.

Mr. Trump’s campaign had aimed to put together a new political coalition anchored not just by blue-collar white voters but ***working-class*** Black and Latino voters, as well. By Wednesday morning, there were some early signs the campaign had succeeded.

The 2024 election is the second time Mr. Trump has defeated a woman trying to break through the nation’s highest gender barrier — the presidency — after he prevailed over Hillary Clinton eight years ago. His history of sexual misconduct, along with his three appointees to the Supreme Court and their role in ending the constitutional right to an abortion in 2022, transformed the race into a referendum on gender and women’s rights.

But abortion may not have been as salient an issue as it was in the 2022 midterm elections. Florida on Tuesday became the first state since Roe v. Wade was overturned to reject an abortion-rights ballot measure.

Polls heading into the election showed a country divided at historic levels along gender lines. Men, including many younger male voters, powered Mr. Trump’s popularity, as women were at the heart of Ms. Harris’s coalition.

It was also the first election in which a major candidate was a felon. Yet the specifics of Mr. Trump’s crimes were rarely broached by Ms. Harris, who instead tried to focus on kitchen-table issues.

In May, in a criminal case brought by the Manhattan district attorney, Mr. Trump was found guilty of 34 felony counts for covering up hush-money payments made to a porn star during the 2016 race. In a sign of the extraordinary circumstances facing him, Mr. Trump awaits sentencing tentatively scheduled for later this month, just as he will be ramping up the presidential transition process.

The race featured more than $1 billion in television advertising alone, as Ms. Harris, 60, offered herself as the vanguard of a new generation of leadership focused on the middle class, rolling out a series of policy plans to tackle grocery prices, housing costs, child care and elder care. She flipped her position on the border, promising a crackdown after arguing when she ran for president in 2019 that it should not be a crime to enter the United States without authorization.

Mr. Trump cast her as responsible for many of the country’s problems, countering with an array of sloganeering tax cuts: no tax on tips, no tax on Social Security, no tax on overtime, among them. He denigrated her as a “stupid person,” and called her “failed” and “dangerously liberal.”

Ms. Harris called for turning the page on the divisive Trump era. “We are not going back,” she said, and crowds chanted the line back. But she could never fully wrest the mantle of change away from Mr. Trump, given her perch as the current president’s second-in-command.

The Biden administration may have accelerated the country’s recovery from the coronavirus pandemic, engineered a softer landing than most economists expected and passed a raft of sweeping legislation tackling manufacturing, climate change and infrastructure. But rising food and housing prices caused a painful economic pinch that packed a political punch.

Mr. Trump also promised to disentangle the country from conflicts abroad, a turn toward isolationism that found a fresh audience with a war raging in Europe between Russia and Ukraine for nearly three years, and with the Middle East on the precipice of a wider conflagration. His election raises questions about the future of NATO and the American backing of Ukraine; Mr. Trump has long spoken glowingly about President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

Seeking to blunt the political backlash faced by his party since the Supreme Court overturned Roe, the landmark decision guaranteeing a federal right to an abortion, Mr. Trump adopted a stance of leaving abortion rights to the states.

Mr. Trump formally declared his candidacy nearly two years ago, just days after the 2022 midterm elections. The reality, though, is that he barely stopped running after losing the 2020 election.

He withstood a ban by social media companies after the violence of Jan. 6, corporate donor boycotts, a $454 million civil fraud judgment against him in New York and multiple indictments, including one for a conspiracy to defraud the United States.

Mr. Trump crushed his Republican rivals into submission. In the 2022 congressional primaries, he unseated eight of the 10 Republican lawmakers who had voted for his second impeachment. Then he swept through the 2024 presidential primaries, winning every state but one after refusing to debate his opponents.

His supporters rallied behind him as a candidate of destiny even before a would-be assassin’s bullet grazed his ear in July, at a rally in Butler, Pa., days before the Republican National Convention. “Fight, fight, fight,” he shouted as he pumped his fist in the air and blood dripped down his face.

Eight days later, Mr. Biden, isolated at his Delaware home after testing positive for Covid, withdrew from the race. Ms. Harris’s entry unleashed a burst of money and momentum. The Democratic Party [*quickly consolidated behind*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/kamala-harris-democrats-nomination.html) her as she closed the polling gap with Mr. Trump. In September, [*she outmaneuvered and baited him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/kamala-harris-democrats-nomination.html) at their only debate.

But Mr. Trump’s enduring appeal helped him navigate a bitter final phase that included his former White House chief of staff saying that Mr. Trump [*met the definition of a “fascist.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/kamala-harris-democrats-nomination.html)

The label did not stick for many voters. Instead, come January, he will again take office as commander in chief.

PHOTO: Donald J. Trump has vowed a radical reshaping of American government in his second term. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2024

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[***'Just Disillusioned': How Conservatives Lost a New British Heartland***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C7S-V901-DXY4-X0CK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 13, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1555 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

At Britain's last election, the Tories laid claim to a swath of postindustrial England. Now voters there are returning to Labour, and the insurgent Reform U.K. is also rising.

On a hilltop next to a vast limestone quarry in England's East Midlands, a crowd of about 60 people gathered last Thursday evening to witness the lighting of a beacon to mark the 80th anniversary of the D-Day landings. Amid the drab parkas and pullovers was a figure in a striking red coat: Natalie Fleet, the Labour Party's candidate for Parliament, wearing her party's campaign color.

She turned up late, having hiked up in heels. But she mixed easily, chatting with a 17-year-old high school student, Georgia Haslam, about her desire to get more young women engaged in politics.

''It was reassuring to hear someone like her say, 'I understand you,''' Ms. Haslam said afterward. ''If you're not from a city, if you're not wealthy, it's not clear that these politicians really care about you.''

Ms. Fleet is on track to win back the parliamentary district of Bolsover for Labour, which in 2019 it lost to the Conservatives for the first time in almost 70 years. Her appearance at the D-Day commemoration was a telling contrast to the Conservative prime minister, Rishi Sunak, who skipped out of D-Day ceremonies in France the same day to return to London, drawing a torrent of criticism.

And the Labour Party isn't even the only headache for the Tories, three weeks before Britain's general election on July 4. In this hard-bitten region of abandoned coal mines and shuttered steel mills, the insurgent party Reform U.K. is mounting an unexpectedly robust challenge. It could siphon off enough votes from the Conservatives here to leapfrog into second place, after Labour.

Until recently, such an outcome would have been unfathomable. The Conservative Party has held power for about two-thirds of its nearly 200-year history, making it one of the world's oldest, most successful political parties. Yet less than five years after winning a landslide victory on a pledge to ''get Brexit done,'' the Conservatives find themselves on the cusp of a crushing defeat.

Nowhere is their reversal of fortune more palpable than in the ''red wall,'' a set of coal and factory towns in the Midlands and north of England that long voted for Labour but swung dramatically to the Conservatives in 2019. Now many of these voters, disillusioned after their brief betrothal to the Tories, are flocking back to Labour. Some are even taking a chance on Reform, an anti-immigration populist party that has its roots in the debate over Brexit.

Political analysts have likened these towns to parts of the American Midwest where people once reliably voted for Democrats, before drifting toward the Republicans in recent decades. But while many of those converts now seem locked into their party preferences, the British electorate has become more volatile, with declining party loyalty and an openness to insurgents.

''We'll overtake the Tories,'' predicted Robert Reaney, a vintage motorcycle dealer who is Reform's candidate in Bolsover. ''The real question is: Will people switch back to Labour?''

Mr. Reaney, 56, claimed that voters were not inspired by either Mr. Sunak or Labour's leader, Keir Starmer. That has left an opening for Nigel Farage, the populist firebrand who leads Reform. Mr. Farage's surprise announcement that he would run for a seat in Parliament has lifted his party to within a couple of percentage points of the Conservatives in some polls.

Parts of Reform's platform, particularly its promise to cut taxes, are not unusual for a right-of-center party. ''We haven't been taxed this bad since the sheriff of Nottingham was around,'' Mr. Reaney said over fish and chips in Chesterfield, about 25 miles north of the sheriff's jurisdiction.

But other Reform proposals, like adopting a French-style health system or holding a public inquiry into the supposed harm caused by coronavirus vaccines, put it well to the right of any mainstream British party.

Reform's pledge to slash immigration to ''net zero'' is its biggest calling card in ***working-class*** districts like Bolsover -- places that voted to leave the European Union in 2016 and have grown frustrated as legal immigration has surged, asylum seekers have continued to cross the English Channel, and Brexit has not delivered the windfall that its evangelists promised.

The party's website warns of a ''population explosion'' of immigrants, which it says is threatening ''British culture, identity and values.'' But Mr. Reaney rejected suggestions that Reform was racist.

''We're completely colorblind; we're not culture blind,'' he said. ''We don't mind if you're Black, white, yellow, green, bright pink, or beamed down from Mars. We don't care where you're from -- just come and respect our culture, which is not a great ask.''

A garrulous autodidact, who peppers his conversation with references to Otto von Bismark, Mr. Reaney is not an obvious choice to spearhead a populist revolt. But he has turned his dealership into a hotbed for Reform supporters, who come in to talk politics and gaze at his lovingly restored 1938 Coventry-Eagle motorcycle.

''This is just the starting point for Reform,'' said Ashley Marples, 58, who collects motor scooters and describes himself as a fan of Mr. Farage. ''In three or four years, they will gain momentum and be a real contender.''

In its first comprehensive poll of the election, the market research firm YouGov projected that Labour would win 47 percent of the vote in Bolsover, compared with 23 percent for the Conservatives and 18 percent for Reform. But that was before Mr. Farage entered the race and before Mr. Sunak left the D-Day events early.

Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London, said that betting on a second-place Reform finish was ''entirely reasonable.''

''Sunak's premature exfiltration from Normandy has gone down badly everywhere and with almost everyone,'' he added. ''It certainly won't play well with voters hovering between Conservative and Reform, most of whom are incredibly patriotic, heavily prone to nostalgia, and very supportive of the U.K.'s armed services.''

That is bad news for the Tory incumbent, Mark Fletcher. In 2019, he turned out the Labour Party's longest serving member of Parliament, Dennis Skinner. But he faces an uphill struggle to hold on to his seat. Mr. Fletcher points to 15 million pounds, or $19 million, in funds that he secured to spruce up Bolsover, a town of about 12,000 that sits in the shadow of a majestic 17th-century castle.

But he has fallen into a bitter standoff with the Labour-controlled district council over where to spend the money. He said the council was guilty of ''cronyism,'' while the council's leader, Stephen Fritchley, said there weren't enough suitable projects in the town. The two men aren't on speaking terms.

Neither of the major-party candidates was especially open to reporters either. Mr. Fletcher declined an interview, saying he was too busy campaigning. Party officials did not make Ms. Fleet available for a formal interview, suggesting they are protecting their lead.

Still, Mr. Fritchley, who has canvassed for Labour, said 2024 felt different from 2019, when voters were frustrated about Brexit, suspicious of Labour's left-wing leader, Jeremy Corbyn, and impatient with their member of Parliament, Mr. Skinner, who was 87 and had been in his seat since 1970.

Mr. Starmer has pulled the party toward the center, while Ms. Fleet, 40, is a ***working-class*** product of the Midlands. A onetime single mother who had a child at 16, she ran for a seat in the neighboring district of Ashfield in 2019, falling victim to the Conservative rout. This time, Ms. Fleet said, the mood among voters was so much better that her youngest child, who is 10, has joined her in knocking on doors.

Mr. Fritchley said he, too, had encountered less resistance. ''People made their point in 2019,'' he said. ''They're more inclined now to look at which government is going to support ***working-class*** people in this area. What I expect a Labour government to provide is some sort of hope for the future.''

Still, even if the Tories are on the ropes, some of the economic and social forces that fueled their last surge are still churning beneath the surface.

In Shirebrook, a onetime mining town that is one of Bolsover's poorer precincts, the residents have yet to adjust to the changes wrought by immigration. More than a decade ago, a sporting-goods company hired hundreds of workers from Eastern Europe to staff a large warehouse, and memories of that linger.

''The Conservatives have policies that we agree with,'' said Alison Owen, citing immigration. But Ms. Owen, 52, a restaurant supervisor who was playing bingo at a social club that serves former miners, said, ''We're Labour, through and through.'' Some of her friends who voted for the Tories ''are switching back,'' she said.

Michele Longden, whose family owns a construction equipment rental company, said the expected Labour victory was less an expression of excitement about the party than a measure of ennui with the status quo.

''Most people are just disillusioned, full stop,'' she said. ''I think turnout will be low, which will give it to Labour, but by default.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/world/europe/uk-conservatives-election-red-wall.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/world/europe/uk-conservatives-election-red-wall.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Natalie Fleet, above, the Labour Party candidate for Bolsover, at a D-Day ceremony in Whitwell, England. Robert Reaney, near left, a vintage motorcycle dealer, is the Reform candidate in Bolsover. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A6.

**Load-Date:** June 13, 2024

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[***How Trump Wins (and Harris and the Democrats Blow It)***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXC-6471-DXY4-X1NV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 6; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 2261 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

It's Nov. 6, 2024, the morning after Election Day.

The people in the Trump campaign should be counting their lucky stars for Donald Trump's close victory, given the political incompetence they showed in July and August. In the six weeks between July 21, when Joe Biden dropped out, and Labor Day they had one job: to define Kamala Harris as an elite San Francisco liberal before she could define herself as a middle-class moderate. The Trump campaign did next to nothing. All they needed was to play the 2019 clips of Harris sounding like a wokester cliché, but they couldn't even come up with an argument, let alone act upon it. Harris brilliantly defined herself in that vacuum.

This mistake could have been fatal for the Republicans, because Trump is the 46 percent man. That's roughly the share of the popular vote he won in 2016 and 2020. He was never going to ride a majority wave to victory in 2024, so it would have been helpful to take his opponent down a few points.

And yet this is the pattern with Trump. He seems to do everything possible to sabotage his own campaigns, but still does surprisingly well in elections. Even with the fantastic weeks she had coming into Labor Day, Harris was not in as good a shape as Hillary Clinton was in 2016 or Biden was in 2020. Harris had a roughly two-point lead on Labor Day weekend, but Clinton led by about four or five percentage points at that stage and ended up losing. That's in part because polls perennially underestimate Trump's support -- by about 2.2 percent in 2016 and 3.3 percent in 2020.

Just look at the swing states. According to the 2016 polls, Clinton led Michigan and Wisconsin by four to eight points going into the fall, but still lost on Election Day. In 2016, Clinton led in Pennsylvania at summer's end by about six points, while in 2020 Biden led by between roughly three and four points, but Trump still beat Clinton there and came within a point of beating Biden.

Most of the election models had the 2024 campaign right on Labor Day: It was basically a tied race, even if Democratic exuberance gave the impression that Harris had some ineffable momentum.

Which gets to a core point: It's always misleading to follow campaign news day to day. The ephemera distracts you from what really matters. Elections are driven by a few core realities. Trump had several fundamental issues that drove support to him, no matter how jerkish he could be. Trump being victorious in 2024 comes down to these five turbines of Trumpism:

People like the red model more than the blue model. The fastest-growing states by population are mostly governed by Republicans, including Florida, Texas, Idaho and Montana. The fastest-shrinking or -stagnating states are mostly governed by Democrats, including New York, Illinois, California, Pennsylvania and Hawaii. The red model gives you low housing costs, lower taxes and business vitality. The blue model gives you high housing costs, high taxes and high inequality.

Democrats want to expand the welfare state so that our social insurance system would look more like Europe's. But Europe is economically stagnant and falling behind. In 2021, households in the European Union enjoyed, on average, only 61 percent of the disposable income Americans enjoyed. By this measure, rich European countries like Norway are behind poor American states like Mississippi. According to the McKinsey Global Institute, large European corporations invested 60 percent less than American corporations in 2022 and grew at two-thirds the pace. For a decade, Europe has been falling behind on capital development, research and development, and productivity growth. Even the vaunted German economy has basically flatlined since 2018.

Many American voters might envy the long European vacations, but they want economic dynamism more. For years voters in swing states had been telling pollsters that the economy and inflation were their top issues. They looked around the country and concluded that the Republican approach seemed better at generating dynamism and growth, or at least better than Harris's pitch for and defense of Bidenomics.

Democrats are the party of the ruling class. The most important divide in American life is the diploma divide. College-educated folks tend to vote for Democrats, and high-school-educated folks tend to vote for Republicans. Thus, the richest places tend to be Democratic. The Democrats dominate the media, the universities, the cultural institutions and government. Even the big corporations, headquartered in places like New York and San Francisco, are trending blue.

Ruling-class Democrats live in very different worlds than high-school-educated Republicans. The average high school grad dies nine years sooner than a college graduate, is more likely to be obese, is much less likely to marry and is much more likely to divorce. The overdose death rate for high school grads is about six times as high as the rate for college grads. Of course ***working-class*** voters resent these inequalities.

Worse, educated-class folks have rigged the game. Children from affluent families tend to attend public and private schools flush with cash, while ***working-class*** kids don't. By the eighth grade, children from affluent families are performing at four grade levels higher than children from poor families. According to Daniel Markovits of Yale, on the SAT, ''students from families earning over $200,000 per year (roughly the top 5 percent) score 388 points higher than students from families earning less than $20,000 per year (roughly the bottom 20 percent).'' According to a 2017 study led by Raj Chetty of Harvard, students from families in the top 1 percent of earners were 77 times as likely to get into the Ivy League as students from families making less than $30,000 a year. In that year students from the top income quintile were about 16 times as numerous at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill as students from the bottom quintile.

Global populism is a revolt against these kinds of inequities -- driven by the sense that the educated class has too much cultural, academic, political and economic power. The revolt is fueled when highly educated professionals condescend to or don't even see the masses they are sitting on and when students at elite universities spending upward of $100,000 a year on them pretend to be the marginalized victims of oppression.

Highly educated Democrats like Harris see themselves as increasing the size of government to help the downtrodden. But many Americans look at those efforts and they just see affluent people amassing more power for themselves in Washington. They conclude: This is what the educated elites always do. They promise to do stuff for us, but they end up serving only themselves.

Social and moral cohesion. Republicans can be rugged individualists when it comes to economics, but Democrats can be rugged individualists when it comes to morality. They are more likely to hew to a code of moral freedom that holds that individuals should be free to live by their own values. Individuals get to choose their own definition of when human life begins. Any form of family and social life is OK so long as the individuals within it give their consent. This is the privatization of morality.

Yet in most places, people are formed within morally cohesive communities. They derive a sense of belonging and solidarity from shared moral values. Their lives have meaning and purpose because they see themselves living in a universal moral order with permanent standards of right and wrong, within family structures that have stood the test of time, with shared understandings of, say, male and female.

Privatized morality leaves even many progressives with existential insecurity. Forty-one percent of very liberal men and 60 percent of very liberal women report that they are in poor mental health more than half the time.

But the lack of social and moral order is a practical calamity for less-educated folks. For them, economic policy is not separate from social issues and moral values. The things that derail their lives are broken relationships, infidelity, out-of-wedlock births, addictions, family conflict and crime. When Republicans talk about immigration, crime, faith, family and flag, they are talking about ways to preserve the social and moral order. Democrats are great at talking about economic solidarity, but not moral and cultural solidarity.

General dissatisfaction. Kamala Harris practiced the politics of joy in this election, running a hope-filled and sunny campaign, as any incumbent party tries to do. But many Americans are not feeling it. As the fall general election campaign got unofficially underway after Labor Day, only 25 percent of Americans were satisfied with the direction of the country, according to Gallup, while 73 percent were dissatisfied. According to Ipsos, 59 percent of Americans said the country was in decline, 60 percent agreed with a series of statements conveying that ''the system is broken,'' 69 percent agreed that the ''political and economic elite don't care about hard-working people,'' and 63 percent agreed that ''experts in this country don't understand the lives of people like me.''

In other words, many Americans feel betrayed, distrustful, angry. They feel that the American dream has been destroyed. Trump, like all global populists, tells this betrayal story well.

The toxic levels of distrust undermined the Harris campaign in another way. Her basic message was: You should support me because I'll give you benefits -- child care subsidies, mortgage subsidies, student loan debt forgiveness, etc. But distrustful voters no longer reward benefits with votes. Trump sent out more than $800 billion in checks during the pandemic and derived no political benefit from it. Biden spent billions of dollars subsidizing red America and received no boost in support. The expanded child tax credit poured money into middle-class families, but surprisingly, there was little outcry when it went away. Corrosive distrust and disaffection means that voters are not in a mood to reward even those politicians who dole out money to them.

The Blue Bubble problem. Bill Clinton and Barack Obama lived in the shadow of Ronald Reagan's and George W. Bush's victories. Clinton and Obama both understood the Blue Bubble problem: If you spend your life listening to what Democrats in the big cities say to one another, then you will misunderstand America. Both Clinton and Obama took tough stances to show that they were not Blue Bubble natives: the crime bill, welfare reform, Obama's stances on illegal immigration, gay marriage and fossil fuels. Clinton triangulated and Obama talked about transcending left and right.

Clinton and Obama are still popular across the country, but they are disdained by many of the cadres who work in Democratic campaigns and administrations. During the 2010s right-wing populists took over the Republican Party from the outside -- MAGA. Left-wing populists like Bernie Sanders tried to do that but failed. They had more success in winning the hearts of minds of the progressive intellectual and apparatchik class, from the top down. In progressive circles, Clinton and Obama are often dismissed as neoliberals who were complicit in preserving the corporate order.

This shift to the left produced the defund the police/decriminalize the border frenzy of 2020. It's also had dubious economic effects. The new cadres were convinced (rightly) that Obama did not stimulate the economy enough after the financial crisis. In response they decided to stimulate the hell out of the economy after the pandemic. They ended up exacerbating inflation and effectively destroyed Biden's re-election prospects even before the age issue became so dominant.

Clinton and Obama essentially followed the median-voter theory: Run to the center where independent voters are. By contrast, the new cadres are more likely to believe in the mobilize-the-base theory: Run a really progressive campaign so that young lefties turn out. Harris tried to run a campaign that gave something to each wing of the party. It resulted in the everything bagel -- a campaign that offered gestures and a hodgepodge of policies for everybody but lacked a clear vision.

Pennsylvania was the most important state in this election, the hinge around which all sorts of election scenarios pivoted. But as Nate Silver noted in August, there weren't many polls showing Harris ahead there. Clinton and Biden led in polls there, and Clinton lost and Biden barely won. In hindsight, Harris's decision not to select Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania as her running mate looked like a terrible act of overconfidence. But Shapiro was perceived as a moderate. The progressive wing lobbied against him. So Harris went with a guy who helped her win a state she was always going to win anyway.

I know who I fervently wanted to win -- Harris. But many Democrats were always a little over-ebullient about her. A Trump victory has never come down to running a brilliant campaign. It comes down to those five turbines driving enough support in enough key places in his direction.

Source photographs by Bill Pugliano and pixhook/Getty Images.

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

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[***U.A.W. Holds Off on Endorsing Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJC-G3P1-JBG3-63BT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 491 words

**Byline:** Noam Scheiber Noam Scheiber is a Chicago-based reporter who covers workers and the workplace. He spent nearly 15 years at The New Republic, where he covered economic policy and three presidential campaigns. He is the author of &amp;#8220;The Escape Artists.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** Unlike other prominent unions, the auto workers are taking their time to ensure that the vice president is aligned with them on key policy questions.

**Body**

Unlike other prominent unions, the auto workers are taking their time to ensure that the vice president is aligned with them on key policy questions.

A succession of unions and labor federations this week have endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris’s campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, but one prominent group has stood out for its relative silence: the United Automobile Workers.

The union, which has been a close ally of President Biden, noted [*in a statement*](https://uaw.org/uaw-statement-on-president-bidens-candidacy/) after his withdrawal from the race that Ms. Harris had “walked the picket line with us” during a 2019 strike at General Motors. Ms. Harris, it said, “along with President Biden has brought work and jobs back to communities like Lordstown, Ohio, and Belvidere, Illinois,” where auto plants had been shuttered. But the U.A.W. has yet to offer its endorsement.

On Tuesday, a U.A.W. spokesman said the union’s executive board “will meet in the coming days to discuss any presidential endorsements, and is excited to talk with Vice President Harris about the issues that matter to our members and the whole ***working class***.”

A spokesman for the Harris campaign did not respond to a request for comment.

Ms. Harris has interacted several times with the U.A.W. president, Shawn Fain, since he took office early last year. He said in an interview on Monday with MSNBC that Ms. Harris had called him on Sunday, but that he was on a plane and unable to take the call.

A person familiar with the U.A.W. board’s discussions said that the group was likely to endorse Ms. Harris but that it wanted indications that she understood the importance to the union of two key issues: continuing Mr. Biden’s agenda of investing in U.S. manufacturing jobs, and being more outspoken on the need to end the war in Gaza and attach strings to U.S. aid to Israel.

On Tuesday, the U.A.W. joined a coalition of several unions that [*sent a letter*](https://uaw.org/uaw-statement-on-president-bidens-candidacy/) to Mr. Biden urging him to “immediately halt all military aid to Israel as part of the work to secure an immediate and permanent cease-fire in the war in Gaza.”

The person familiar with the board’s discussions said that the union wanted to make sure its members would be excited about volunteering for the Democratic nominee in battleground states like Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Nevada and Arizona, and that Ms. Harris’s views on these two policy questions would affect its members’ enthusiasm.

The U.A.W. has many members in Michigan, where there is a [*sizable Arab American presence*](https://uaw.org/uaw-statement-on-president-bidens-candidacy/) and pro-Palestinian sentiment. It also represents tens of thousands of graduate students and other academic workers, many of whom [*have been outspoken*](https://uaw.org/uaw-statement-on-president-bidens-candidacy/) in their opposition to the war in Gaza. The union [*formally called*](https://uaw.org/uaw-statement-on-president-bidens-candidacy/) for a cease-fire in Gaza in December.

PHOTO: Shawn Fain, president of the United Automobile Workers union, at a rally outside a General Motors plant in Michigan during a contract dispute last year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Evelyn Hockstein/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 23, 2024

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[***Alan Moore Beckons Readers Into a Rich New Fantasy World***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8K-8CB1-JBG3-653S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2024 Saturday 09:55 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1694 words

**Byline:** Sam Thielman

**Highlight:** With the first volume of a new series and an instructional book on magic, the “Watchmen” author wants an imaginary revolution.

**Body**

With the first volume of a new series and an instructional book on magic, the “Watchmen” author wants an imaginary revolution.

“Have you got a name or should I just keep thinking of you as ‘the liability?’” a beautiful young woman named Grace asks the protagonist of Alan Moore’s THE GREAT WHEN (Bloomsbury, 315 pp., $29.99).

He does indeed: Our hero rejoices in the name of Dennis Knuckleyard, and that’s the least of his problems. Dennis, a miserable teenager who works in a bookshop for a phlegmy old crone named Coffin Ada, has been sold a dangerous book — “A London Walk,” which ought not to exist outside the fiction of horror writer Arthur Machen, but has somehow left the world of ideas and entered his possession. He must properly dispose of it or be drawn into a magical world called Long London that exists parallel to the Shoreditch of 1949 where Dennis usually resides. Also, at least some of Long London’s inhabitants possess the ability and possibly the inclination to turn Dennis inside out.

“The Great When,” a book with a keen sense of the uncanny, has a pleasant lightness. At his 40th birthday party in 1993, Moore announced after what he later described as “more beers than I should have had” that he was going to become a magician, and his work has changed dramatically in the intervening not-quite 31 years. He is still the same formally daring writer who, in “Watchmen” with the artist Dave Gibbons, dealt American superhero comics a blow from which they never really recovered.

But his goals have become far loftier. His final comics project and arguably his masterpiece, “[*The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/20/books/alan-moore-league-extraordinary-gentlemen.html?searchResultPosition=1)” with Kevin O’Neill, ballooned into a MAD-style parody of … well, of everything. His last novel, “[*Jerusalem,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/20/books/alan-moore-league-extraordinary-gentlemen.html?searchResultPosition=1)” was a work of similarly staggering ambition and density, part historical survey of Northampton — his lifelong hometown — and part meditation on the afterlife, with smatterings of literary homage, autobiography and semiotics. “The Great When” is a third as long as “Jerusalem,” paced like the kind of adventure story at which Moore so excelled in his comics scripts, and written in an urbane voice rich with jokes and memorable names and turns of phrase. It’s a sort of reversal of Waugh or Wodehouse — the witty narration is retained but instead of a realistic novel about the marriageable upper classes, we have a monster-filled fantasy about a virginal ***working-class*** sad sack.

“The Great When” is one of two new books — both clad in purple covers — from Moore this October, the other being a long-awaited gold-encrusted grimoire called THE MOON AND SERPENT BUMPER BOOK OF MAGIC (Top Shelf, 350 pp., $49.99), which is best described as an instruction manual for getting into the magical realm in “The Great When” by yourself and having a look around. The “Bumper Book” is written with Steve Moore, who died in 2014, six years after the pair announced the project, and illustrated by Rick Veitch, Ben Wickey, John Coulthart and [*Kevin O’Neill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/20/books/alan-moore-league-extraordinary-gentlemen.html?searchResultPosition=1). Steve (no relation) was Alan’s partner in his occult studies and an editor of a little magazine about the strangest fringes of the news called “[*The Fortean Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/20/books/alan-moore-league-extraordinary-gentlemen.html?searchResultPosition=1)” (named for Charles Fort, the turn-of-the-century journalist who became popular writing about dubious phenomena like spontaneous human combustion and ball lightning).

After that fateful birthday party in 1993, Moore and Moore formed a magical society in the Hermetic tradition — a lineage that includes Rosicrucians, Theosophists and Aleister Crowley — which they called The Moon and Serpent Egyptian Theatre of Marvels. At the Theatre, they and their friends performed ceremonies of music and poetry for audiences in Northampton. “The Moon and Serpent Bumper Book of Magic” is filled with do-it-yourself pages suggesting useful ways to make idols, meditate, explore the sephiroth of the Kabbalah, and read your own tarot cards, punctuated by comics about the lives of various magical practitioners and chapters of a novella in which the heroine tries each magical ceremony for herself. (The best of these interstitials, predictably, is O’Neill’s collaboration, a serialized biography of the snake-handling Roman ventriloquist Alexander of Abonoteichus, whose scammy puppet-god, Glycon, Alan Moore has adopted as his own patron deity.)

There’s also a maze and a connect-the-dots activity.

Underpinning the whole project lies a conviction that the imagination is not merely an interesting place but a shared place, one where people can freely investigate the same priceless ideas. It’s a position that constant readers will find familiar from Moore’s comics, especially his and J.H. Williams’s “Promethea,” a sort of magical initiation of the reader disguised as a superhero series.

That notion of a shared imagination is central to “The Great When,” where ideas imported from Long London carry a real-world weight that realizes the theories of the “Bumper Book.” In the novel, a doleful journalist called “Tolerable” John McAllister, one of Dennis Knuckleyard’s few close friends, observes that England itself is in a period of reinvention in 1949.

“The war turned Britain into somewhere else,” John muses. “It had to. When it was still going on, everyone knew that this would have to be a different country when the war was finished, that it couldn’t just go back to being for the benefit of wealthy toffs who claimed that poverty was what the poor deserved for being lazy, stupid, and incapable. You can’t say that to people who’ve just saved us from a century or two of Nazi Europe, can you?” But what will the new Britain be? Will it give the poor their due, or will it become a mausoleum for its former glories? “[We’ll] probably decide that destitution’s not too bad, so long as you can dress it in a Union Jack waistcoat,” John predicts gloomily.

The bulk of “The Great When” may be set in 1949, but its themes of useless austerity, unfair debt and crushing poverty feel especially pointed as Britain emerges from a destitute decade under its now-ousted Conservative leaders. Moore seems to see the refusal to face reality as a failure of imagination. And since imagination is the realm he has been dutifully exploring and mapping out since that fateful night in 1993, its defense is especially important to him.

Several odd characters appear in both books, most notably the obscure painter and draftsman (and, of course, magician) Austin Osman Spare, a real historical figure. Spare is Dennis’s guide to the world of magic — he shows Dennis how to get into Long London and introduces him to friends who will help him on his journey — but he is also an important character in the Moores’ pantheon of magic. Spare, like Alan Moore’s beloved William Blake, is both an artist and a magician — he once drew a set of cards for divining the outcome of horse races — something to which the reader of the “Bumper Book” is encouraged to aspire.

I ought to admit that I couldn’t get the less probable parts of the “Bumper Book” to work for me — I achieved neither lucid dreaming nor remote viewing in my own attempted wizardry, though I freely admit to cutting some important corners as I read its instructions in various Brooklyn pizzerias. As a guidebook to the surprisingly welcoming terrain of Moore’s own enormous clockwork intellect, though, the “Bumper Book” is both imaginative and the cause of imagination in others. It is very interesting to imagine meeting a supernatural being, and possibly the same thing as actually meeting one. Different people will come away with different benefits from the volume, but I was comforted by its implication that my own experiences of religious transcendence might be “real” outside the charismatic form of Christianity I no longer practice.

It helps that neither Moore nor Moore seem especially hung up on whether or not their descriptions of demonic intelligences and historical hearsay can be verified empirically. “Upon examination it becomes evident that most of our everyday waking experience and behavior is predicated on the insubstantial foundations of our dreaming imagination,” the Moores pronounce. Perhaps that’s not true, but then, perhaps it is.

Ultimately, both “The Moon and Serpent Bumper Book of Magic” and “The Great When” are books about the problems and opportunities of belief. The idea that everyone reading the Bumper book is not merely capable of plumbing the hidden depths of the magical world but has those depths within themselves is both encouraging and frightening, and it’s interesting to consider more traditional expressions of storybook magic in light of the suggestion. If I believe I’ve been turned into a frog, and everyone else believes I’ve been turned into a frog, too, it is true that there is still a sense in which I am not a frog, but it may also be true that I have more pressing demands on my attention. (The Moores strictly proscribe attempting this sort of thing on your enemies.)

Alan Moore seems most interested in the liberating nature of shared imagination — for one thing, it makes material wealth universal. Take this passage, about the beauty of a sunrise, and its potentially transformative properties: “… the experiments of the alchemists of the Dark Ages … are, in fact, related, not to the transmutation of metals, but to the transmutation of the entire Universe … This method, or art, or science, or whatever we choose to call it (supposing it to exist, or to have ever existed), is simply concerned to restore the delights of the primal Paradise; to enable men, if they will, to inhabit a world of joy and splendor.”

This quotation is neither from “The Great When” nor “The Moon and Serpent Bumper Book of Magic,” nor even precisely from an Arthur Machen short story. It’s a quotation in Machen’s “N” from Rev. Thomas Hampole’s “A London Walk,” the imaginary book from the Machen story whose nonexistence starts Dennis Knuckleyard on his terrifying adventure. And perhaps that observation, in the right light, is radical enough to justify the hopes and fears of every monster, mobster, murderer and magician in “The Great When,” though it’s made up twice over.

PHOTO: Alan Moore (PHOTOGRAPH BY Joe Brown FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 27, 2024

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[***Cooper Union Welcomes Back Its Senior Class With a Surprise: Free Tuition***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CWG-DDY1-JBG3-60V3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 893 words

**Byline:** By Sharon Otterman

**Body**

Tuition used to be free for all students at the Cooper Union, in New York City. The school announced it was bringing back the perk, at least for seniors.

The first day of the semester at the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art in New York on Tuesday came with a surprise for seniors that will make them the envy of college students everywhere.

Their tuition for the year will be free.

The announcement marks an unexpected milestone in the college's effort to return to free tuition for all students, a model that had distinguished Cooper Union, a school for art, architecture and engineering, for nearly all of its 165-year history.

The students learned of the gift just before 1 p.m. at their annual convocation. The school's Great Hall, where Abraham Lincoln gave an address in 1860, erupted with cheers.

''It was electric,'' said Talmadge Parnell-Ward, an art student. ''Everyone jumped up immediately.''

About a decade ago, the small, prestigious school in Manhattan faced a financial crisis. It began charging some students to attend, leading to student and alumni protests as well as a lawsuit. Amid the turmoil, New York's attorney general -- whose job is to oversee all nonprofit organizations in the state -- opened an investigation, and then brokered a plan in 2018 to lead the school back to financial solvency. The goal was to bring back free tuition for undergraduates in a decade.

The move comes as other colleges and universities around the country are cutting programs and raising tuition as they face enrollment declines and other financial pressures. The Cooper Union wanted to chart a different way forward, putting all available resources toward scholarships and resisting spending on perks like smoothie bars or fancy gyms to attract students, the former president, Laura Sparks, who resigned this summer, said in an interview.

Though the plan calls for tuition to be free again for all undergraduates by 2028, a surprise $6 million gift this summer from three alumni donors allowed the timeline for seniors to be accelerated.

''It's a reminder to everybody that there is another way to do this,'' Ms. Sparks said, adding: ''As a sector, we need to find more ways for more students to be able to afford a really excellent college education.''

The donation, along with cost-cutting and fund-raising measures, covers tuition for the next three years of graduating seniors, too, she said. Provided that the financial plan continues on schedule, all undergraduates will receive full scholarships by 2028.

Any senior who had already paid for the year will receive a refund, she added.

Free education is part of the school's legacy. The institution was founded in 1859 by Peter Cooper, a wealthy industrialist, primarily to provide a free education to ***working-class*** students. Early in the school's history, some students who could afford to pay did so, but for a century, no undergraduates paid tuition. That distinction made Cooper Union stand out, alongside the military academies, as one of only about a dozen colleges in the United States not charging tuition.

The school, which is in the East Village and enrolls about 1,000 students, ran into financial trouble in part because it borrowed $175 million about 20 years ago, mostly to build a marquee building for its engineering school. The resulting high debt payments and other financial missteps led the school's president in 2013, Jamshed Bharucha, to decide that he had no choice but to reinstate tuition.

Ms. Sparks became president in 2017 to carry out the new financial plan. On Sunday, she said she felt the time was right to resign because she felt she had done what she set out to do at Cooper, including increasing its financial stability and diversifying the school's teaching and leadership ranks.

Ms. Sparks came under criticism in October for her management of a protest on campus in which some Jewish students said a group of pro-Palestinian demonstrators trapped them in the school library. But she said her decision to resign ''does not have anything to do with the unrest.''

Malcolm King, an alumnus who was serving as the board chair, will be the interim president this year during a search for the next leader. Ms. Sparks will become a managing director at FS Investments, an asset management firm based in Philadelphia.

The student population at Cooper is diverse, both racially and economically: Among undergraduates who are U.S. citizens, 31 percent are Asian; 7 percent are Black; 13 percent are Hispanic; 28 percent are white; and 9 percent are multiracial or did not report their ethnicity. Slightly less than a third are eligible for federal Pell grants for low-income students -- a higher share than other selective universities in New York City.

The tuition scholarships do not cover one major cost of going to college: room, board and supplies. The school estimates roughly $25,000 per year in expenses for those living in student housing.

Already, the school has been reducing tuition for most students. All of the school's roughly 900 undergraduates received at least a half-tuition scholarship valued at $22,275 in the last school year.

Shannagh Crowe, a fourth-year architecture student, called the news incredible. ''It's like $23,000, so this is an insane amount of money for me,'' she said. ''It's life changing.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/03/us/free-tuition-cooper-union.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/03/us/free-tuition-cooper-union.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** September 4, 2024

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[***More Voters Shift to Republican Party, Closing Gap With Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BS0-K151-JBG3-600Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 9, 2024 Tuesday 23:00 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 990 words

**Byline:** Ruth Igielnik Ruth Igielnik is a polling editor for The Times, where she writes and analyzes surveys. She was previously a senior researcher at the Pew Research Center.

**Highlight:** The trend toward the Republican Party among white voters without a college degree has continued, and Democrats have lost ground among Hispanic voters, too.

**Body**

The trend toward the Republican Party among white voters without a college degree has continued, and Democrats have lost ground among Hispanic voters, too.

In the run-up to the 2020 election, more voters across the country identified as Democrats than Republicans. But four years into Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s presidency, that gap has shrunk, and the United States now sits almost evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans.

Republicans have made significant gains among voters without a college degree, rural voters and white evangelical voters, according to [*a new report from the Pew Research Center*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/04/09/changing-partisan-coalitions-in-a-politically-divided-nation/). At the same time, Democrats have held onto key constituencies, such as Black voters and younger voters, and have gained ground with college-educated voters.

The report offers a window into how partisan identification — that is, the party that voters tell pollsters they identify with or lean toward — has shifted over the past three decades. The report groups independents, who tend to behave like partisans even if they eschew the label, with the party they lean toward.

“The Democratic and Republican parties have always been very different demographically, but now they are more different than ever,” said Carroll Doherty, the director of political research at Pew.

The implications of the trend, which has also shown up in [*party registration data among newly registered voters*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/04/09/changing-partisan-coalitions-in-a-politically-divided-nation/), remains uncertain, as a voter’s party affiliation does not always predict who he or she will select in an election. But partisan affiliation patterns do offer clues to help understand how the shifting coalitions over the last quarter century have shaped recent political outcomes. During the Trump administration, the Democratic Party’s coalition grew, helping to bring about huge victories in the 2018 midterm elections and a victory for President Biden in 2020.

The G.O.P. has long struggled with the fact that there have generally been fewer Americans who identified as Republicans than as Democrats. After Barack Obama was re-elected as president in 2012, the Republican Party produced an autopsy report that concluded that in order to be successful in future elections, the party would need to widen its tent to include Black and Hispanic voters, who were not traditionally aligned with the G.O.P.

Twelve years later, the party has made some small gains with Hispanic voters. But it is growth with the white ***working class*** and with rural voters that has propelled Republicans to equity with Democrats.

The catch is that white ***working-class*** voters are slowly declining as a share of registered voters, so the Republican strategy of relying heavily on the group may not be sustainable in the long term.

At the same time, a much talked-about broad political realignment among Black and Hispanic voters has yet to materialize, at least by the metric of party identification.

Republicans’ growing strength with white ***working-class*** voters represents one of the biggest political schisms in the country over the past 15 years. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Democrats had a slight partisan identification advantage among voters without a college degree, while college-educated voters were more evenly divided between the two parties. Beginning in the early 2010s — and accelerating during the presidency of Donald J. Trump — voters without a college degree, in particular white voters without a degree, increasingly moved toward the Republican Party.

Now, nearly two-thirds of all white noncollege voters identify as Republicans or lean toward the Republican Party.

And Republicans are making gains among white women, as well. In 2018, [*a year after the Women’s March*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/04/09/changing-partisan-coalitions-in-a-politically-divided-nation/) that attracted millions to protest Mr. Trump’s policies, the group was split about evenly between Democrats and Republicans. But since then, Republicans have slowly been gaining ground. They now hold a 10 percentage point partisanship advantage.

Overall, over most of the last 30 years, white voters have been more likely to identify as Republicans than Democrats, though the gap closed briefly in the mid-2000s.

While Hispanic voters are still far more likely to identify as Democrats, the party’s edge with the group has narrowed in the past few years. Currently, 61 percent of Hispanic voters identify as Democrats or lean toward the Democratic Party, down from nearly 70 percent in 2016. That trend mirrors polling in 2020 and 2024 that has shown the potential for support for Mr. Trump to grow among Hispanic voters.

That change appears most notable among Hispanic voters who do not have a college degree or who identify as Protestant. As recently as 2017, the latter group leaned Democratic; now, it is more likely to identify as Republican, even as Hispanic Catholics are still more likely to identify as Democrats.

These shifts in partisanship fall short of what some predicted to be a political realignment, said Bernard Fraga, an associate professor of political science at Emory University who studies Latino voters.

But Latino voters care deeply about the economy, Mr. Fraga noted, and Latinos who are ideologically conservative are interested in Republicans and their plans for the country.

“It is also important to remember that the Latino population is extremely dynamic,” Mr. Fraga said. “There are a tremendous number of newly eligible voters in every election cycle. And what we perceive as a change or shift for Latinos is going to be disproportionately due to new voters.”

“About one third of Latino voters weren’t even in the electorate before 2016,” he added.

Black voters still overwhelmingly associate with the Democratic Party: Eighty-three percent of Black voters identify as Democrats or lean Democratic. There has been a small decline since 2020, when the share of Black voters who identified as Democrats was about five percentage points higher. Among Black men, 15 percent currently identify as Republicans, the same share as 30 years ago.

This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** April 15, 2024

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[***Senator Is Part of Democrats' Last Stand on Great Plains***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5V-5RX1-DXY4-X4XR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 13, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1352 words

**Byline:** By Carl Hulse

**Body**

Once able to win on the prairie, the Democratic Party sees the Senate race in Montana as a final test of whether it can still be successful in heavily rural states that have turned deep red.

When Senator Max Baucus, a Democrat and political fixture in Montana, was re-elected to a sixth term in 2008, all of the statewide offices down the ballot -- governor, attorney general, secretary of state, state auditor and school superintendent -- were won by fellow Democrats. A sole Republican took the state's single seat in the House of Representatives.

Things are much different today.

''If Tester loses, all those will be Republicans,'' Mr. Baucus said, referring to Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat who is battling to hold on to his seat there in one of the country's most pivotal contests, ''That's a dramatic shift.''

It is not just Montana. Other states on the Great Plains -- once bastions of progressive prairie populism -- have experienced stark partisan upheaval in their congressional delegations over the past two decades, shifting almost completely out of reach for Democrats.

Just 20 years ago, two Democratic senators represented both North Dakota and South Dakota -- including the party's Senate leader. Each state also boasted a Democratic House member. Nebraska had a Democratic senator and only a few years earlier had two. Today, those states are represented in Congress entirely by Republicans.

''It is a constituency I don't even recognize in some cases,'' said Byron Dorgan, a former Democratic senator from North Dakota who retired in 2010 after three terms in the Senate and 11 statewide election wins. ''The people elected me for 30 years to the House and Senate, and I don't think that constituency would have ever considered someone like Donald Trump to be elevated to the White House.''

While Democrats have been able to offset the loss of those once competitive seats by tightening their grip on Senate seats in Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico and Arizona -- where they are fighting to hold a seat this year -- the prospect of being locked out on the Great Plains presents a significant long-term obstacle for Democrats in securing and preserving congressional majorities.

They see the race involving Mr. Tester, a third-generation farmer with deep roots in Montana, as a test of whether Democrats can still bridge the yawning urban-rural divide. Democrats who once held the now-Republican seats attribute the shift to a variety of factors, including the exodus of younger residents to more populous areas. They also point to a deeply ingrained sense among the older voters who remain that the federal government and the liberal powers they see as running it are not on their side and not acting in their interests.

''Democrats are increasingly perceived as elite and focused almost exclusively on urban matters,'' said Tom Daschle, a former South Dakota senator who served as both minority and majority leader before being narrowly defeated in 2004. ''Rarely do national Democratic candidates spend time in rural America, and that 'flyover' perception continues to increase the perception of this divide.''

The disconnect is as much cultural as political.

''These are interior states, and a lot of people in the interior don't trust the elites on the coasts,'' said Mr. Baucus, who served as the U.S. ambassador to China after leaving the Senate. ''They feel kind of put upon and that nobody cares.''

The former senators also consider the political emphasis on divisive social issues -- exacerbated by the explosion of social media and the success of Republicans at exploiting the culture wars -- as a major driver of the turn toward the G.O.P., though abortion debates tend to increase Democrats' popularity among women.

''I think the voters drifted away from the party because, in their minds, the party was not paying enough attention to working families and the needs of middle-income Americans and took a journey on social issues, sort of making them a last stand,'' said Ben Nelson, a former Nebraska governor who served as the state's most recent Democratic senator before retiring in 2012.

Perhaps most vexing to Democrats is that rural voters don't view the government or the Democratic Party as allies, even though the party has championed programs that are lifelines for rural America, not the least of which are agricultural supports.

''Rural people don't think Democrats have addressed this divide despite our advocacy for things that could improve their lives -- Medicaid expansion, increase in the minimum wage, child tax credit and many more policy tools,'' Mr. Daschle said.

Mr. Dorgan, his onetime colleague in Senate leadership, echoed that view. ''I think they don't see much of a future,'' he said of rural voters who had embraced Republicans and Mr. Trump's ''Make America Great Again'' agenda. ''There has been a relentless attack on government for a long time by Republicans.''

Besides Mr. Tester, Democrats do see some chance in the Nov. 5 elections to regain a foothold on the Great Plains. The party is competitive in House races in both Nebraska and Montana, where they are hoping to unseat Republican incumbents. And in Nebraska's Senate race, an independent, Dan Osborn, is mounting a populist challenge against Senator Deb Fischer, a Republican. National Democrats have disavowed any involvement in the race but hope that he will align with them in terms of Senate control if he prevails.

Then there's the fact that Mr. Tester is trying to win a fourth term in a state that has moved sharply to the right. Unlike other rural states, Montana's evolution has been fueled not by an exodus of voters, but by a steady influx of new conservative residents who are much more aligned with the MAGA movement. Democrats worry that these voters are unflinching Republicans who are strongly supportive of Mr. Trump and are not familiar with or interested in Mr. Tester's long history in the state or Montana's tradition of political independence.

''They don't know Jon, and they are Republicans,'' Mr. Baucus said.

Mr. Tester has sought to characterize his opponent, Tim Sheehy, a veteran and businessman who moved to the state a decade ago, as the archetype of the newcomer that many longtime Montana residents resent -- a deep-pocketed transplant who swoops in and helps drive up housing prices by paying top dollar for a huge ranch, which is then cut off from public access for hunting and recreation.

''In the end, as long as we've got folks that want to come to this state that have hundreds of millions of dollars in their bank account -- they want to make Montana a playground for the rich -- we're going to have a hard time having homes for ***working-class*** people,'' Mr. Tester said in a swipe at Mr. Sheehy in their second and final debate last month.

Mr. Sheehy retorted that he and other new arrivals contributed to the state's prosperity.

''Truth is, I wasn't lucky enough to be born in Montana,'' Mr. Sheehy said. ''I sure would have loved to have been -- couldn't control where my mother's womb was when I crawled out of it.'' He added, ''But I'm proud to say that when my wife and I left the service and we put down roots here, we started a company, created hundreds of jobs to try to invest in the betterment of our community.''

Mr. Tester's allies say that if any Democrat can hang on in this environment, it should be him, given his authentic rural background, underscored by the three fingers he is missing on his left hand -- lost to a meat grinder he proudly notes that he still owns. They believe that pedigree should counter Republican attacks that he has ''gone Washington.'' But they fear it might not be enough.

''The things they say about him are not going to stick as much for somebody who doesn't have a butch haircut, an overhang over his belt, and still farms,'' said Mr. Nelson, the former Nebraska governor, describing Mr. Tester's appearance. ''But until the Democratic Party -- and this may be the year we do it -- can convince enough folks about support for working families, we are going to continue to be at risk.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/jon-tester-democrats-great-plains.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Democrats see Senator Jon Tester, a third-generation farmer with deep Montana roots, as a test of whether Democrats can still bridge the yawning urban-rural divide. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2024

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[***Stabilizing a Shared Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5V-5RX1-DXY4-X4V8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section RE; Column 0; Real Estate Desk; Pg. 7; RENTERS

**Length:** 1396 words

**Byline:** By D.W. Gibson

**Body**

A couple briefly considered moving to one of the newer market-rate buildings in New York City and paying more for a splashier place. Then they got real.

David Hedges and Joel Auville recently considered moving. There's a lot of large-scale, long-term construction right outside their windows. ''With this new building,'' Mr. Auville said, ''we were depressed, thinking we were going to lose light.''

There was another factor: They've been living in the same apartment for 42 years.

''I thought, gee, if we spend $5,000 a month, we could find a really wonderful place,'' Mr. Hedges said. ''And after about two weeks of living in it, we'd probably look at each other and say, 'Can we go home now?'''

Just the thought of moving led the couple to realize how much of their shared life is defined by the building in Midwood, Brooklyn, that they've called home since 1982. The apartment is rent stabilized, and the city's Rent Guidelines Board sets annual increases for rent-stabilized and rent-controlled apartments, mostly protecting those residents from the harsh market forces that have typified the post-pandemic rental market.

''There's an organic quality to rent stabilization,'' Mr. Hedges said. ''I always thought about it as stabilizing rent, money, but it's really about stabilizing community in a person's life, stabilizing a real relationship with the neighborhood.''

The couple met in Paris in 1978. Mr. Hedges, who is from Stony Brook, N.Y., was studying music abroad; Mr. Auville, who grew up in public housing outside of Paris, had a steady career as a leather craftsman. They first saw each other at a bar called Club 18, a small gay disco on the Rue de Beaujolais. ''It was more ***working class*** than fashionable,'' Mr. Hedges recalled. ''In those days, the 'gay scene' was still mostly underground, unless you were rich and famous.''

But after they started a life together, Mr. Auville's father died. ''Joel was ready to move,'' Mr. Hedges recalled, ''so we decided we'd come here.''

They could see a life for themselves in New York. Mr. Hedges wanted to attend Brooklyn College to finish his master's degree in music, while Mr. Auville was ready to apply for permanent residency and carve out the next chapter of his life in a new country.

They spoke French to each other, so Mr. Auville didn't speak English when they arrived. Hitting the streets of Brooklyn to find a place to live forced him to learn fast. ''The tradition was to go walking around, asking supers, 'Do you have anyplace?''' he recalled. ''We did that in August, so it was about 100 degrees.''

When they found the one-bedroom apartment, Mr. Hedges loved it immediately. ''It was large, I liked the kitchen, and it was close to the school. I just had a good feeling about it,'' he said.

Mr. Auville was another story. ''Joel hated it because the floors hadn't been redone,'' Mr. Hedges said. The people who lived here before us had two Doberman pinschers and there were still lots of traces of that.''

It was affordable, just $325 a month with gas included. ''And I still said to the guy, 'Do you have something cheaper?''' Mr. Hedges recalled, laughing. ''The guy looked at me and said, 'Yeah, I got something cheaper where you'll go home at night and they'll hit you over the head -- is that what you want?' Something about his bad salesmanship sold me immediately. I felt like, my God, I'm home.''

The owners of the building confirmed they'd do repairs before handing over keys, which relieved Mr. Auville, so the couple signed a lease.

David Hedges, 70; Joel Auville, 69

Occupation: Mr. Hedges is a retired high school teacher; Mr. Auville is a retired leather craftsman and home cleaner.

On living with a piano: Mr. Hedges went 20 years without playing his piano and eventually sold it. ''Whatever success I had was too much, too fast,'' he said. ''My playing became very willful and forced.'' Eventually he realized he couldn't stay away forever and started playing again. He bought a second piano with savings and still remembers watching the movers struggle to get it into the apartment. ''I have never seen giant men sweat like that.''

On neighborhood safety: Midwood has had ups and downs over the years -- Mr. Hedges was mugged at one point -- but both men said the neighborhood has not felt dangerous to them. ''At times, people became scared the value of their home would go down,'' Mr. Auville noted, ''but the neighborhood has never felt unsafe.''

There were several families in the building, some with multiple generations in multiple apartments. ''It's a building that when people find it,'' Mr. Hedges said, ''they tend to stay in it.''

The first neighbors he and Mr. Auville met had moved into the building as newlyweds in 1932. ''When we moved in,'' Mr. Auville recalled, ''most of the people living here were Jewish people. Many had survived the Holocaust.''

The neighborhood had just enough amenities -- a supermarket and hardware store, inexpensive restaurants and an Irish bar that still served 25-cent beers -- and there was a familiarity among the people who shared the building. Neighbors could tell when families were in a fight or when someone wasn't feeling well. People put used items out in the lobby and told others to feel free to take them.

Mr. Hedges recalls feeling comfortable from the beginning. ''Certainly, we were the only gay people around and I don't remember feeling threatened in any way.''

He routinely practiced at the piano and his neighbors not only tolerated it but welcomed it. On weekend afternoons, some of them would sit in his apartment and would listen to him play. ''The assumption in this neighborhood has always been if you're here, you're one of us,'' he said. ''We want to support you to do whatever it takes for you to be able to stay here. We want to support you to meet your goals, work hard, make a good living and stay. Because this is how a community functions. You don't have to conform, you just have to participate. For many, hearing the piano was a part of continuity and community in the building.''

In the early days, Mr. Hedges and Mr. Auville commuted to Manhattan for work, cleaning luxury apartments for a company that catered to wealthy New Yorkers. They developed several friendly relationships with clients and furnished much of their apartment with items given to them by the people for whom they cleaned -- a bedroom set from Irma Jaffe, the art historian; works from artists like Beth Neville and Florence Siegal.

Mr. Auville continued cleaning apartments while Mr. Hedges ultimately decided on a teaching career. He landed at an alternative high school not far from their apartment. They kept at their lives for decades and, somewhere along the line, Mr. Hedges and Mr. Auville unwittingly became the fixtures in the neighborhood.

The couple, both retired now, have been walking the neighborhood together nearly every day for several years; when they miss a day, their absence is noted. ''After years of observing us,'' Mr. Hedges said, ''people in the neighborhood know us and feel a bond that they have to express.''

''People come up to us on the street, people we've never met,'' Mr. Hedges said, ''who see us and say, 'Oh, I'm glad to see you're OK, I've seen you in this neighborhood for years.' Even when you don't realize it, people are looking after you.''

Mr. Hedges laughed remembering that for a year or so after moving in, they still had a few packed boxes because they were unsure if they would last in the apartment. Now they have no regrets about staying for nearly half a century. ''With rent stabilization, you get to be free from the distractions and challenges of ownership, and you get to like your life,'' he said. ''When things need repair, we let them do it. But also, we want to participate in making it livable and being happy in our lives, and we've made a lot of improvements over the years at our own expense.''

They renovated the kitchen and the bathroom; they've refreshed the paint over the years. ''People who own their homes ask us, Why would you waste money like that?'' Mr. Hedges said. ''But it's not wasted money because someone else, whom we will never meet, will enjoy the improvements when we leave, so how can that be wasted money?''

For weekly email updates on residential real estate news, sign up here. Follow us on Twitter: @nytrealestate.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/07/realestate/nyc-rent-stabilized-apartment.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/07/realestate/nyc-rent-stabilized-apartment.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Joel Auville, left, and David Hedges in their rent-stabilized apartment in Midwood, Brooklyn. Center, from left: the living room

and the remodeled kitchen (the couple paid for the renovations). Above, some of Mr. Auville's housecleaning clients gave the couple many works of art over the years. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page RE7.

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2024

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[***Court in France Allows Videos of Men Accused Of Drugged Rape Acts***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D43-HWG1-DXY4-X1M9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 5, 2024 Saturday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1311 words

**Byline:** By Catherine Porter

**Body**

GisÃ¨le Pelicot fought for the graphic videos made by her husband to be shown publicly in court, insisting they were essential evidence in a rape case against him and 50 other men.

A leaden silence descended upon the courtroom as the videos began to play over three screens.

There was GisÃ¨le Pelicot, the victim in the center of a rape trial that has rocked France, lying on a bed on her side, her arms limp before her, her mouth open. The sound of her snoring filled the courtroom. She appeared to be dead asleep.

In the videos, she did not respond to the touches of the men, who engaged with her body in sex acts.

Ms. Pelicot had fought hard for these videos to be shown publicly in the courtroom because, she said, they were incontrovertible evidence. While most rape victims have only their word and memory of events, Ms. Pelicot has a library of proof in the form of videos and photographs -- taken by her own husband.

Showing them publicly was essential, her lawyer Antoine Camus told the courtroom, ''to look rape straight in the eyes.''

It was another astounding moment in a trial that for the past month has gripped France as if by the throat and shaken it violently. The case has raised profound questions about relations between men and women, the prevalence of rape and conceptions of consent.

More than 50 men are on trial together. Almost all are accused of aggravated rape against Ms. Pelicot, a grandmother and retired manager at a big company, while she was in an unconscious state. Her former husband of 50 years, Dominique Pelicot, has pleaded guilty to mixing drugs into her food and drink and inviting others into their home, in a village in southern France where they had retired, to join him in raping her limp body.

While Ms. Pelicot, 71, had the right to request that the trial take place behind closed doors, she decided to make it public. She said that she did it not for her, but to protect other women. Shame, she said, must change sides -- from the victims to the perpetrators.

The accused men appear to be a gallery of ***working-class*** and middle-class French society: truck drivers, carpenters and trade workers, a nurse, an I.T. expert, a local journalist. They range in age from 26 to 74. Many have children and are in relationships. Over four months, their cases are coming before the court in batches of six or seven a week.

All but 15 have contested the charge. Many have argued that they were tricked into coming into her bedroom by Mr. Pelicot, who had offered them a playful trio with his wife. Many say he led them to believe she was sleeping -- or pretending to sleep -- as part of the couple's sexual fantasy. Mr. Pelicot manipulated them when they were vulnerable, some of them have said, and directed them in the acts like a stage manager. They said they had blindly followed his orders.

One said this week that he thought he was also drugged, and had no memory from the moment he entered the room until he returned to his car later. Another said he was so terrified by Mr. Pelicot, whom he regarded as a ''predator'' and a ''psychopath,'' that he interacted with Ms. Pelicot's body calmly in order to ''not show weakness, so he attacks me.''

''They took a precise line of defense,'' Mr. Camus, one of the lawyers for Ms. Pelicot, told the court on Friday. Ms. Pelicot has said that while the men were perhaps tricked into coming into her bedroom, once they got there, she was so unconscious that it was clear that she could not have possibly given consent.

This is where the videos come in. Mr. Pelicot filmed most of the encounters, often with two cameras, and carefully edited and titled them. Over the course of their investigation, the police found more than 20,000 videos and photographs on his electronic devices, many of them in a digital folder titled ''Abuse.''

After initially ruling the videos would not be viewed because of their ''indecent and shocking'' nature, the judges of the criminal court in Avignon changed their minds after a heated courtroom debate on Friday. Not all the videos would be shown, announced the head judge, Roger Arata -- just those videos deemed ''strictly necessary'' for the ''manifestation of the truth.''

A dozen videos and about 10 photos were shown over the courtroom's three flat screens on Friday afternoon and projected into the overflow room for members of the public, who have continued to line up every day to watch the proceedings and support Ms. Pelicot.

The videos' titles alone, packed with crude words and read out by the prosecutor, made many observers flinch. Judge Arata said at one point that he didn't have any ''particular desire'' to read them out loud any more.

In many, Ms. Pelicot appeared naked, but in some, she wore a garter belt, underwear and white socks. In one, she had a blindfold over her eyes. Her husband told the police he often dressed her up after she was unconscious, and then at the end of the night, he cleaned her and returned her to her nightclothes.

The accused were seen stroking her sides and intimate parts with their hands and mouths. Five were captured putting their penises in her slack mouth. The camera sometimes zoomed in for close-ups. While Ms. Pelicot could be seen moving slightly in some, in none was she seen responding to the touches. She often snored loudly.

The videos played on uncomfortably long. One defendant lowered his face. Many lawyers and journalists stopped looking at the screens.

Thierry Postat, a 61-year-old refrigeration technician who is among those on trial, told the court that he had been involved in swinging and couple sharing since he was 30. He said that in at least three other cases, he had been invited into bedrooms by husbands to have sex with their sleeping wives -- only one of whom woke up.

''I trusted Mr. Pelicot,'' because most of the time among swingers, Mr. Postat told the court, ''it's the man who organizes things.''

But he was pressed by Ms. Pelicot's lawyer, Mr. Camus: ''You really thought you were practicing couple swapping? You see a couple there?'' Mr. Camus asked Mr. Postat, referring to the video that had just been shown.

''Yes,'' Mr. Postat responded. ''The way I remember it.''

Another video captured Simone Mekenese penetrating Ms. Pelicot, while she was lying on her side sleeping.

''You weren't aware she was unconscious?'' asked StÃ©phane Babonneau, a second lawyer for Ms. Pelicot.

''No,'' responded Mr. Mekenese, 43, a driver on a construction site who was a neighbor of the couple's at the time. ''I thought she would participate soon.''

An argument heard repeatedly in court this week was that while they might not have gotten direct consent from Ms. Pelicot, the accused men did not go to the Pelicots' home with an intention to rape her.

The day before, Mr. Postat had told the court that they might be rapists because they had not received consent, ''but we aren't rapists in our souls.''

After two hours of viewing videos, the court session ended abruptly. People drifted out of the courtroom, and the overflow room, stunned.

''We are in shock,'' said Anne-Marie Galvan, 58, a nursing assistant at the local hospital. Her husband, Serge Galvan, stood nearby, tears swelling in his eyes.

''I'm almost ashamed to be a man,'' he said. ''You could see she was sleeping. It was obvious she was unconscious.''

The couple, and the rest of the crowd, clapped thunderously when Ms. Pelicot passed by, making her way with her lawyers to the court exit. She stopped, looked at the group, and put her hand to her heart.

''We are here for her. We must not let this lady down. We must give her as much strength as possible. It's important for women,'' said Mr. Galvan.

''This,'' he added, thinking back to the scenes on the screen, ''has to stop.''

SÃ©golÃ¨ne Le Stradic contributed reporting.SÃ©golÃ¨ne Le Stradic contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/world/europe/france-rape-trial-pelicot-videos.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/world/europe/france-rape-trial-pelicot-videos.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** October 5, 2024

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[***Your Guide to the Drama-Filled Race for Senate Control***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8H-V6X1-JBG3-64DF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday 20:21 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1603 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 chamber had seemed like Republicans’ to lose, but a few surprises are playing out.

**Body**

The chamber had seemed like Republicans’ to lose, but a few surprises are playing out.

All year, control of the Senate has seemed like Republicans’ to lose. They are practically certain to pick up Senator Joe Manchin’s West Virginia Senate seat, and they need just one more of seven competitive seats held by Democrats or an independent to claim the majority.

With Senator Jon Tester, a farmer and a third-term Democrat, [*trailing his Republican opponent in Montana, a state that’s gotten redder and redder*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html), Republicans are closing in on their goal of wresting back the Democrats’ narrow majority. That would turbocharge Donald Trump’s ability to install his allies in political and judicial roles if he were to win the presidency, and it would stymie Vice President Kamala Harris’s agenda right out of the gate if she won.

But this has been a year of political surprises — and there are several playing out across the Senate map right now.

Democrats led many of those competitive races for much of the year, but some have tightened in recent weeks. Republican-held seats in Texas and Nebraska (yes, Nebraska) have become surprisingly competitive. And some candidates are subtly shifting their messages.

To explain the state of play, I called my colleagues [*Carl Hulse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html) and [*Annie Karni*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html), our indomitable congressional correspondents who are covering the two toughest Senate re-election battles on the map, Montana and Ohio. Our conversation has been edited for length and clarity.

Jess Bidgood: Annie and Carl, welcome back to the newsletter! Where are you?

Carl Hulse: I am in Montana, where I’ve been for a week, chasing around Tim Sheehy, the Republican running to unseat Jon Tester, and watching a gazillion ads on TV. It’s incessant. I feel for these people. They’ve been bombarded.

Annie Karni: I just got back to Washington from Ohio, where Senator Sherrod Brown, a Democrat, is trying to hold off a challenge from the wealthy former car dealer, Bernie Moreno. It’s a half-a-billion-dollar race — the most expensive of the cycle — and the ads are so constant that when I went to a fair with Moreno, he was apologizing to voters over how much they have to see these ads.

CH: Tester raised $32 million the last quarter, which is incredible.

JB: That’s remarkable. Now, we try not to be too predictive around here, but I do want to ask: Given everything we know about the map right now, how likely is it that Republicans will win the Senate?

AK: If they don’t, it will be the more surprising story. The conventional wisdom for a while has been that both chambers of Congress are likely to flip: The Senate will go to Republicans, and Democrats will retake the House. But these races are all really close — just like the presidential race.

CH: Tester is the tipping point. He is the underdog — which is unusual for an incumbent — and he knows that. But there are wild cards in Nebraska and Texas.

At the start of the cycle, the Democrats were on defense, and weren’t competitive in any of the Republican-held seats, but they’ve made a real charge against Senator Ted Cruz in Texas, a polarizing figure who is now having to fight to hold onto his seat. And in Nebraska, you have an independent union activist, Dan Osborn, who has forced the Republican Senator Deb Fischer into an unexpectedly competitive re-election fight.

JB: Let’s talk about the Democratic-held seats that are tightening. Right now, Brown has the toughest re-election battle aside from Tester. What’s his strategy to hold on, Annie, and why is it so close?

AK: I asked Brown why it’s so close last week, and he just said: the money. Brown is the head of the Senate Banking Committee, and the cryptocurrency industry, which doesn’t want to be regulated, has poured money into Moreno’s campaign.

Then, there’s the way Ohio has changed politically. It used to be a bellwether state, and now it’s firmly red. If Brown can’t win this race, that could be the end of Democrats being elected statewide in Ohio. He’s a known quantity with a populist message about workers’ rights that has really worked for him over the years. But, [*as I wrote this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html), even he is having to lean on the issue of abortion, which is what every Democrat around the country is doing to get over the finish line.

CH: In Ohio and Montana, Democrats have the best possible candidates they could have in this environment. Brown is a well-liked populist; Tester is a third-generation Montana farmer with a real history in the state. But it may just be that their states have changed too much. People here tell me they have nothing against Tester, but they think the country needs change, and they’re going to vote for Sheehy.

JB: Both of the Republican candidates in Ohio and Montana have run rocky campaigns. Does that matter?

AK: In Ohio, Moreno suggested that women over 50 should have no reason to care about the issue of abortion rights. Democrats have described this to me as a comment that seemed cooked up in a lab to lose an election.

CH: That abortion comment is exactly the kind of comment that cost Republicans in the past. Sheehy, Tester’s opponent, has been dogged by controversy, [*including the question of whether he got shot while serving in the military, as he has claimed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html). He’s running a fairly hidden campaign. But whether it’s enough to knock him off amid the growth of Republicanism and MAGA in Montana, I don’t know if that’s going to happen.

JB: There are a few other Midwestern Senate races — in Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania — that look tight, too. But one surprise of the cycle has been two that don’t look tight, and those are in Nevada and Arizona, where the Republican candidate, Kari Lake, is trailing Representative Ruben Gallego, a Democrat.

AK: In Nevada, Senator Jacky Rosen has been polling way ahead of Harris, and President Biden before her, in her race against Sam Brown. That’s been attributed to her focusing on abortion for over a year.

CH: Many of these are going to be super tight races, depending on turnout. Michigan is [*flashing red for the Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html) at the presidential level, and that could spill over into the Senate race. Democrats say they’ve got the ground game, and Republicans don’t.

And, on Election Day, we’re going to find out whether or not that’s true.

Behind Nebraska’s tight Senate race, a railroad feud

About that competitive Senate race in Nebraska. My colleague [*Maya Miller,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html) who [*recently reported from the state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html), tells us how the contest is undergirded by an unexpected issue: trains.

Dan Osborn, a mechanic and steamfitter best known for his role in leading strikes against the Kellogg’s cereal company in 2021, is giving Senator Deb Fischer, Republican of Nebraska, a last-minute run for her money in a race that could complicate the G.O.P.’s hopes of securing a majority in the Senate.

Osborn, who is running as an independent, is leaning heavily into his ***working-class*** background and his status as a political outsider in a populist appeal to voters across the ideological spectrum. Until April, he was still working full time as a steamfitting apprentice while making time for campaigning on the side. He tells viewers in one of his most recent advertisements that in his last year working at the Kellogg’s factory, he pulled 33 double Sunday shifts — 16-hour days — to make ends meet for his family.

The origins of Osborn’s scrappy campaign trace back to the rail unions of western and central Nebraska, where Union Pacific and other railroad companies carry great influence as both employers and lobbying powerhouses. The unions recruited Osborn as a candidate last year after they vowed to oust Fischer for championing legislation that they say benefited rail executives at the expense of laborers.

“Dan was a person that wouldn’t cater to any political platform. He would cater to what labor and what working people needed in the state of Nebraska,” said Jeff Cooley, the president of the Midwest Nebraska Central Labor Council and a rail conductor who said Fischer’s office had largely ignored his letters calling for increased safety standards to prevent train derailments and explosions. Cooley, a disaffected Democrat, said that both parties were guilty of abandoning the working person’s interests, and that Osborn would bring some “common sense economics” back to Washington.

As part of a final campaign sprint, the Osborn campaign opened four field offices just weeks before the election. In North Platte, a frequent stopping point for travelers on Interstate 80, the new office is just a few blocks away from the world’s largest rail yard.

— Maya C. Miller

A glimpse backstage

I spent last night in Atlanta, watching Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Barack Obama take the stage in front of 23,000 people for their first joint campaign rally. My colleague [*Erin Schaff*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/jon-tester-montana-election.html) got to see something most of us didn’t: the view behind the scenes before they took the stage.

It’s an image that shows history unfolding, albeit in a mundane setting. The first Black president and the first Black and first female vice president are surrounded by unadorned platforms and a half-open door. But it’s the shared expression of seriousness that struck Erin and me the most.

“I’m always looking to try and understand a bit more about a politician and who they are,” Erin told me. “You can get at that a bit more in their one-on-one conversations, when they’re not performing for an audience.”

— Maya C. Miller

PHOTO: An ad for Republican Senate candidate Tim Sheehy in Montana. Mr. Sheehy is the front-runner in a close race against the incumbent, Senator Jon Tester. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Will Warasila for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2024

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[***Surprise! A Class of College Seniors Learns Tuition Will Be Free.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CWB-4CR1-DXY4-X3WP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

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**Byline:** Sharon Otterman Sharon Otterman is a Times reporter covering higher education, public health and other issues facing New York City.

**Highlight:** Tuition used to be free for all students at the Cooper Union, in New York City. The school announced it was bringing back the perk, at least for seniors.

**Body**

Tuition used to be free for all students at the Cooper Union, in New York City. The school announced it was bringing back the perk, at least for seniors.

The first day of the semester at the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art in New York on Tuesday came with a surprise for seniors that will make them the envy of college students everywhere.

Their tuition for the year will be free.

The announcement marks an unexpected milestone in the college’s effort to return to free tuition for all students, a model that had distinguished Cooper Union, a school for art, architecture and engineering, for nearly all of its 165-year history.

The students learned of the gift just before 1 p.m. at their annual convocation. The school’s Great Hall, where [*Abraham Lincoln*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) gave an address in 1860, erupted with cheers.

“It was electric,” said Talmadge Parnell-Ward, an art student. “Everyone jumped up immediately.”

About a decade ago, the small, prestigious school in Manhattan faced a financial crisis. It began [*charging some students*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) to attend, leading to student and alumni protests as well as a lawsuit. Amid the turmoil, New York’s attorney general — whose job is to oversee all nonprofit organizations in the state — opened an investigation, and then [*brokered a plan*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) in 2018 to lead the school back to financial solvency. The goal was to bring back free tuition for undergraduates in a decade.

The move comes as other colleges and universities around the country are cutting programs and raising tuition as they face enrollment declines and other financial pressures. The Cooper Union wanted to chart a different way forward, putting all available resources toward scholarships and resisting spending on perks like smoothie bars or fancy gyms to attract students, the former president, Laura Sparks, who resigned this summer, said in an interview.

Though the plan calls for tuition to be free again for all undergraduates by 2028, a surprise $6 million gift this summer from three alumni donors allowed the timeline for seniors to be accelerated.

“It’s a reminder to everybody that there is another way to do this,” Ms. Sparks said, adding: “As a sector, we need to find more ways for more students to be able to afford a really excellent college education.”

The donation, along with cost-cutting and fund-raising measures, covers tuition for the next three years of graduating seniors, too, she said. Provided that the [*financial plan*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) continues on schedule, all undergraduates will receive full scholarships by 2028.

Any senior who had already paid for the year will receive a refund, she added.

Free education is part of the school’s legacy. The institution [*was founded in 1859*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) by Peter Cooper, a wealthy industrialist, primarily to provide a free education to ***working-class*** students. Early in the school’s history, some students who could afford to pay did so, but for a century, no undergraduates paid tuition. That distinction made Cooper Union stand out, alongside the military academies, as one of only about a dozen colleges in the United States not charging tuition.

The school, which is in the East Village and enrolls about 1,000 students, ran into financial trouble in part because it [*borrowed $175 million*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) about 20 years ago, mostly to build a marquee building for its engineering school. The resulting high debt payments and other [*financial missteps*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) led the school’s president in 2013, Jamshed Bharucha, to decide that he had no choice but to reinstate tuition.

Ms. Sparks became president in 2017 to carry out the new financial plan. On Sunday, she said she felt the time was right to resign because she felt she had done what she set out to do at Cooper, including increasing its [*financial stability*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) and diversifying the school’s teaching and leadership ranks.

Ms. Sparks came under criticism in October for her management of [*a protest on campus*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) in which some Jewish students said a group of pro-Palestinian demonstrators trapped them in the school library. But she said her decision to resign “does not have anything to do with the unrest.”

[*Malcolm King*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm), an alumnus who was serving as the board chair, will be the interim president this year during a search for the next leader. Ms. Sparks will become a managing director at FS Investments, an asset management firm based in Philadelphia.

The student population at Cooper is diverse, both racially and economically: Among undergraduates who are U.S. citizens, 31 percent are Asian; 7 percent are Black; 13 percent are Hispanic; 28 percent are white; and 9 percent are multiracial or did not report their ethnicity. Slightly less than a third are eligible for federal Pell grants for low-income students — [*a higher share than other selective universities in New York City*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm).

The tuition scholarships do not cover [*one major cost of going to college*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm): room, board and supplies. The school estimates roughly [*$25,000 per year*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) in expenses for those living in student housing.

Already, the school has been [*reducing*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm) tuition for most students. All of the school’s roughly 900 undergraduates received at least a half-tuition scholarship valued at $22,275 in the last school year.

Shannagh Crowe, a fourth-year architecture student, called the news incredible. “It’s like $23,000, so this is an insane amount of money for me,” she said. “It’s life changing.”

This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** September 4, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why Florida Is No Longer Up for Grabs***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9D-SWC1-JBG3-61T6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 30, 2024 Wednesday

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

**Length:** 1869 words

**Byline:** By Patricia Mazzei

**Body**

Once a top presidential battleground, the state is lost to Democrats. The party's missteps, along with demographic change, led to every one of Florida's 67 counties becoming more red.

Florida's days as a presidential battleground are bygone. No longer do candidates drop in every few days during campaign season. No longer do voters get bombarded with their ads. Nor is there more than a whisper of doubt that the state will vote Republican.

Presidential elections in Florida used to be decided by the slimmest of margins -- none slimmer than the 537 votes that, after an infamous recount, won George W. Bush the White House in 2000. Republicans and Democrats waged fierce campaigns during the two decades that followed as Florida, rich in electoral votes, became the largest swing state.

In the past four years, the Florida Democratic Party has withered and struggled to rebuild. Democrats have lost their edge in registered voters and are now outnumbered by more than one million Republicans. They have not won a statewide seat since 2018. National fund-raising has all but dried up.

The loss of Florida as a source of electoral votes looms large as Democrats scrap for every last vote across seven swing states in the 2024 presidential election.

The reasons are in some cases structural and longstanding: demographics, partisan gerrymandering and legislative term limits. But others are of Democrats' own making: an unwillingness to invest enough in the nuts and bolts of winning elections; fund-raising divisions; and flawed assumptions about the growing Hispanic vote, according to an examination of voter registration numbers, campaign spending and more than two dozen interviews with political operatives from both parties.

What happens in November and in the next few election cycles in Florida will be a test for the country's politics, as more people move to Sun Belt states and those states get more electoral votes. Democrats will have to make inroads there -- a lot of them -- to win the presidency.

''The story of Florida is not just the story of Florida,'' said Raymond Paultre, the executive director of the Alliance, a group of Democratic donors in the state. ''It's the story of a progressive movement that's struggling to make it in the South, that's struggling to compete with younger voters of color, that is struggling to win with younger men.''

The shortcomings in Florida became evident in 2020, when national Democrats largely abandoned spending in the state.

Two years earlier, Democrats had run a moderate incumbent, Bill Nelson, for Senate, and a progressive, Andrew Gillum, for governor, covering all their political bases. Both lost after recounts. Mr. Nelson lost to Senator Rick Scott, a Republican whose vast wealth has helped him win three statewide elections by one percentage point or less.

Florida started looking impossible for Democrats to crack.

While Democrats lost their footing, Republicans seized opportunities to reshape Florida's electorate to their advantage. A torrent of conservative policies have followed, intended to cement the state as an anchor of Republican power.

The results have forced Democrats to try to remake their electoral pathways to victory, as Florida slipped away from them.

In 2020, Joseph R. Biden Jr. won the White House, but the state went for former President Donald J. Trump, ending Floridians' streak of voting for the winner in every presidential election since 1996. Mr. Trump's victory in Florida that year, by a little more than three percentage points, was the biggest presidential margin in the state since 2004.

This year, polls show Mr. Trump ahead of Vice President Kamala Harris in the state by an average of seven points.

Gov. Ron DeSantis, a Republican who was elected in 2018 by less than half a percentage point, has taken credit for Florida's transformation, though it took years to build. He won re-election in 2022 by more than 19 points, a thumping that he had hoped would fuel his presidential campaign and quash any notion that Democrats might soon be competitive again.

''This whole century, presidential elections, we'd be on razor's edge about the state of Florida,'' Mr. DeSantis told Republicans at a state party dinner last month. Now, he added, winning is ''a layup.''

''Are you happy that we're a solid Republican state?'' he asked. The crowd cheered.

Organizational missteps

Democrats describe Florida's political evolution as happening gradually and then all at once.

In 2012, the last time a Democratic presidential candidate, Barack Obama, won the state, Democrats outnumbered Republicans in Florida by nearly 1.5 million voters. Since then, every one of the state's 67 counties has become more Republican.

By 2020, Democrats' registration edge had fallen to about 97,000 voters. As of Sept. 1, the state, with about 16.1 million voters overall, has about one million more ''active'' registered Republicans than Democrats. The state has disproportionately listed more Democrats as ''inactive'' voters, said Daniel A. Smith, an elections expert at the University of Florida. Voters are deemed inactive if they have not voted, requested a mail ballot or updated their registration in two general elections.

Some new Republicans are party switchers -- longtime registered Democrats who had probably been voting Republican for years -- a realignment that has happened across the South. Others moved to Florida as part of a migration that began earlier but swelled during the coronavirus pandemic.

Yet political parties and their leaders also played a role.

The Republican Party of Florida is one of the country's best funded state parties, owing to 25 years of Republican state government control. Crucially, the party runs its own voter registration program.

Democrats have not won a Florida governor's race since 1994. Republicans draw legislative districts and have supermajorities in the State House and Senate.

Unable to wield much power, the Florida Democratic Party increasingly outsourced voter registration over the past decade to nonprofit groups. Decentralizing the party was intended to create an enduring progressive infrastructure, but despite raising millions of dollars, outside groups failed to register voters in large numbers. New state laws made it even harder for them to do so.

Decentralization also led to fund-raising divisions. After Mr. Obama's success in Florida, a group of Democratic donors sought more discretion over their own spending. Imitating a model that had succeeded in Colorado, they formed the Alliance, which channeled resources to progressive causes rather than to the party.

That change crippled a state party that, absent a governor to drive fund-raising, relied heavily on individual donors, said Steve Schale, a Democratic strategist.

''There's definitely a place for the outside groups,'' he said. ''What we did was just completely knifed the actual party in doing it.''

But Carlos Odio, the Alliance's former executive director, said that such criticism was misplaced, noting that ''in states that have very successful infrastructure, you have both a strong party and a strong outside ecosystem.''

He added, ''The way you beat a more powerful opponent is by building a larger coalition.''

Strategic miscalculations

Florida Democrats thought their coalition would grow as the state became more Hispanic, a longstanding assumption in a number of states. In 2012, about 14 percent of registered Florida voters identified as Hispanic, compared to more than 18 percent this year.

Florida Republicans prioritized Hispanics starting in the 1980s, led by Jeb Bush, who chaired the party in Miami-Dade County and later served two terms as governor. As a result, Florida Hispanics, who were mostly Cuban American, usually voted Republican. As older Cuban exiles died, Democrats thought that younger generations would lean Democratic. Mr. Obama's wins bolstered that hypothesis.

In 2016, Hillary Clinton won about 62 percent of Hispanics in Florida but still lost the state. Her campaign turned out minority voters but failed to limit losses in whiter counties, as Mr. Obama had done.

Florida's booming suburbs and exurbs, especially in the Tampa media market, had become more Republican. People drawn to Mr. Trump -- particularly older white voters and those without a college degree -- proved plentiful in the state, which has many retirees and service workers.

Democrats had a Tampa problem. Soon, they would also have a Miami problem.

Hispanics comprise about 68 percent of the population of Miami-Dade County. Mrs. Clinton won the county, Florida's most populous, by 30 percentage points. Four years later, Mr. Biden won it by just seven points.

From 2016 to 2020, Republicans relentlessly courted Florida Hispanics. Mr. Trump cut the ties Mr. Obama had forged with Cuba's Communist government. As governor, Mr. Scott learned some Spanish and offered Puerto Ricans aid after Hurricane Maria. Senator Marco Rubio -- a Cuban American who speaks fluent Spanish -- obtained sanctions against the Venezuelan government.

***Working-class*** Hispanics suffered during the pandemic. Protests over police violence exposed a rift between Hispanics and progressive groups. Trumpism appealed to the demographic more broadly, it turned out, including to many who had voted Democratic in the past.

By 2020, younger Cuban Americans were voting more like their grandparents. An influx of new arrivals who had seen little improvement to life there during the Obama era favored Mr. Trump.

''There was essentially a realignment in South Florida,'' said Giancarlo Sopo, a Cuban American consultant who switched from Democrat to Republican.

Can Democrats rebuild?

Perhaps the 2022 midterms were Florida Democrats' low point. Their nominee for governor, Charlie Crist, was a former Republican who did not inspire loyalty. Little national money trickled in. Turnout collapsed: About 600,000 fewer Democrats voted than in 2018, according to Matthew Isbell, a Democratic data consultant.

This year, Nikki Fried, the state party chairwoman, portrayed Florida as back in play. But operatives know their victories, if any, might be small: Improve turnout. Win some legislative seats. Keep the presidential and Senate races to single-digit margins.

''We're not going to go from a 20-point drubbing in 2022 to 'Everything is fine,''' said Beth Matuga, a Democratic consultant running state House campaigns.

Democrats flipped the mayor's office in Jacksonville last year and a state House seat in Orlando this year. Nearly half the candidates for local school boards endorsed by Mr. DeSantis lost in August primaries. Mayor Daniella Levine Cava of Miami-Dade County, a Democrat, easily won re-election.

In November, Democrats' biggest win could come from a ballot measure that would guarantee abortion rights. But the measure, known as Amendment 4, would need 60 percent support to pass.

The state party recently spent several million more dollars on pro-Amendment 4 ads, according to AdImpact, a firm that tracks political advertisements. The ''Yes on 4'' campaign, however, emphasized that it is nonpartisan. Democratic support would not be enough to win.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/florida-trump-republicans-swing-state.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/florida-trump-republicans-swing-state.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Presidential elections in Florida used to be decided by slim margins -- none slimmer than the 537 votes that tipped the race to George W. Bush in 2000, above. The vast wealth of Senator Rick Scott, a Republican, has helped him win three statewide races. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY GUTIERREZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** October 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Tester’s Fight for Political Survival Is Democrats’ Last Stand on the Great Plains***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5K-P1R1-DXY4-X4GR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 12, 2024 Saturday 13:53 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1379 words

**Highlight:** Once able to win on the prairie, the Democratic Party sees the Senate race in Montana as a final test of whether it can still be successful in heavily rural states that have turned deep red.

**Body**

Once able to win on the prairie, the Democratic Party sees the Senate race in Montana as a final test of whether it can still be successful in heavily rural states that have turned deep red.

When Senator Max Baucus, a Democrat and political fixture in Montana, was re-elected to a sixth term in 2008, all of the statewide offices down the ballot — governor, attorney general, secretary of state, state auditor and school superintendent — were won by fellow Democrats. A sole Republican took the state’s single seat in the House of Representatives.

Things are much different today.

“If Tester loses, all those will be Republicans,” Mr. Baucus said, referring to Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat who is battling to hold on to his seat there in one of the country’s most pivotal contests, “That’s a dramatic shift.”

It is not just Montana. Other states on the Great Plains — once bastions of progressive prairie populism — have experienced stark partisan upheaval in their congressional delegations over the past two decades, shifting almost completely out of reach for Democrats.

Just 20 years ago, two Democratic senators represented both North Dakota and South Dakota — including the party’s Senate leader. Each state also boasted a Democratic House member. Nebraska had a Democratic senator and only a few years earlier had two. Today, those states are represented in Congress entirely by Republicans.

“It is a constituency I don’t even recognize in some cases,” said Byron Dorgan, a former Democratic senator from North Dakota who retired in 2010 after three terms in the Senate and 11 statewide election wins. “The people elected me for 30 years to the House and Senate, and I don’t think that constituency would have ever considered someone like Donald Trump to be elevated to the White House.”

While Democrats have been able to offset the loss of those once competitive seats by tightening their grip on Senate seats in Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico and Arizona — where they are fighting to hold a seat this year — the prospect of being locked out on the Great Plains presents a significant long-term obstacle for Democrats in securing and preserving congressional majorities.

They see the race involving Mr. Tester, a third-generation farmer with deep roots in Montana, as a test of whether Democrats can still bridge the yawning urban-rural divide. Democrats who once held the now-Republican seats attribute the shift to a variety of factors, including the exodus of younger residents to more populous areas. They also point to a deeply ingrained sense among the older voters who remain that the federal government and the liberal powers they see as running it are not on their side and not acting in their interests.

“Democrats are increasingly perceived as elite and focused almost exclusively on urban matters,” said Tom Daschle, a former South Dakota senator who served as both minority and majority leader before being narrowly defeated in 2004. “Rarely do national Democratic candidates spend time in rural America, and that ‘flyover’ perception continues to increase the perception of this divide.”

The disconnect is as much cultural as political.

“These are interior states, and a lot of people in the interior don’t trust the elites on the coasts,” said Mr. Baucus, who served as the U.S. ambassador to China after leaving the Senate. “They feel kind of put upon and that nobody cares.”

The former senators also consider the political emphasis on divisive social issues — exacerbated by the explosion of social media and the success of Republicans at exploiting the culture wars — as a major driver of the turn toward the G.O.P., though abortion debates tend to increase Democrats’ popularity among women.

“I think the voters drifted away from the party because, in their minds, the party was not paying enough attention to working families and the needs of middle-income Americans and took a journey on social issues, sort of making them a last stand,” said Ben Nelson, a former Nebraska governor who served as the state’s most recent Democratic senator before retiring in 2012.

Perhaps most vexing to Democrats is that rural voters don’t view the government or the Democratic Party as allies, even though the party has championed programs that are lifelines for rural America, not the least of which are agricultural supports.

“Rural people don’t think Democrats have addressed this divide despite our advocacy for things that could improve their lives — Medicaid expansion, increase in the minimum wage, child tax credit and many more policy tools,” Mr. Daschle said.

Mr. Dorgan, his onetime colleague in Senate leadership, echoed that view. “I think they don’t see much of a future,” he said of rural voters who had embraced Republicans and Mr. Trump’s “Make America Great Again” agenda. “There has been a relentless attack on government for a long time by Republicans.”

Besides Mr. Tester, Democrats do see some chance in the Nov. 5 elections to regain a foothold on the Great Plains. The party is competitive in House races in both Nebraska and Montana, where they are hoping to unseat Republican incumbents. And in Nebraska’s Senate race, an independent, Dan Osborn, is mounting a populist challenge against Senator Deb Fischer, a Republican. National Democrats have disavowed any involvement in the race but hope that he will align with them in terms of Senate control if he prevails.

Then there’s the fact that Mr. Tester is trying to win a fourth term in a state that has moved sharply to the right. Unlike other rural states, Montana’s evolution has been fueled not by an exodus of voters, but by a steady influx of new conservative residents who are much more aligned with the MAGA movement. Democrats worry that these voters are unflinching Republicans who are strongly supportive of Mr. Trump and are not familiar with or interested in Mr. Tester’s long history in the state or Montana’s tradition of political independence.

“They don’t know Jon, and they are Republicans,” Mr. Baucus said.

Mr. Tester has sought to characterize his opponent, Tim Sheehy, a veteran and businessman who moved to the state a decade ago, as the archetype of the newcomer that many longtime Montana residents resent — a deep-pocketed transplant who swoops in and helps drive up housing prices by paying top dollar for a huge ranch, which is then cut off from public access for hunting and recreation.

“In the end, as long as we’ve got folks that want to come to this state that have hundreds of millions of dollars in their bank account — they want to make Montana a playground for the rich — we’re going to have a hard time having homes for ***working-class*** people,” Mr. Tester said in a swipe at Mr. Sheehy in their second and final debate last month.

Mr. Sheehy retorted that he and other new arrivals contributed to the state’s prosperity.

“Truth is, I wasn’t lucky enough to be born in Montana,” Mr. Sheehy said. “I sure would have loved to have been — couldn’t control where my mother’s womb was when I crawled out of it.” He added, “But I’m proud to say that when my wife and I left the service and we put down roots here, we started a company, created hundreds of jobs to try to invest in the betterment of our community.”

Mr. Tester’s allies say that if any Democrat can hang on in this environment, it should be him, given his authentic rural background, underscored by the three fingers he is missing on his left hand — lost to a meat grinder he proudly notes that he still owns. They believe that pedigree should counter Republican attacks that he has “gone Washington.” But they fear it might not be enough.

“The things they say about him are not going to stick as much for somebody who doesn’t have a butch haircut, an overhang over his belt, and still farms,” said Mr. Nelson, the former Nebraska governor, describing Mr. Tester’s appearance. “But until the Democratic Party — and this may be the year we do it — can convince enough folks about support for working families, we are going to continue to be at risk.”

PHOTO: Democrats see Senator Jon Tester, a third-generation farmer with deep Montana roots, as a test of whether Democrats can still bridge the yawning urban-rural divide. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2024

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[***Shock in French Court Shown Videos of Men Accused of Raping Drugged Woman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D40-2141-JBG3-63NP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1289 words

**Highlight:** Gisèle Pelicot fought for the graphic videos made by her husband to be shown publicly in court, insisting they were essential evidence in a rape case against him and 50 other men.

**Body**

Gisèle Pelicot fought for the graphic videos made by her husband to be shown publicly in court, insisting they were essential evidence in a rape case against him and 50 other men.

A leaden silence descended upon the courtroom as the videos began to play over three screens.

There was Gisèle Pelicot, the victim in the center of a rape trial that has rocked France, lying on a bed on her side, her arms limp before her, her mouth open. The sound of her snoring filled the courtroom. She appeared to be dead asleep.

In the videos, she did not respond to the touches of the men, who engaged with her body in sex acts.

Ms. Pelicot had fought hard for these videos to be shown publicly in the courtroom because, she said, they were incontrovertible evidence. While most rape victims have only their word and memory of events, Ms. Pelicot has a library of proof in the form of videos and photographs — taken by her own husband.

Showing them publicly was essential, her lawyer Antoine Camus told the courtroom, “to look rape straight in the eyes.”

It was another astounding moment in a trial that for the past month has gripped France. The case has raised profound questions about relations between men and women, the prevalence of rape and conceptions of consent.

More than 50 men are on trial together. Almost all are accused of aggravated rape against Ms. Pelicot, a grandmother and retired manager at a big company, while she was in an unconscious state. Her former husband of 50 years, Dominique Pelicot, [*has pleaded guilty to mixing drugs into her food and drin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html)k and inviting others into their home, in a village in southern France where they had retired, to join him in raping her limp body.

While Ms. Pelicot, 71, had the right to request that the trial take place behind closed doors, she decided to make it public. She said that she did it not for her, [*but to protect other women.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) Shame, she said, must change sides — from the victims to the perpetrators.

The accused men appear to be a gallery of ***working-class*** and middle-class French society: truck drivers, carpenters and trade workers, a nurse, an I.T. expert, a local journalist. They range in age from 26 to 74. Many have children and are in relationships. Over four months, their cases are coming before the court in batches of six or seven a week.

All but 15 have contested the charge. Many have argued that they were tricked into coming into her bedroom by Mr. Pelicot, who had offered them a playful trio with his wife. Many say he led them to believe she was sleeping — or pretending to sleep — as part of the couple’s sexual fantasy. Mr. Pelicot manipulated them when they were vulnerable, some of them have said, and directed them in the acts like a stage manager. They said they had blindly followed his orders.

One said this week that he thought he was also drugged, and had no memory from the moment he entered the room until he returned to his car later. Another said he was so terrified by Mr. Pelicot, whom he regarded as a “predator” and a “psychopath,” that he interacted with Ms. Pelicot’s body calmly in order to “not show weakness, so he attacks me.”

“They took a precise line of defense,” Mr. Camus, one of the lawyers for Ms. Pelicot, told the court on Friday. Ms. Pelicot has said that while the men were perhaps tricked into coming into her bedroom, once they got there, she was so unconscious that it was clear that she could not have possibly given consent.

This is where the videos come in. Mr. Pelicot filmed most of the encounters, often with two cameras, and carefully edited and titled them. Over the course of their investigation, the police found more than 20,000 videos and photographs on his electronic devices, many of them in a digital folder titled “Abuse.”

After [*initially ruling the videos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) would not be viewed because of their “indecent and shocking” nature, the judges of the criminal court in Avignon changed their minds after a heated courtroom debate on Friday. Not all the videos would be shown, announced the head judge, Roger Arata — just those videos deemed “strictly necessary” for the “manifestation of the truth.”

A dozen videos and about 10 photos were shown over the courtroom’s three flat screens on Friday afternoon and projected into the overflow room for members of the public, who have continued to line up every day to watch the proceedings and support Ms. Pelicot.

The videos’ titles alone, packed with crude words and read out by the prosecutor, made many observers flinch. Judge Arata said at one point that he didn’t have any “particular desire” to read them out loud any more.

In many, Ms. Pelicot appeared naked, but in some, she wore a garter belt, underwear and white socks. In one, she had a blindfold over her eyes. Her husband told the police he often dressed her up after she was unconscious, and then at the end of the night, he cleaned her and returned her to her nightclothes.

The accused were seen stroking her sides and intimate parts with their hands and mouths. Five were captured putting their penises in her slack mouth. The camera sometimes zoomed in for close-ups. While Ms. Pelicot could be seen moving slightly in some, in none was she seen responding to the touches. She often snored loudly.

The videos played on uncomfortably long. One defendant lowered his face. Many lawyers and journalists stopped looking at the screens.

Thierry Postat, a 61-year-old refrigeration technician who is among those on trial, told the court that he had been involved in swinging and couple sharing since he was 30. He said that in at least three other cases, he had been invited into bedrooms by husbands to have sex with their sleeping wives — only one of whom woke up.

“I trusted Mr. Pelicot,” because most of the time among swingers, Mr. Postat told the court, “it’s the man who organizes things.”

But he was pressed by Ms. Pelicot’s lawyer, Mr. Camus: “You really thought you were practicing couple swapping? You see a couple there?” Mr. Camus asked Mr. Postat, referring to the video that had just been shown.

“Yes,” Mr. Postat responded. “The way I remember it.”

Another video captured Simone Mekenese penetrating Ms. Pelicot, while she was lying on her side sleeping.

“You weren’t aware she was unconscious?” asked Stéphane Babonneau, a second lawyer for Ms. Pelicot.

“No,” responded Mr. [*Mekenese*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html), 43, a driver on a construction site who was a neighbor of the couple’s at the time. “I thought she would participate soon.”

An argument heard repeatedly in court this week was that while they might not have gotten direct consent from Ms. Pelicot, the accused men did not go to the Pelicots’ home with an intention to rape her.

The day before, Mr. Postat had told the court that they might be rapists because they had not received consent, “but we aren’t rapists in our souls.”

After two hours of viewing videos, the court session ended abruptly. People drifted out of the courtroom, and the overflow room, stunned.

“We are in shock,” said Anne-Marie Galvan, 58, a nursing assistant at the local hospital. Her husband, Serge Galvan, stood nearby, tears swelling in his eyes.

“I’m almost ashamed to be a man,” he said. “You could see she was sleeping. It was obvious she was unconscious.”

The couple, and the rest of the crowd, clapped thunderously [*when Ms. Pelicot passed by,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) making her way with her lawyers to the court exit. She stopped, looked at the group, and put her hand to her heart.

“We are here for her. We must not let this lady down. We must give her as much strength as possible. It’s important for women,” said Mr. Galvan.

“This,” he added, thinking back to the scenes on the screen, “has to stop.”

Ségolène Le Stradic contributed reporting.

Ségolène Le Stradic contributed reporting.

This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** October 5, 2024

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[***These Uncommitted Voters Finally Made Their Choice for President***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBF-SHK1-DXY4-X0SY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2024 Sunday 00:18 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1772 words

**Byline:** Jack Healy, Clyde McGrady, Eduardo Medina, Campbell Robertson, Nailah Morgan and James SurdamJack 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:** Over the last four months, these voters have struggled with their decision. Now, with time short, they explain who’s getting, or not getting, their vote.

**Body**

Over the last four months, these voters have struggled with their decision. Now, with time short, they explain who’s getting, or not getting, their vote.

Over the last four months, The New York Times has been speaking with undecided voters after some of the most dramatic moments of the presidential campaign, to learn how those events were shaping their choice.

The people we talked with live in states where the polling is tight, and voters like them will play an outsize role in determining the outcome. They are concerned about the cost of living, former President Donald J. Trump’s volatility and Vice President Kamala Harris’s vision for the country.

They are sporadic voters, disaffected former partisans, Republicans and Democrats. Some of them shifted their decisions over the course of the campaign. Others will decide when they step into the booth.

While a lot has happened over the last few months, poll numbers have remained largely stable. The vast majority of American voters have made up their minds, adding even more weight to what persuadable voters ultimately decide.

Kristen Morris voted for Ms. Harris.

In the spring, Kristen Morris, 60, a former Republican, was feeling deeply pessimistic about her two choices for president. She felt troubled by Mr. Biden, whom she had voted for in 2020: She worried about his cognitive abilities and was unhappy with his handling of the country’s withdrawal from Afghanistan. And she was stunned that Mr. Trump continued to express no remorse over the Jan. 6 riot.

Ms. Morris, a nursing student in who lives in a suburb of Charlotte, N.C., jokingly refers to herself as a “raging moderate” and identifies as an independent. At the Republican National Convention this summer, she was hoping to hear something — anything — from Mr. Trump that would hint at a more subdued and bipartisan tone. Instead, she said, his divisive statements and rambling outbursts were in full view.

Then Mr. Biden dropped out, and Ms. Harris entered the race. After listening to her speeches, particularly her address at the Democratic National Convention, Ms. Morris said she appreciated Ms. Harris’s efforts to address people across the political aisle. She said she was also impressed with Ms. Harris’s “command of international affairs,” and her “commitment to the rule of law and what democracy really means.” Her mind was made up: Ms. Harris had earned her vote.

Bob Reed plans to vote for Mr. Trump.

Bob Reed, 78, is a Republican. A retired teacher who still works his family farm in central Pennsylvania, where he lives with his wife, Sharon, he agrees with the Republican Party’s approach to regulation, spending and border control. But he does not like Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump’s unpredictability and incendiary rhetoric, as well as his apparent fondness for foreign authoritarians, was almost a deal breaker for Mr. Reed. He was still 50.01 percent likely to vote for Mr. Trump again, he said early in the summer, because he disapproved of Mr. Biden’s handling of inflation and border enforcement. But when Ms. Harris entered the race, Mr. Reed was open to reconsidering. He liked her youth and energy, and he found her to be more dignified than Mr. Trump.

As the campaign unfolded, however, he said Ms. Harris gave him little reason to think she would significantly change course from Mr. Biden. And so in the end he decided to follow his long-held preferences for Republican policy.

This is not to say it was an open-and-shut decision. Over the course of the past four months, Mr. Reed’s preference for Mr. Trump over his rival, he said, had grown to a whopping 51 percent.

Ryan Rivera voted for Ms. Harris.

Ryan Rivera felt “really stuck” before the presidential race was upended by Mr. Biden’s decision to drop out.

As a trans man, Mx. Rivera, 20, worried about what a second Trump presidency would mean for L.G.B.T.Q. rights and whether trans people would be denied gender-affirming health care. But Mx. Rivera, who uses they/them pronouns, was also horrified by the death and destruction in Gaza, and cried watching TikTok videos of Palestinian children killed in Israeli strikes. They balked at voting for Mr. Biden because of his vocal support for Israel.

Ms. Harris’s entry into the race changed everything. Mx. Rivera did not know much about her but thought the country was long overdue to be led by a biracial woman who did not grow up rich. The more Mx. Rivera watched of Ms. Harris, the better they felt supporting her.

Mx. Rivera had been reluctant to even engage in the campaign because of its intense negativity but said as a trans man, “I don’t have a choice.” They made time between working two jobs to tune into the race, watching the debates and Ms. Harris’s convention speech from their bedroom. Mx. Rivera even tried to persuade their politically abstinent mother to vote. That, however, was a losing campaign.

Matthew Dugie voted for Ms. Harris.

Matthew Dugie is the kind of voter that Mr. Trump could not afford to lose. He is a 59-year-old union construction worker in the Phoenix suburbs who voted for Mr. Trump in 2020. Even though he supports abortion rights and immigration, he thought Mr. Trump did a fine enough job running the country.

But Mr. Dugie, who is not religious, distrusted Mr. Trump’s deepening alignment with conservative Christians and decided he had seen enough when he saw Mr. Trump [*hawking $60 Bibles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/us/oklahoma-schools-trump-bible.html). He hoped that an outsider business leader or another Republican politician would swoop in to offer an alternative to Mr. Trump.

The assassination attempt against Mr. Trump in Butler, Pa., changed his views. He decided then to vote for Mr. Trump. But, in the days before casting an early ballot, came another shift. Wanting to know more about Mr. Trump, he watched a documentary detailing Mr. Trump’s actions to overturn the 2020 election and decided, “This guy is a fraud.”

He said he voted for Ms. Harris.

“I definitely did a lot more research than I usually do,” he said. “It was not so much of a roller coaster as it was a learning experience.”

Remarcus Steele plans to vote for Jill Stein.

Remarcus Steele is a 29-year-old social media influencer who lives in the Atlanta suburbs.

He feels disaffected from politics, and back in June, he was disappointed with his choices for president. He thought Mr. Biden was too old and that Mr. Trump was a criminal.

He was even more distraught following that fateful debate between the two candidates. As he watched the video stream on his phone, Mr. Steele said he could not believe that the candidates failed to meet even his low expectations. “I think that America lost as a whole,” he said, when asked to choose a winner from that night.

But he was also disappointed that third-party candidates such as Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Jill Stein or Cornel West were not included, and thought America would benefit from hearing their thoughts on issues such as social justice and food safety. Despite Mr. Kennedy dropping out of the race and endorsing Mr. Trump, Mr. Steele thinks Mr. Trump is too “extreme” and does not deserve to return to the White House.

“After seeing what his plans are and even being aware of Project 2025, I say it’s an absolute no,” he said, referring to the conservative policy initiative to reshape the federal government.

But Ms. Harris has not won him over, either. Mr. Steele believes that she and Mr. Biden have done little to address issues like housing, pandemic-shuttered businesses and health.

Mr. Steele said he is sticking with a third-party candidate. (Of his three preferences, only Ms. Stein is on the ballot in Georgia.) His decision could be a bad signal to Ms. Harris, who is losing young Black and Latino voters, when she needs every last one in the swing states.

Jake Ferrin-Brown voted for Mr. Trump.

As Jake Ferrin-Brown, 24, tried to make up his mind on how to vote, he sat down at his home in rural southern Arizona and made up a March Madness-style bracket for the presidential candidates.

He liked Mr. Trump’s harsh posture on immigration and supported Ms. Harris’s promises to cut taxes for ***working-class*** Americans and to spend more money on mental health. But he was so disgusted with Democrats and Republicans alike that he ultimately sided with Robert F. Kennedy Jr. He said he wanted to vote for Mr. Kennedy “to crash the two-party system.”

When Mr. Kennedy dropped out and endorsed Mr. Trump, Mr. Ferrin-Brown started leaning more toward Mr. Trump. He trusted Mr. Trump more on the economy and faulted Ms. Harris for the record-breaking numbers of migrants who arrived at the southern border over the past four years.

He said he made up his mind after he watched Ms. Harris tell an [*interviewer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/us/oklahoma-schools-trump-bible.html) that she could not think of anything specifically she would have done differently than Mr. Biden. “Why would I vote for someone who was such a big force behind those policies that I believe has made America worse off?” Mr. Ferrin-Brown said. Trump had his vote.

Sharon Reed is not sure how she will vote.

Sharon Reed, 77, voted reluctantly for Mr. Trump in 2020, a displeasure that turned to disgust after the Jan. 6 riot on the Capitol.

A retired teacher who lives in rural central Pennsylvania with her husband, Bob, Ms. Reed has long preferred the Republican Party’s approach to fiscal discipline and border control. She has, however, voted for Democrats, including the state’s current governor.

She was waiting for the Democrats to give her a reason to vote for their candidate in 2024 — a tall order she said, given the inflation under the Biden administration, but not an impossible one.

But from the moment Ms. Harris entered the race, Ms. Reed was unimpressed. She saw Ms. Harris as more “presidential” than the bombastic Mr. Trump. But Ms. Harris’s about-face on a range of issues, like fracking and border enforcement, seemed to indicate to Ms. Reed a lack of backbone. She worried about what that would mean when Ms. Harris was facing down tough foreign adversaries like President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

These reservations made half her decision: She could not vote for Ms. Harris. As for the other half, she is still undecided. And she may stay that way, she said, until she walks into the polling booth on Tuesday, unsure whether she will hold her nose and vote again for Mr. Trump, or simply leave the presidential line on her ballot blank.

Alexandra Eaton and Axel Boada contributed video production.

Alexandra Eaton and Axel Boada contributed video production.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKE BELLEME FOR NEW YORK TIMES; HANNAH BEIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; CASSIDY ARAIZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ALYSSA POINTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

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**End of Document**



[***At CBS, Everything Old Is New Again, Including ‘NCIS’; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6W-GY41-JBG3-62D6-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1481 words

**Byline:** Mike HaleMike Hale is a television critic for The Times. He also writes about online video, film and media.

**Highlight:** This week the network rolled out an “NCIS” spinoff, a “Young Sheldon” spinoff, a “Good Wife” spinoff and … “Matlock”?

**Body**

This week the network rolled out an “NCIS” spinoff, a “Young Sheldon” spinoff, a “Good Wife” spinoff and … “Matlock”?

CBS is reconvening this week, premiering a dozen of its dramas and comedies, including 10 of last season’s 15 most-watched scripted shows. You might dismiss the network’s dominance of the broadcast ratings as a case of being the top dog on a small playground, but the seven million to 10 million viewers each of those shows drew — before any streaming numbers were added — probably don’t care much about your opinion.

Along with the returning CBS hits this week come two new shows, “NCIS: Origins” and “Georgie &amp; Mandy’s First Marriage,” and one that still feels new, “Elsbeth,” which premiered in February and is starting its second season.

These additions to the schedule are nominally very different from one another, contributing to the diverse menu a big-box television outlet needs to offer: a sentimental buds-and-blood crime procedural set on a California military base (“NCIS: Origins”); a wacky-Texas-family sitcom (“Georgie &amp; Mandy’s First Marriage”); and an archly comic case-of-the-week detective series set in New York ([*“Elsbeth”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/28/arts/television/in-elsbeth-a-quirky-side-character-becomes-a-quirky-lead.html)).

But their differences are less notable than the thing they have in common: Each has emerged from the CBS ecosystem, spun off from one of the network’s existing franchises. “Origins” is the sixth “NCIS” show; “Georgie” follows “The Big Bang Theory” and “Young Sheldon”; and “Elsbeth” stars a character who was introduced in “The Good Wife” and later appeared in “The Good Fight.”

There are a couple of ways to look at that. You can see timidity and lack of imagination, and an overreliance on proven quantities like the sitcom mogul Chuck Lorre (“Georgie”) and the smart-drama mavens [*Michelle and Robert King*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/28/arts/television/in-elsbeth-a-quirky-side-character-becomes-a-quirky-lead.html) (“Elsbeth”). But you can also see shrewd strategy at a time when seemingly unlimited choice and the associated fracturing of the audience make viewers’ desires for familiarity and comfort stronger than ever. All of the major streamers could take lessons in brand management from CBS.

The network does not have a “universe” in the sense of Marvel’s crisscrossing superhero stories or the byzantine timelines of the “Star Wars” franchise. But it has a sensibility that is actually more consistent, across a variety of genres and creators. There may not be a CBS universe, but there is a CBS world, a zone with a common language and values. Traveling from “Blue Bloods” to “Fire Country” to “Tracker,” you won’t have any problems at the border.

The shows arriving this week — to which we can add “Matlock,” also in its first season, and “Tracker,” another February arrival — hew to the brand, similar in ways that are hard to quantify but still visible. Easiest to see is the attribute that makes the shows easy for many to dismiss: They are resolutely formulaic, each following a familiar path in nearly every episode. That is not to say that they are entirely predictable, from moment to moment, but they avoid rude surprises.

That is a timeworn observation about shows across all broadcast networks. More particular to the CBS shows is how they balance what can be seen as appeals to Middle American conservatism with nods to blue-state values.

Amid the standard investigation and suspense motifs of “Origins,” we see the crusty team leader, Mike Franks (Kyle Schmid), reluctantly facing up to issues of gender and race in the workplace; but his retrograde attitudes and jokes are still woven, at face value, into the show’s humor. (To be fair, it takes place in 1991.)

“Georgie,” set in the mid-1990s between “Young Sheldon” and “The Big Bang Theory,” focuses sympathetically on the efforts of Mandy (Emily Osment) to find a job while making clumsy jokes about the importance of her breasts in the imagination of Georgie (Montana Jordan), a notion we are probably meant to see as natural given that he is 12 years younger than she is. (The presentation of Georgie as both an adolescent, good-old-boy dimwit and a well-meaning, deceptively smart striver encapsulates the straddle CBS is always trying to pull off.)

In “Matlock,” the lawyer played by [*Kathy Bates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/28/arts/television/in-elsbeth-a-quirky-side-character-becomes-a-quirky-lead.html) nearly derails her firm&#39;s pursuit of a sexual-harassment case when she admits that her age and experience led her to distrust the young plaintiff.

In “Elsbeth,” Carrie Preston’s Elsbeth Tascioni, a Chicagoan temporarily attached to the New York police, is an awe-struck tourist in the big city (probably an experience familiar to many viewers) who also maintains a visitor’s critical distance. In Thursday’s season premiere, she falls in love with opera under the tutelage of a murderer charmingly played by Nathan Lane, but does not plan to go back to the opera house anytime soon — once or twice a year is enough, she notes with asperity.

All of the plot elements or throwaway lines involving social or cultural values are written without any reference whatsoever to actual politics or events in the larger world, of course; reality is in every case subsumed by formula and genre. This relates to another notable characteristic of the CBS shows: the way in which they seem to exist both in and out of time. They take place in specific moments on the calendar, but those time frames seem relevant only as a framework on which to hang jokes, references, costumes and props.

That free-floating quality points to a central truth about the CBS shows: Their universe is the world of broadcast TV itself. They occupy a timeless, homogeneous zone that is comfortably self-referential without being meta in a way that could be distracting or challenging.

“Elsbeth” is derived not just from the Kings’ earlier shows, but also from the template set by the beloved 1970s NBC detective show “Columbo.” “Matlock” plays with the folksy-lawyer premise of its namesake, the 1980s-’90s “Matlock” on NBC and ABC.

“Georgie” is strongly reminiscent of one of the most popular shows during the era in which it is set, ABC’s “Roseanne.” (The sympathetic father and father-in-law played by Will Sasso is a direct gloss on John Goodman’s Dan.) “Tracker” carries some DNA from the great Fox series “The X-Files.” It also directly invokes the CW bellwether “Supernatural,” with Jensen Ackles guest-starring in a role practically identical to the caustic, protective older brother he played in that earlier series (and driving a very similar black Chevy).

All that really matters for these shows is executing on their premises and formulas; if they keep faith, they will find an audience waiting for them. If you want to make distinctions, though, the edge probably goes to the featherweight but amusing “Elsbeth,” which has the polish and some of the wit that the Kings usually supply. (Its mysteries are almost offensively simple minded, though.) “Matlock” has a clever season-long premise to generate suspense and engaging performances by Bates and by Skye P. Marshall as a fierce younger lawyer; the case-of-the-week plots are undercooked, however, and Beau Bridges, as the firm’s alpha partner, is severely underused.

“NCIS: Origins” has some surface interest as a darker than usual variation on the “NCIS” blueprint, which usually calls for a mix of light buddy-cop banter and grisly homicide. Austin Stowell, playing the central character Leroy Jethro Gibbs at the beginning of his law-enforcement career, is about as expressive as Mark Harmon was when he played Gibbs on “NCIS”; Harmon made it work for 19 seasons, but Stowell may not get as much time to perfect his deadpan. (Harmon, who left the original series several seasons ago, returns here as narrator.)

“Georgie &amp; Mandy’s First Marriage” has the misfortune of having the slenderest connection to its predecessors. The center of gravity of both “Big Bang” and “Young Sheldon,” the comically obsessive scientist Sheldon Cooper (played by Jim Parsons as an adult and Iain Armitage as a child), is not present, and without him it is hard to see much of a purpose in the spinoff. (The show adds a Sheldon surrogate in the person of a twitchy, obsessive musician played by Dougie Baldwin; in the first few episodes it looks like a miscalculation.)

Georgie, Sheldon’s older brother, and Mandy run through achingly familiar sitcom scenarios of ***working-class*** travail, leavened only by the performance of Rachel Bay Jones (an Emmy, Grammy and Tony winner for “Dear Evan Hansen”) as Mandy’s disapproving mother. But it is still a good bet that more than a few of the nine million people who watched the last season of “Young Sheldon” will make the painless journey to “Georgie.”

PHOTOS: Left, from top: Montana Jordan and Emily Osment in “Georgie &amp; Mandy’s First Marriage”; Kyle Schmid in the prequel “NCIS: Origins”; and, from left, Jason Ritter, Kathy Bates and Skye P. Marshall in a reboot of “Matlock.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TROY HARVEY/WARNER BROS.; ERIK VOAKE/CBS; SONJA FLEMMING/CBS) This article appeared in print on page C3.

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**End of Document**



[***Some of America’s Best Art Is in the Yard; arts and letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2D-Y8F1-JBG3-60HJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Rachel Corbett and Nicholas Calcott

**Highlight:** For people who have historically been excluded by museums and galleries, their own properties have became a source of inspiration.

**Body**

For people who have historically been excluded by museums and galleries, their own properties have became a source of inspiration.

AT THE DEAD end of a quiet residential street in Birmingham, Ala., is a half-acre lot filled with rusted metal beams, two-by-fours and old crutches jutting into the sky. At first glance, the artist [*Joe Minter’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html) “African Village in America,” situated on the lawn of his home, next to the historically Black cemetery where his father, wife and two sons are buried, looks like little more than an affectionately tended junkyard, the kind of neighborhood eyesore people are generally programmed to walk past. But inside is one of the more intriguing public art installations in the country. Discarded dolls, car parts and other found objects are grouped together by shape and color. As one gazes at the collection, forms emerge — steel bodies, cinder-block towers, outlines of rooms. Closer inspection reveals hundreds of sculptures, including a few concrete Dobermans guarding a cage that represents the cell at the Birmingham City Jail where Martin Luther King Jr. was imprisoned in 1963 for protesting local segregation laws.

Minter, 81, lives on the property in a small blue house that he bought in the 1970s with money he made as a construction worker and from G.I. Bill loans. (He served during the Vietnam War era.) When he retired in 1989, he used the skills he’d learned on the job, and from his dad and brother, to create sculptural elegies to the victims of slavery and their descendants, condemning America for not paying reparations. Crooked signs with hand-painted messages like “U.S.A. Repent” and “Free at Last” cover Minter’s fence. Wiry and stooped, with an ash gray beard, he leads tours of the “African Village” in a blue hard hat, with a wooden shield that reads “Mandela” strapped to his back. He points out the “queen of the ‘African Village’” — a mattress spring to which are affixed tennis rackets sticking out like arms and a set of oven racks arrayed to suggest a headdress — and a conch seashell that “represents my ancestors lost in the Atlantic Ocean.” He tells his visitors, “I’ve never created nothing inside a building.”

For years, Minter’s work, which now occupies the lawns of two houses that he owns across the street, too, went noticed only by neighbors, who were largely tolerant, and other artists, like his fellow Alabamian [*Lonnie Holley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html), who began making assemblages out of salvaged materials on his property in Birmingham in the 1980s and who has called Minter a “hero.” Their creations are part of an outdoor artistic tradition sometimes called yard art, which has its origins in America in the 1800s but truly flourished in the mid-20th century, its rise concurrent with that of the single-family home. New technologies of mass production permitted the construction of affordable assembly-line homes, while the G.I. Bill and the availability of better mortgage terms after the war allowed greater numbers of ***working-class*** and, to some extent, nonwhite Americans to buy property. The yard became a symbol of the American dream and the site of a particularly American art form, an outdoor gallery to showcase one’s tastes — whether assimilationist (a white picket fence) or kitschy (pink flamingos). If suburban-style neighborhoods, within and outside of cities, represented conformity, they also became vast grounds for self-expression.

But it wasn’t until some of these middle-class areas went into decline that a more ambitious and even confrontational artistic impulse emerged. Influential yard art started appearing at the beginning of the 1980s, in neighborhoods that had been devastated by recessions and neglected by city governments. Artists, many of whom were Black or immigrants, used their property, and the discarded detritus around them, as a kind of canvas — a reminder that people were still living in these places, and a monument to all that had been left behind.

Yard art is often made by those who never attended art school. They’re frequently blue-collar workers who hold — or once held — manual labor jobs: Holley, for instance, picked up trash at a drive-in and dug graves. Some learned fabrication skills at work and had access to salvageable parts. Cities have often been hostile to these unsanctioned displays of art by so-called nonartists. In 1994, Birmingham condemned Holley’s wooded, two-acre yard environment, which he’d made over the course of 15 years, later bulldozing thousands of paintings and sculptures to clear the way for an airport expansion. “They made it into an art graveyard,” he’s said.

But now, as traditional art institutions re-evaluate their canons, they’re increasingly embracing these artists precisely because they’ve existed outside of them. Minter’s work is owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Smithsonian. [*Tyree Guyton*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html), 69, who makes art out of abandoned materials and houses in Detroit, is represented by Martos Gallery in New York. A [*show of yard art*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html) at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia that opened in July includes artists like Noah Purifoy, who spent 15 years working with junked materials on his property in Joshua Tree, Calif., and John Outterbridge, who made assemblages out of metal, wood and other scraps sourced from junkyards in Pasadena. What had once been thought of as a kind of outsider form is being celebrated as an influential movement that sought to use art to improve a community long before such an idea was taken as a given.

Yard art, then, finds itself at an unexpected crossroads, in demand by curators yet still under threat in the places where it’s made, subject to forces outside its creators’ control: unhappy neighbors, real estate developers, the weather. Its generational durability is also in doubt. For one thing, younger artists may not have the physical canvas that someone like Minter did. According to a Berkeley Institute for Young Americans analysis, a 30-year-old millennial was much less likely to own a home than a 30-year-old baby boomer. In many ways, yard art was a movement that could only prosper at a certain moment in America, and it seems likely that, as institutions navigate a life for these works beyond their in situ environments, the end of this art-historical era is near.

ONE OF THE first major works of yard art was by an Italian immigrant named Sabato “Simon” Rodia, a day laborer who built [*rebar towers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html), some nearly 100 feet tall, stitched together with wire and coated in mortar, behind his house in Watts, a diverse ***working-class*** neighborhood on the outskirts of Los Angeles. He worked obsessively on the project between 1921 and 1954, after which he moved north to live near his sister. The City of Los Angeles ordered its demolition, and it survived only because a graduate film student and an actor bought the property for $3,000 in 1959. (A few years later, Rodia was immortalized as one of the cardboard cutout figures on the cover of the Beatles’ 1967 album “Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band.”) The structures are now a National Historic Landmark.

Rodia, like many yard artists, saw his work as a gift to the community; he called Watts Towers “Nuestro Pueblo,” or “Our Town.” Yet some of his neighbors viewed the assemblage more as blight than art. That’s also been the fate of Guyton’s “Heidelberg Project” since its inception 38 years ago. Heidelberg Street, the four-block-long thoroughfare on Detroit’s East Side where the artist was raised, was in an enclave of auto industry employees. It fell into disrepair as more and more families left the city after the uprisings against racial inequality that destroyed large portions of Detroit in the summer of 1967. After a stint in the army in the ’70s, Guyton returned to Heidelberg Street to find it in decline. A few years later, with the help of his grandfather, he transformed the area into a multiblock parade of found-art assemblages, painting vacant houses with polka dots and symbols and creating sculptures out of discarded children’s toys, old shoes, television sets and furniture. Word of the project grew, and it became a stop on the art pilgrimage circuit. On an afternoon in May, there were people visiting from around the world, and Guyton, a former firefighter and autoworker, was showing off what he’d been working on lately: a precariously stacked pile of shopping carts, a row of TVs on the sidewalk, an abandoned house with giant clocks painted on it.

While Guyton’s reputation as an artist has grown internationally, he’s spent decades being resented locally. Some of his neighbors have complained about him to authorities and even on “The Oprah Winfrey Show.” In the 1990s, he twice watched the City of Detroit demolish the houses he’d painted — which were crack houses, burned-out buildings and other derelict spaces he’d chosen to draw attention to local officials’ neglect of his community. “You call the ‘Heidelberg Project’ an eyesore — what’s this?” he said, gesturing toward one house as he recalled past battles. The authorities only seemed to care about tearing down the houses once his art appeared on them, putting the artist’s plans in jeopardy. “We always had a vision of acquiring the land that we had been — I always say sharecropping — that we’d been taking care of,” Guyton’s wife, Jenenne Whitfield, said. Starting in 2013, a series of suspicious fires ruined even more of his work. Today, only two of the approximately 24 houses that he originally painted still stand. Last year, the organization that he and Whitfield founded to maintain the art and run community programs ran out of money and laid off its staff. “I cried like a baby,” he said. Still, Guyton, who once announced that he’d dismantle the “Heidelberg Project,” now has plans not only to maintain his work but to expand it.

The organization is still fund-raising, as Guyton bolsters his career outside of Heidelberg Street, finding the art world surprisingly easier to navigate than the place to which he’s devoted much of his adult life. The very artworks that some had ridiculed in Detroit are now being purchased by collectors. His sculptures have been accused of lowering property values; but take one to New York and it could be worth more than a house on Heidelberg. Guyton’s dealer said he can sell one of the artist’s sculptures for $40,000.

AS THE ARTISTS of Guyton’s and Minter’s generations age, the question of how to preserve their work has become more urgent. At a house across town in Hamtramck, a small, immigrant-dense city within Detroit’s borders, one arts nonprofit is offering a model of what might be done with a yard environment after its creator has died. Dmytro Szylak, who left Ukraine after World War II, started building a menagerie of mechanical toys, carousel horses and wooden windmills on top of his two backyard garages after he retired from a General Motors factory in the mid-80s. The installation, which he called “Hamtramck Disneyland,” soon towered over the alley on his compact block.

When Szylak died in 2015 at age 92, the property wound up in probate court and the future of his “Disneyland,” which was attracting thousands of visitors, was unclear. “There was a sense that maybe the Ukrainian community in Hamtramck wasn’t super into it because it’s a bit garish,” said Renee Willoughby, who takes care of the property on behalf of a nonprofit called Hatch Art, which was created in 2006 to support creative endeavors in Hamtramck. But unlike the “Heidelberg Project,” Szylak’s work generally received municipal support. After Szylak died, Hamtramck’s then-mayor, Karen Majewski, said the city was “committed to preserving this jewel, and the artist’s legacy.”

And while the yard-art tradition doesn’t seem to have a next generation of direct descendants creating open-air museums on their front lawns, a number of younger artists are still making neighborhoods central to their practice. They’re going about it in reverse order, however, using their art-world stature to acquire properties.

The 48-year-old painter Titus Kaphar’s foundation [*NXTHVN*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html) repurposed two disused factories in a historically Black neighborhood of New Haven, Conn., in the hopes of encouraging artists to settle in town rather than leave for New York after attending the Yale School of Art. And in Chicago, [*Theaster Gates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html), 51, who has a background in both urban planning and ceramics, and his Rebuild Foundation have bought up more than 40 properties across the city’s South Side to create housing, jobs and space for other community services. Many artists have looked to the house in historically Black neighborhoods as their subject, including Rick Lowe, 63, whose “[*Project Row Houses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html),” begun in 1993, involved restoring 22 homes in Houston’s Third Ward and now spans five city blocks and 39 structures, and [*Amanda Williams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html), 50, who’s painted houses slated for demolition on the South Side of Chicago in bright pink and yellow to call attention to their existence. Younger arts organizers are also playing a pivotal role in bringing renewed interest to the work of elder yard artists, including the Whitney Museum curator Rujeko Hockley, 40, who showed sculptures by Minter in the 2019 Whitney Biennial.

Matt Arnett, 56, who co-founded the [*Souls Grown Deep*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/25/garden/joe-minters-african-village-in-america.html) foundation for Black artists in the South with his brothers and late father, the author and collector Bill Arnett, said he’s been working with museums, foundations and private individuals to preserve Minter’s work — ideally on-site. But “the backup plan is to have the work saved … somewhere.” He hopes the uproar over the razing of Holley’s work will help prevent Birmingham from repeating its mistake with Minter: “I don’t think any city wants to be responsible for destroying two of the most important sites in America,” he says. Minter seems to be thinking a lot about what will happen to his work when he’s gone. It’s “up to the next generation to preserve it,” he said, “because me and my wife took it as far as we can in the hands of God and with what little resources we had.” He knows his art — like a neighborhood itself — will only survive if a community gets behind it. As another sign on the fence around Minter’s yard reads, “Come together or perish.”

PHOTOS: Above: the view from the alley of “Hamtramck Disneyland,” created by the former General Motors employee Dmytro Szylak at his home near Detroit. Left: a sculpture by Tyree Guyton on Heidelberg Street in Detroit, where the artist grew up. ; Left: Joe Minter has been adding to what he calls the “African Village in America” on his property adjacent to a historically Black cemetery in Birmingham, Ala., since 1989. Above: Szylak’s “Hamtramck Disneyland,” which he worked on from the ’80s until his death in 2015.; Above: some of the four-block-long Heidelberg Street has been taken up by Guyton’s art. Right: to make his sculptures, Guyton uses salvaged materials from around Detroit, including discarded televisions. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICHOLAS CALCOTT) This article appeared in print on page M256, M258, M260.

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**End of Document**



[***Florida Stopped Being a Swing State Slowly, Then All at Once***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D97-61B1-DXY4-X0K9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1913 words

**Byline:** Patricia MazzeiPatricia Mazzei is the lead reporter for The Times in Miami, covering Florida and Puerto Rico.

**Highlight:** Once a top presidential battleground, the state is lost to Democrats. The party’s missteps, along with demographic change, led to every one of Florida’s 67 counties becoming more red.

**Body**

Once a top presidential battleground, the state is lost to Democrats. The party’s missteps, along with demographic change, led to every one of Florida’s 67 counties becoming more red.

Florida’s days as a presidential battleground are bygone. No longer do candidates drop in every few days during campaign season. No longer do voters get bombarded with their ads. Nor is there more than a whisper of doubt that the state will vote Republican.

Presidential elections in Florida used to be decided by the slimmest of margins — none slimmer than the [*537 votes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) that, after an infamous recount, won George W. Bush the White House in 2000. Republicans and Democrats waged fierce campaigns during the two decades that followed as Florida, rich in electoral votes, became the largest swing state.

In the past four years, the Florida Democratic Party has withered and struggled to rebuild. Democrats have lost their edge in registered voters and are now outnumbered by more than one million Republicans. They have not won a statewide seat since 2018. National fund-raising has all but dried up.

The loss of Florida as a source of electoral votes looms large as Democrats scrap for every last vote across seven swing states in the 2024 presidential election.

The reasons are in some cases structural and longstanding: demographics, partisan gerrymandering and legislative term limits. But others are of Democrats’ own making: an unwillingness to invest enough in the nuts and bolts of winning elections; fund-raising divisions; and flawed assumptions about the growing Hispanic vote, according to an examination of voter registration numbers, campaign spending and more than two dozen interviews with political operatives from both parties.

What happens in November and in the next few election cycles in Florida will be a test for the country’s politics, as more people move to Sun Belt states and those states get more electoral votes. Democrats will have to make inroads there — a lot of them — to win the presidency.

“The story of Florida is not just the story of Florida,” said Raymond Paultre, the executive director of the Alliance, a group of Democratic donors in the state. “It’s the story of a progressive movement that’s struggling to make it in the South, that’s struggling to compete with younger voters of color, that is struggling to win with younger men.”

The shortcomings in Florida became evident in 2020, when national Democrats largely abandoned spending in the state.

Two years earlier, Democrats had run a moderate incumbent, Bill Nelson, for Senate, and a progressive, Andrew Gillum, for governor, covering all their political bases. Both lost after recounts. Mr. Nelson lost to Senator Rick Scott, a Republican [*whose vast wealth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) has helped him win three statewide elections by one percentage point or less.

Florida started looking impossible for Democrats to crack.

While Democrats lost their footing, Republicans seized opportunities to reshape Florida’s electorate to their advantage. [*A torrent of conservative policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) have followed, intended to cement the state as an anchor of Republican power.

The results have forced Democrats to try to remake their electoral pathways to victory, as Florida slipped away from them.

In 2020, Joseph R. Biden Jr. won the White House, but the state went for former President Donald J. Trump, ending Floridians’ streak of voting for the winner in every presidential election since 1996. Mr. Trump’s victory in Florida that year, [*by a little more than three percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html), was the biggest presidential margin in the state since 2004.

This year, polls show Mr. Trump ahead of Vice President Kamala Harris in the state [*by an average of seven points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html).

Gov. Ron DeSantis, a Republican who [*was elected*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) in 2018 by [*less than half a percentage point*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html), has taken credit for Florida’s transformation, though it took years to build. He [*won re-election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) in 2022 by more than 19 points, a thumping that he had hoped would fuel his [*presidential campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) and quash any notion that Democrats might soon be competitive again.

“This whole century, presidential elections, we’d be on razor’s edge about the state of Florida,” Mr. DeSantis told Republicans at a state party dinner last month. Now, he added, winning is “a layup.”

“Are you happy that we’re a solid Republican state?” he asked. The crowd cheered.

Organizational missteps

Democrats describe Florida’s political evolution as happening gradually and then all at once.

In 2012, the last time a Democratic presidential candidate, Barack Obama, won the state, Democrats outnumbered Republicans in Florida by nearly 1.5 million voters. Since then, every one of the state’s 67 counties has become more Republican.

By 2020, Democrats’ registration edge had fallen to about 97,000 voters. As of Sept. 1, the state, with about 16.1 million voters overall, has about one million more “active” registered Republicans than Democrats. The state has disproportionately listed more Democrats as “inactive” voters, said Daniel A. Smith, an elections expert at the University of Florida. Voters are deemed inactive if they have not voted, requested a mail ballot or updated their registration in two general elections.

Some new Republicans are party switchers — longtime registered Democrats who had probably been voting Republican for years — a realignment that has happened across the South. Others moved to Florida as part of a migration that began earlier but swelled during the coronavirus pandemic.

Yet political parties and their leaders also played a role.

The Republican Party of Florida is one of the country’s best funded state parties, owing to 25 years of Republican state government control. Crucially, the party runs its own voter registration program.

Democrats have not won a Florida governor’s race since 1994. Republicans draw legislative districts and have supermajorities in the State House and Senate.

Unable to wield much power, the Florida Democratic Party increasingly outsourced voter registration over the past decade to nonprofit groups. Decentralizing the party was intended to create an enduring progressive infrastructure, but despite raising millions of dollars, outside groups failed to register voters in large numbers. New state laws made it even harder for them to do so.

Decentralization also led to fund-raising divisions. After Mr. Obama’s success in Florida, a group of Democratic donors sought more discretion over their own spending. Imitating a model that had succeeded in Colorado, they [*formed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) the Alliance, which channeled resources to progressive causes rather than to the party.

That change crippled a state party that, absent a governor to drive fund-raising, relied heavily on individual donors, said Steve Schale, a Democratic strategist.

“There’s definitely a place for the outside groups,” he said. “What we did was just completely knifed the actual party in doing it.”

But Carlos Odio, the Alliance’s former executive director, said that such criticism was misplaced, noting that “in states that have very successful infrastructure, you have both a strong party and a strong outside ecosystem.”

He added, “The way you beat a more powerful opponent is by building a larger coalition.”

Strategic miscalculations

Florida Democrats thought their coalition would grow as the state became more Hispanic, a longstanding assumption in a number of states. In 2012, about 14 percent of registered Florida voters identified as Hispanic, compared to more than 18 percent this year.

Florida Republicans prioritized Hispanics starting in the 1980s, led by Jeb Bush, who chaired the party in Miami-Dade County and later served two terms as governor. As a result, Florida Hispanics, who were mostly Cuban American, usually voted Republican. As older Cuban exiles died, Democrats thought that younger generations would lean Democratic. Mr. Obama’s wins bolstered that hypothesis.

In 2016, Hillary Clinton [*won about 62 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) of Hispanics in Florida but still lost the state. Her campaign turned out minority voters but failed to limit losses in whiter counties, as Mr. Obama had done.

Florida’s booming suburbs and exurbs, especially in the Tampa media market, had become more Republican. People drawn to Mr. Trump — particularly older white voters and those without a college degree — proved plentiful in the state, which has many retirees and service workers.

Democrats had a Tampa problem. Soon, they would also have a Miami problem.

Hispanics comprise about 68 percent of the population of Miami-Dade County. Mrs. Clinton won the county, Florida’s most populous, by 30 percentage points. Four years later, Mr. Biden won it by just seven points.

From 2016 to 2020, [*Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) [*relentlessly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) [*courted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) Florida Hispanics. Mr. Trump cut the ties Mr. Obama had forged with Cuba’s Communist government. As governor, Mr. Scott learned some Spanish and offered Puerto Ricans aid after Hurricane Maria. Senator Marco Rubio — a Cuban American who speaks fluent Spanish — obtained sanctions against the Venezuelan government.

***Working-class*** Hispanics [*suffered*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html) during the pandemic. Protests over police violence exposed a rift between Hispanics and progressive groups. Trumpism appealed to the demographic more broadly, it turned out, including to many who had voted Democratic in the past.

By 2020, younger Cuban Americans were voting more like their grandparents. An influx of new arrivals who had seen little improvement to life there during the Obama era favored Mr. Trump.

“There was essentially a realignment in South Florida,” said Giancarlo Sopo, a Cuban American consultant who switched from Democrat to Republican.

Can Democrats rebuild?

Perhaps the 2022 midterms were Florida Democrats’ low point. Their nominee for governor, Charlie Crist, was a former Republican who did not inspire loyalty. Little national money trickled in. Turnout collapsed: About 600,000 fewer Democrats voted than in 2018, according to Matthew Isbell, a Democratic data consultant.

This year, Nikki Fried, the state party chairwoman, portrayed Florida as back in play. But operatives know their victories, if any, might be small: Improve turnout. Win some legislative seats. Keep the presidential and Senate races to single-digit margins.

“We’re not going to go from a 20-point drubbing in 2022 to ‘Everything is fine,’” said Beth Matuga, a Democratic consultant running state House campaigns.

Democrats flipped the mayor’s office in Jacksonville last year and a state House seat in Orlando this year. Nearly half the candidates for local school boards endorsed by Mr. DeSantis [*lost in August primaries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html). Mayor Daniella Levine Cava of Miami-Dade County, a Democrat, [*easily won re-election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html).

In November, Democrats’ biggest win could come from a ballot measure that [*would guarantee abortion rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/27/us/counting-vote-overview-bush-declared-winner-florida-but-gore-vows-contest.html). But the measure, known as Amendment 4, would need 60 percent support to pass.

The state party recently spent several million more dollars on pro-Amendment 4 ads, according to AdImpact, a firm that tracks political advertisements. The “Yes on 4” campaign, however, emphasized that it is nonpartisan. Democratic support would not be enough to win.

PHOTOS: Presidential elections in Florida used to be decided by slim margins — none slimmer than the 537 votes that tipped the race to George W. Bush in 2000, above. The vast wealth of Senator Rick Scott, a Republican, has helped him win three statewide races. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY GUTIERREZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS; SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

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[***New Poll Shows G.O.P. With Edge To Seize Senate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5C-BDV1-DXY4-X2NT-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1430 words

**Byline:** By Shane Goldmacher

**Body**

The latest polling from The New York Times and Siena College shows Republicans leading in key Senate races in Montana, Texas and Florida.

Control of the Senate appears likely to flip from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party this fall, as one of the nation's most endangered Democrats, Senator Jon Tester of Montana, trails his Republican challenger in his bid for re-election, according to a new poll from The New York Times and Siena College.

Mr. Tester, who first won election to the Senate in 2006, is winning over moderate and independent voters and running far ahead of the Democrat at the top of the ticket, Vice President Kamala Harris. But as of now, that does not appear to be enough to survive in Montana, a conservative state where former President Donald J. Trump is ahead by 17 percentage points and where control of the Senate hangs in the balance.

Tim Sheehy, a wealthy Republican businessman and a former Navy SEAL who has never held public office, leads Mr. Tester 52 percent to 44 percent, the poll shows. Mr. Sheehy's lead is a seven-point advantage without rounding.

Democrats currently hold a 51-seat Senate majority. But with Republicans already set to pick up a seat after the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III, an independent from West Virginia who caucuses with Democrats, the party cannot afford to lose additional seats.

In fact, the party's only hope is to secure a 50-50 split and to have Ms. Harris win the White House, allowing her running mate, Tim Walz, to provide the crucial tiebreaking vote as vice president.

At least seven other Democratic-held Senate seats are competitive this fall, including in the presidential battlegrounds of Arizona, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Nevada and Wisconsin. In late September, a series of Times/Siena surveys in four of those races, as well as in Ohio, found Democrats ahead, though narrowly in some cases.

[Follow the latest polls and see updated polling averages of the Harris vs. Trump matchup.]

The problem is that the Democratic Party has scarce opportunities to flip any Republican-held seats in 2024 to make up for any potential losses, such as in Montana.

The best opportunity, according to new Times/Siena polling, may be in Texas, which Democrats have long dreamed of flipping but where they have fallen well short in recent years. Senator Ted Cruz, a Republican seeking his third term, leads his Democratic challenger, Representative Colin Allred, 48 percent to 44 percent, according to a Times/Siena poll in Texas.

And in Florida, a Times/Siena poll found that Senator Rick Scott, the Republican incumbent, is comfortably ahead of Representative Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, his Democratic rival, by an even wider margin, 49 percent to 40 percent.

Both Mr. Cruz and Mr. Scott lead by smaller margins in their states than Mr. Trump is ahead of Ms. Harris.

A third potentially competitive Republican-held seat has emerged in recent weeks, though the re-election bid of Senator Deb Fischer, Republican of Nebraska, was not included in the polls. Ms. Fischer is running against an independent, Dan Osborn, and Republicans have recently come to her campaign's aid with advertising.

In Montana, money has been flooding the state for months. With a population of around 1.1 million, Montana is set to see more than $265 million in television spending related to the Senate race, according to AdImpact, the ad-tracking service.

Republicans have circled Mr. Tester's race as a top priority in 2024 largely because the state has become so solidly Republican in national politics. Mr. Trump won there with 57 percent of the vote in 2020 -- the same percentage he was pulling in the poll.

Mr. Tester, with his flattop haircut and seven fingers -- he lost three digits in a meat-grinding accident as a child -- has successfully carved out a distinctive image that has long allowed him to outrun his party label and win re-election in 2012 and 2018.

This year, Republicans are hoping to make the Senate race in Montana a national partisan referendum. In the poll, 55 percent of likely voters said they would prefer that Republicans control the Senate, compared with only 37 percent who prefer Democratic control.

As of now, the poll found that Mr. Tester was winning the support of only 6 percent of Republicans. Mr. Tester trails his challenger even though he was favored over Mr. Sheehy by independent voters and viewed more favorably by them.

The race has been the top priority for Senator Steve Daines of Montana, the chairman of the Senate Republican campaign arm, the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Mr. Daines is determined to knock out his state's senior senator. It is something of a grudge match in that Mr. Tester had vocally supported former Gov. Steve Bullock, a Democrat, when Mr. Bullock challenged Mr. Daines in 2020.

In Montana, Ms. Harris is viewed unfavorably by 60 percent of likely voters, who trusted Mr. Trump more than her on every issue tested, including the economy, immigration, abortion, democracy and helping the ***working class***.

In a sign of the state's partisan tilt and the uphill battle for Mr. Tester, even independent voters there said they preferred that Republicans control the Senate in 2025.

In the Montana governor's race, Mr. Trump's edge over Ms. Harris (57 percent to 40 percent) was similar to the lead of the Republican governor, Greg Gianforte, over his Democratic challenger, Ryan Busse (57 percent to 35 percent).

For Mr. Tester, the steady barrage of negative ads about him appears to have affected his image, with 47 percent viewing him favorably and 50 percent unfavorably.

All three new Times/Siena polls -- in Montana, Texas and Florida -- showed fresh evidence of a trend that has been the case across the map this year: Republican Senate candidates are running behind Mr. Trump.

In Texas, Mr. Trump was ahead by seven points, while Mr. Cruz was up by only four points.

In Florida, Mr. Trump was leading by 13 points, while Mr. Scott was ahead by nine points.

And in Montana, Mr. Trump's lead was 10 points larger than Mr. Sheehy's.

In all three states, the gender gap was working in the G.O.P.'s favor. Men favored the Republicans by a wider margin than women favored the Democratic candidates.

Interestingly, immigration was tied with the economy as the most pressing issue for voters in Montana -- while it was significantly behind the economy as the most important issue for voters in Texas and Florida, two states that are more traditionally associated with the topic, even if Montana borders Canada.

Ruth Igielnik and Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

Here are the key things to know about these polls:

Interviewers spoke with 656 voters in Montana from Oct. 5 to 8, 622 voters in Florida from Sept. 29 to Oct. 6, and 617 voters in Texas from Sept. 29 to Oct. 4.

Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, more than 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 this poll, interviewers placed nearly 55,000 calls to nearly 30,000 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. 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.Ruth Igielnik and Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/10/us/politics/senate-polls-montana-florida-texas.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/10/us/politics/senate-polls-montana-florida-texas.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator Jon Tester, Democrat of Montana, is viewed unfavorably by 50 percent in the new poll. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Tim Sheehy, who has never held public office, is well in the lead. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LOUISE JOHNS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A9) This article appeared in print on page A1, A9.

**Load-Date:** October 11, 2024

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[***Socialism Is Supposed to Be a Working-Class Movement. Why Isn’t It?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65N8-JKG1-JBG3-6443-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 543 words

**Byline:** ‘The Ezra Klein Show’

**Highlight:** Bhaskar Sunkara explains the reasons for the progressive left’s setbacks in winning power — and elections — in America.

**Body**

American socialists today find themselves in a tenuous position. Over the past decade, the left has become a powerful force in American politics. Bernie Sanders seriously contested two presidential primaries. Democratic socialists have won local, state and congressional races. Organizations like Democratic Socialists of America and socialist publications like Jacobin have become part of the political conversation.

But the progressive left’s successes have been largely concentrated in well-educated, heavily blue districts, and the movement that claims to represent the interests of workers consistently fails to make meaningful inroads with ***working-class*** voters. As a result, socialists have struggled to build broad, lasting political power at any level of government.

“We might feel more confident about the prospects for the left if, rather than a momentary shift leftward in liberal economic priorities or the rhetoric of certain parts of the mainstream media, there had been deeper inroads made among workers,” writes Bhaskar Sunkara. “There have been rare exceptions, but on the whole, it would be delusional to say that our ideological left has made a decade of progress merging with a wider social base.”

[You can listen to this episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*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).]

Sunkara is the founding editor of Jacobin and the president of The Nation, two of the leading publications on the American left. He recently published an issue of Jacobin titled “[*The Left in Purgatory*](https://jacobin.com/issue/the-left-in-purgatory),” which attempts to grapple with the left’s failures, interrogate its political strategies and chart a path for American socialists to win over more ***working-class*** voters. So I invited him on the show to lay out where the left is now, and where he thinks it needs to go next.

We discuss whether the left learned the wrong lessons from the Sanders 2016 campaign, why ***working-class*** voters across the world have increasingly abandoned left-wing parties, the fundamental error in Sanders’s theory of the 2020 electorate, why winning over ***working-class*** voters is just as much about a candidate’s aesthetic as it is about policy, why Sunkara is pessimistic that the socialists who came after Bernie will be able to match his widespread appeal, the “end of the A.O.C. honeymoon” on the left, what a “supply-side socialism” could look like, the tension between the left’s desire for government to do big things and its skepticism of concentrated power, why it costs so much to build in America, why Sunkara is worried about America’s “thin associative democracy” and more.

You can listen to our whole conversation by following “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*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/2022/06/10/podcasts/transcript-ezra-klein-interviews-bhaskar-sunkara.html).)

“The Ezra Klein Show” is produced by Annie Galvin, Jeff Geld and Rogé Karma; fact-checking by Michelle Harris, Rollin Hu and Kate Sinclair; original music by Isaac Jones; mixing by Jeff Geld; audience strategy by Shannon Busta. Our executive producer is Irene Noguchi. Special thanks to Kristin Lin and Kristina Samulewski.

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

**Load-Date:** June 10, 2022

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[***Taking Time***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB3-7G51-DXY4-X07G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2024 Saturday 06:02 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1793 words

**Byline:** Melissa KirschMelissa Kirsch is the deputy editor of Culture and Lifestyle at The Times and writes The Morning newsletter on Saturdays.

**Highlight:** Daylight saving time ends tomorrow. How will you make use of the extra hour?

**Body**

Daylight saving time ends tomorrow. How will you make use of the extra hour?

The midday sun in my apartment this time of year is like a searchlight, illuminating every windowpane streak and every mote of dust. It’s obnoxious, honestly, like a teacher’s pet showing off: “Look how bright and unsparing I can be,” the sun seems to taunt, “just before I decamp for the next four months.”

An extra hour of sleep is no small thing if you can seize it. This is what I’ll remind myself as I make the rounds of the clocks tonight before bed, anticipating that brief moment of confused excitement tomorrow when I wake and check the time: It’s 7, no wait, it’s actually 6! Every first Sunday in November, I contemplate becoming a different, better person, one who gets up one hour earlier to meditate or exercise or meal-prep. I could be the person who spends an hour journaling, or fixing a large, healthy breakfast or taking the dog for a brisk walk in the cold dark. (In this alternate reality, I have a dog.)

And every first Sunday in November I do none of these things. I spend the extra hour in bed, trying to go back to sleep, probably fretting a little about how I’m squandering this precious opportunity to begin leading a truly productive life.

I know, it’s just one hour. How one spends it or doesn’t is hardly determinative of whether they’re making the most of their time on earth. But the scarcity of daylight this time of year does make every hour feel that much more valuable. As we enter the final two months of the year, thoughts naturally turn to how we’re filling our days.

I like the handy suggestion that we change the batteries in our smoke detectors every time we change the clocks. A potentially lifesaving precaution, easy enough. If daylight saving is this built-in, twice-yearly reminder, we could use it to prompt ourselves to perform other life-improving tasks. Maybe it’s the day you make a list of all the things you’d do if you had an extra hour, and commit to doing at least one of them daily between now and March, when we give that hour back.

Or you could just sleep in. Luxuriate in the extra hour without any mandate to do something with it. You could even do as [*a reader of The Morning advised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) a couple years ago, when I asked for tips for acclimating to the return to standard time: Wait to change your clock until an hour on Sunday that you’d like to experience again. Maybe you’d like to redo coffee and bagels at 10, or maybe an extra hour for an afternoon lie-down at 2feels like just the thing.

“A man who dares to waste one hour of time has not discovered the value of life,” Charles Darwin said, rather imperiously, but I guess his body of work does speak to some pretty impressive time-management skills. I’ve often used this sort of injunction as a way to urge myself into action. But I’m as inspired by the psychologist Amos Tversky, who said, “You waste years by not being able to waste hours.” Whose wisdom will you heed this weekend?

For more

* How to [*fall back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) without missing a beat.

1. [*Why do we change the clocks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), anyway?
2. An opinion writer on [*the case for and against*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) daylight saving time.

THE WEEK IN CULTURE

* “A Real Pain,” which stars its director and writer, Jesse Eisenberg, alongside Kieran Culkin, is a melancholic yet funny exploration [*of Jewish belonging and loss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), Manohla Dargis writes.

1. In “Blitz,” Saoirse Ronan plays a single mother in London during World War II. It is one of the eight movies [*our critics are talking about this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).
2. The actress Teri Garr, who earned an Oscar nomination for her performance in “Tootsie,” died this week at 79. [*See her life in pictures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).
3. Timothée Chalamet showed up unannounced at [*his own look-alike contest in New York City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html). (He did not compete.)
4. Martha Stewart does not like the new Netflix documentary about her: “I hate those last scenes,” [*she told Brooks Barnes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), our film-industry reporter. “Hate them.”
5. Social media users [*are filming themselves crying*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) after seeing “We Live in Time,” a new drama starring Andrew Garfield and Florence Pugh.

* Two years ago, the singer and songwriter Shawn Mendes canceled his world tour. Now he’s back with a [*stripped-down album*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

1. Thanks to TikTok, younger listeners are [*discovering artists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) across genres and eras, including Pavement, Cocteau Twins and Three 6 Mafia.
2. Mariah Carey says the holiday season has officially begun. She spoke to The Times about [*her 30 years as the queen of Christmas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

* Rather than asking whether we should be doing drugs, a new exhibition in Norwich, England, [*tries to understand why we always have*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

1. Prosecutors in Manhattan obtained an arrest warrant for a Princeton-educated antiquities dealer based in Italy, accusing him of [*trafficking thousands of illicit artifacts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).
2. The Frick Collection will [*reopen at its Fifth Avenue Gilded Age mansion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), which was closed for renovations, next year.

* Kyle Kuzma unleashed a parade of N.B.A. fashion with his outlandish pregame outfits. This year, [*he plans to wear a bland sweatsuit to every game*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

1. Pizza Hut’s Book It! literacy program, which celebrated its 40th anniversary, has [*reached more than 70 million students*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).
2. Starbucks will [*no longer charge extra for milk alternatives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), an effort to improve slowing sales, The Washington Post reports.

THE LATEST NEWS

* Donald Trump called Liz Cheney a war hawk [*who should be sent to a combat zone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html). “Let’s see how she feels about it. You know, when the guns are trained on her face,” he said. Kamala Harris [*called his language disqualifying.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html)

1. In a legal win for Democrats, the Supreme Court will let some Pennsylvania voters [*cast provisional ballots in person*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) if election workers reject their mail ballots.
2. U.S. employers added just 12,000 jobs last month, far fewer than forecast, as a Boeing labor strike and hurricanes affected businesses. [*The Trump campaign blamed Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).
3. The rapper Cardi B [*campaigned with Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) in Wisconsin. She said she hadn’t planned to vote this year, but that Harris’s entry into the race changed her mind.
4. Harris is trying to recapture ***working-class*** voters who have slipped away from Democrats. But [*they seem likely to favor Trump again*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).
5. An annual security conference in Atlanta models emergency responses to fictional disasters. This year, election conspiracy theorists and prominent Republicans [*shut it down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

* A federal jury found Brett Hankison, a former Louisville, Ky., detective who shot into Breonna Taylor’s apartment in 2020, [*guilty of violating her rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

1. Mayor Eric Adams of New York City is set to [*stand trial on corruption charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) in April. He has pleaded not guilty.
2. Russia is making steadier gains in eastern Ukraine than U.S. officials had anticipated, [*deepening a sense of pessimism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) as Ukraine’s military struggles to recruit soldiers.
3. The death toll from flooding in Spain [*rose to 205*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html). Dozens of people are still missing.

CULTURE CALENDAR

“The 2024 S.N.L. Election Special” (Monday): Perhaps you are jittery and stressed out by the presidential election. But you’re also reading The Morning, which means you’re taking it all in and have accepted there’s no avoiding the headlines. Lean into it, and allow yourself to laugh at [*an impression or two*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), during this collection of “Saturday Night Live” political sketches right before Election Day.

RECIPE OF THE WEEK

Buttermilk-Brined Roast Chicken

Now that the wild candy rumpus that is Halloween has come and gone, you might be looking to make something on the more healthful side. You can’t go wrong with a simple, crowd-pleasing roast chicken, especially when it’s been brined in buttermilk and salt before roasting. Samin Nosrat’s five-star [*buttermilk-brined roast chicken*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) is everything you want in a roasted bird — tender meat that’s juicy and evenly cooked, covered by burnished, caramelized skin. You do need to let it marinate in the fridge overnight, so start it today for dinner tomorrow. Then serve it with a healthful green vegetable and a baguette, and let it compensate for all those Halloween treats.

REAL ESTATE

The Hunt: A doctor and a D.J. wanted a house for their growing family in Los Angeles. Which one did they choose? [*Play our game*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

What you get for $750,000: A Craftsman-style house in Evanston, Ill.; a two-bedroom condo in Peterborough, N.H.; or [*an 1899 Queen Anne Revival in Knoxville, Tenn.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html)

LIVING

Face Value: A writer shares the lessons she has learned [*from growing out her gray hair*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

Psychic to the stars: He did readings for John Lennon and Princess Grace. At 83, [*he’s still talking to ghosts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

Test strips: The team behind Starface pimple patches want to make [*recreational drug use safer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

Till death: Some couples [*are marrying in cemeteries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

Voting: Is it legal to take a ballot selfie in the U.S.? [*It depends on your state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

Zynfluenced: Small pouches of nicotine made their way from Sweden to the U.S. and [*created a new type of guy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

ADVICE FROM WIRECUTTER

A white tee is a layering workhorse

The weather on the East Coast has been fluctuating between summerlike days and bone-chilling evenings, which makes dressing a challenge. The best advice is, of course, to layer. But before you start buying barn coats and chunky cardigans, you need a solid foundation — and there’s no better building block for a transitional autumn outfit than a good white T-shirt. [*I prefer a fitted tee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), something that doesn’t add much bulk under sweaters and that also looks tailored on its own. But Wirecutter’s style experts [*have several favorites for all sorts of style preferences*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html). Pick something that you’ll be excited to wear over and over again, no matter the season. — Maxine Builder

GAME OF THE WEEK

Detroit Lions vs. Green Bay Packers, N.F.L.: The Lions, who reached the N.F.C. championship game last season, are having another stellar year. In their past four games, all victories, the Lions have scored 42, 47, 31 and 52 points. They have an elite pair of running backs, Jahmyr Gibbs and David Montgomery, and quarterback Jared Goff has been playing at an M.V.P. level. But, [*as The Athletic’s J.J. Bailey notes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), those wins all came in the cozy confines of indoor stadiums. This week, they head to Lambeau Field, where the forecast shows temperatures in the 50s and a chance of rain. Tomorrow at 4:25 p.m. Eastern on Fox

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html). Yesterday’s pangram was evading.

[*Take a special election edition of the news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) to see how well you’ve followed the 2024 campaign.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times. — Melissa

P.S. The most popular story this week in The Morning was about the recent discovery of a work by the composer Frédéric Chopin. [*Listen to it here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/briefing/daylight-saving-time.html).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY María Jesús Contreras FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Harris Visits Red Areas of Pennsylvania, Hoping to Cut Into Trump’s Edge***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYG-8V51-DXY4-X05Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 13, 2024 Friday 19:49 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1056 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Reid J. Epstein Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris. More about Nicholas Nehamas Reid 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 vice president, who appeared in Johnstown and Wilkes-Barre, pledged to remove “unnecessary degree requirements” for some federal jobs, aiming to compete in conservative-leaning areas.

**Body**

The vice president, who appeared in Johnstown and Wilkes-Barre, pledged to remove “unnecessary degree requirements” for some federal jobs, aiming to compete in conservative-leaning areas.

Vice President Kamala Harris campaigned through Pennsylvania’s conservative interior on Friday, aiming to shave a few percentage points off former President Donald J. Trump’s winning margins in parts of the state where he remains popular.

At a campaign rally in Wilkes-Barre, the largest city in a county where [*Mr. Trump won 57 percent of the vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) in 2020, Ms. Harris said she would remove “unnecessary degree requirements” for some federal jobs, a pitch to Mr. Trump’s base of voters without a college education in a part of the state where he expects to perform well.

Ms. Harris also emphasized her work in California prosecuting Mexican drug cartels, and said as president she would continue to go after them “for pushing poisons like fentanyl on our children.”

The vice president’s Trump-country pitch amounted to a continuation of her attempt to appeal to moderate and right-leaning voters that began at the Democratic National Convention last month and continued during Tuesday’s debate with the former president.

No longer burdened by the apathy among elements of the Democratic base that characterized President Biden’s re-election campaign, Ms. Harris has begun trying to cut into Mr. Trump’s margin among Republicans. In her remarks on Friday, she reminded the crowd that she had endorsements from some 200 officials who had worked in recent Republican presidential administrations and campaigns.

But her most direct appeal came on policy.

“For far too long our nation has encouraged only one path to success, a four-year college degree,” Ms. Harris said. “Our nation needs to recognize the value of other paths, additional paths such as apprenticeships and technical programs. So as president, I will get rid of the unnecessary degree requirements for federal jobs, to increase jobs for folks without a four-year degree, understanding that requiring a certain degree does not necessarily talk about one’s skills. And I will challenge the private sector to do the same.”

The Wilkes-Barre rally followed a stop in Johnstown, Pa., alongside Senator John Fetterman, a Democrat who for months has urged first President Biden’s campaign, and now Ms. Harris’s, to spend time with Pennsylvania voters outside the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh regions, which are both heavily Democratic.

In Johnstown, which is about 60 miles east of Pittsburgh, Ms. Harris told voters at a cafe and bookstore that she was “feeling very good about Pennsylvania because there are a lot of people in Pennsylvania who deserve to be seen and heard.”

In between events, Ms. Harris recorded an interview with the ABC affiliate in Philadelphia — the first solo television interview she has sat for since she replaced President Biden as the Democratic presidential nominee.

Her campaign has made clear how much it values winning Pennsylvania, which, with 19 electoral votes, is the most valuable battleground state. Ms. Harris has spent six of the last seven days making public appearances in Pennsylvania. Her campaign has devoted nearly 25 percent of its television ad spending through Election Day to Pennsylvania, according to the media-tracking firm AdImpact. Mr. Trump’s likeliest path to victory involves flipping Pennsylvania, which Mr. Biden narrowly won in 2020.

Harris campaign aides have said that she must win over some swing voters in red counties, thus lowering her margin of defeat in those areas, in order to claim the state. While Ms. Harris was in red territory in Pennsylvania on Friday, Mr. Trump held a news conference in deep-blue California, a state [*he lost in 2020 by more than five million votes*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) and was certain to lose again.

“I feel very strongly that you’ve got to earn every vote, and that means spending time with folks in the communities where they live,” Ms. Harris said on Friday in Johnstown. “That’s why I’m here, and we’re going to be spending a lot more time in Pennsylvania.”

Johnstown is in Cambria County, which is overwhelmingly white and ***working-class***. In 2008, Barack Obama [*barely won*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) there. But by 2020, the political realignment brought about by Mr. Trump was complete. He beat Mr. Biden with 68 percent of the vote. Luzerne County, where Wilkes-Barre is, had a similar trend. Mr. Obama [*won*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) the county by nine percentage points in 2008, but Mr. Biden [*lost*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) Luzerne by 14 points in 2020.

The Harris campaign said on Friday that 16 of its 50 offices in Pennsylvania were in rural counties Mr. Trump won by double digits in 2020. That on-the-ground presence is meant to limit the damage in parts of the state the vice president is unlikely to win.

Last month, Ms. Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, spent a day [*campaigning*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) in conservative-leaning Beaver County outside Pittsburgh. Mr. Walz, a former football coach, represented a rural Minnesota district during his time in Congress, and Democrats believe he can help them with voters outside major cities.

Some Pennsylvania Democrats had hoped that Ms. Harris would choose their state’s popular Democratic governor, Josh Shapiro, as her running mate over Mr. Walz. Despite not being picked, Mr. Shapiro spoke at the Democratic National Convention and has campaigned frequently for Ms. Harris.

Mr. Shapiro spoke before Ms. Harris at the rally in Wilkes-Barre. On Sunday, he will headline the Harris campaign’s bus tour on abortion rights when it stops in Philadelphia.

Mr. Fetterman was not among those calling for Mr. Shapiro to be selected as Ms. Harris’s running mate. He and the governor have clashed over pardons and engaged in what is mostly a one-way feud, with Mr. Fetterman trying to shun Mr. Shapiro. They have barely appeared at campaign events together for Ms. Harris. Mr. Fetterman was not in Wilkes-Barre with the vice president.

And when they have, as at a rally in Philadelphia last month where Ms. Harris announced her selection of Mr. Walz, Mr. Fetterman did not stand when Mr. Shapiro spoke.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris speaking to voters on Friday at a cafe and bookstore in Johnstown, Pa. She said during her stop in the city that she was “feeling very good about Pennsylvania.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Second Trump Term? Three Conservative Columnists Unpack What Could Happen.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB9-R021-JBG3-60HM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2024 Sunday

The New York Times on the Web

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; OpEd; ROSS DOUTHAT, DAVID FRENCH AND BRET STEPHENS

**Length:** 4037 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat, David French and Bret Stephens

**Body**

Ross Douthat: Bret, David, I've been given a rare opportunity by an obliging genie: I get to describe to our past selves in the autumn of 2016 -- when we were all sure Donald Trump would lose in a landslide -- what the Republican Party and conservatism look like eight years in the future. Here's what I'm going to tell them.

Bret Stephens: Assuming the brace position, Ross.

Douthat: The 2024 Republican nominee, is even in the national polls, is favored to win in betting markets and is poised to win a bigger share of the African American, the Latino and possibly the youth vote than the G.O.P. has at any point in our lifetimes. He's assembled a team of future leaders that includes the author of a 2016 best-selling memoir about ***working-class*** dysfunction, the electric-car hero Elon Musk, a former rising-star Democratic congresswoman who switched parties to the G.O.P., a scion of the Kennedy family and more. He's moved the Republican Party to the center on entitlements, same-sex marriage and marijuana legalization -- and he is trusted more than his Democratic rival on the economy, immigration and foreign policy. The main issue where he isn't trusted, abortion, is a big debate only because a conservative takeover of the Supreme Court was so successful that Roe v. Wade was overturned.

I expect our 2016 Never Trump selves may be relieved to hear all this. Is there anything else I should mention to them?

Stephens: That, in assembling this admittedly intriguing new coalition, this 2024 nominee was responsible for a string of electoral losses -- the loss of the House in 2018, the loss of the White House in 2020, the loss of the Senate in 2021 and the strong showing of Democrats in the 2022 midterm elections, which historically should have swung strongly to the G.O.P., save for some atrocious Senate candidates like Herschel Walker in Georgia and Blake Masters in Arizona.

Also, a Republican Party that has abandoned many of the positions that attracted so many principled conservatives to it in the first place. For instance, a commitment to NATO and the defense of embattled democratic allies abroad. Or a belief, rooted in empirical evidence, in the economic benefits of free trade. Or a moral conviction that immigrants are a net positive for the country. Or a sense that civic health requires examples of moral leadership at the top.

And one more thing: that in 2024 roughly half the country sees the Republican Party not only as a challenge to their preferred policy positions but also as a mortal threat to democracy itself. If our 2016 selves thought the country couldn't possibly be more polarized, suspicious, conspiracy-minded and furious, they are in for a rude surprise.

David French: That's an intriguing way to frame the question, Ross. Because I was just thinking about how much my 2016 self underestimated what we faced in Trump. As badly as I viewed him, I never imagined that he'd try to overturn the results of an American election. I did not see the dizzying crime spikes and chaos in 2020. This is a man, after all, who pledged to end ''American carnage.''

But there were some things that were quite predictable. What you called a move to the center on entitlements is just part and parcel of a larger abandonment of any pretense of fiscal responsibility, which is but one of a wholesale series of abandonments of conservative principles.

On abortion, the story is more mixed. I would have been surprised that his one term yielded three Supreme Court nominees, but I would also be surprised that the decades-long decrease in the abortion rate reversed itself during his presidency, and I would have been stunned by the electoral collapse of the pro-life movement. He truly brought the country together: It's more pro-choice.

Douthat: I think you both have rounded out our message to our past selves nicely. But my provocation was meant to push us toward a few questions I hoped that we could wrestle with here.

Start with your point about underestimation, David. I think, to a lot of people, opposing Trump from the right in 2016 felt like a temporary maneuver, a response to a fluke nominee that would resolve back into conservative normalcy when his candidacy went down to defeat. Does it still feel that way in 2024? What does it actually mean to be an anti-Trump conservative eight years -- and counting? -- into the Trump era? Is there a conservatism in America apart from Trump and the larger populist realignment? Is imagining a different form of right-wing politics the equivalent of pining for the return of the Rockefeller Republicans or blue-collar pro-life Democrats or the 19th-century Whigs?

Stephens: I think there's plenty of life left in normie conservatism, if I can use that term. Most successful G.O.P. leaders I can think of are in that camp, from Mike DeWine in Ohio to Glenn Youngkin in Virginia to Brian Kemp in Georgia. Even to Mike Johnson, the House speaker: They all know that they can't govern or even win most elections as full-on MAGA Republicans. Ask Kari Lake later this week.

The problem the normies have is twofold: First, no normie Republican today can match Trump's political charisma. Ron DeSantis auditioned for that job, just as Ted Cruz did eight years ago, and both bombed. Second, they live under the permanent threat of Trump's blackmail, which forces them to bow and scrape at his altar more than they would otherwise like. But I hope that's a problem that resolves itself when Trump eventually, inevitably, leaves the stage.

French: I agree with Bret that there's life left in normie conservatism. You'd be surprised by how little your rank-and-file Republican voter has paid attention to the ideological realignments on the right. They still think they're with the limited government, pro-life party. That's changing, of course, but it's far more gradual than the online activists would have you believe.

Plus, if there's one thing we learned from the rise of Trump, it's that voter ideology is far more malleable than we once thought. Republicans moved with blinding speed from imposing an unyielding ideological litmus test on their candidates to imposing an even more unyielding test of personal loyalty. Ideological changes are not fixed, and in the absence of any real evidence that the MAGA ethos works for swing state candidates not named Donald Trump, I wonder about its staying power after Trump leaves the scene.

Douthat: So I half-buy this argument. The parts I buy are that most Republican voters still have political defaults closer to Reaganism than to whatever set of issues unites, say, Tucker Carlson and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and that the Trump style will not automatically transfer to a post-Trump party and its leaders. Even Trump's -- for now -- heir apparent, JD Vance, sounded quite different -- normal, mainstream, like a conservative answer to Bill Clinton -- in his debate with Tim Walz than in, for example, the podcast clips that dogged his candidacy in the beginning. And I think that point generalizes: Future Republicans who want to win will be more normal than Trump, who, because of his celebrity and distinctive kind of charisma, gets away with a style of politics that doesn't work as well with imitators.

Stephens: Trump's one of a kind. He leads the G.O.P. not as a party figure in the mold of Lyndon Johnson or as an ideological icon like Ronald Reagan. He's a cult of personality figure, in the mold of Juan Perón. He draws his power not only from the adulation he inspires among supporters but also from the hatred he generates from his opponents. If he reversed all of his positions tomorrow, his followers would still love him, and his enemies would still hate him. He's a once-in-a-century phenomenon.

French: Yes, Vance can come across as more normal than Trump -- and sometimes not, as the podcast clips demonstrate -- but is there evidence that a normal MAGA candidate can be more popular than Trump himself? In 2022 the Trump endorsement sealed Vance's primary victory, but he substantially underperformed his normie Republican governor, Mike DeWine, in the general election.

Douthat: I agree that what you might call the normal-populist model hasn't been fully road-tested. But here's where I'm doubtful about normie Republicanism's revenge: On substance and policymaking, a party isn't just its voters or its purple-state governors. It's also its activists and intellectuals and policy wonks and staff members and so forth. And when I look around the ranks of younger conservatives -- the kind of people doing staff work and campaign work and idea work -- I think a populist shift has really taken hold: a belief that Bush-era and Romney-era conservatism was a failure rather than something to be recovered, that the party needs to be more nationalist and culturally combative and skeptical of overseas commitments and so on, down a list of Trump-adjacent ideas. Do you have that sense as well?

Stephens: I do. And some of the change is undoubtedly healthy. The kind of management-consultant Republicanism epitomized by Romney isn't particularly responsive to important ***working-class*** concerns revolving around, say, rampant opioid abuse, family breakdown or the struggles of alienated and purposeless young people, particularly men, in school and the workplace. I also think my brand of conservatism is probably insufficiently allergic to the cultural left. We dislike it but accommodate it, whereas younger, Trumpier conservatives hate it and mean to wage cultural war on it. Good for them; I lack the energy, and maybe the stomach, to write columns about, say, transgenderism.

On the other hand, some of the G.O.P.'s more populist positions are ones they'll come to regret. High tariffs on imports sound great until you realize it will raise the prices of thousands of consumer goods without doing much to improve the economy at home. Cutting off aid to Ukraine is another idea Republicans will regret when Russian troops march into Kharkiv and China sees it as a case study in how to wear down the West in its own theater of interests.

French: I don't think there's any doubt that the young activists online and in Washington are very aggressively anti-woke and much more populist. I also think they're deeply unrepresentative of their generation and their sense of isolation is driving many of them into dark spaces. The level of outright racism and antisemitism emanating from the young activist right is astounding.

It's hard for me to forget what Aaron Sibarium, a rising-star reporter at The Washington Free Beacon, posted on X: ''Whenever I'm on a career advice panel for young conservatives, I tell them to avoid group chats that use the N-word or otherwise blur the line between edgelording and earnest bigotry.'' The fact that his advice is necessary is astounding.

I have to dissent from Bret when he says, ''Good for them,'' about this young activist response to the cultural left. I spent decades in courtrooms fighting left-wing illiberalism on campus, and I don't believe right-wing illiberalism is an improvement. If you're drafting speech codes -- for example, Florida's Stop Woke Act -- to target left-wing speech, you're still drafting speech codes. You've become the problem to fight the problem.

Douthat: OK, what about the sheer unknowability of the next four years if Trump wins or if he doesn't? Yes, various aspects of the Trump era were foreseeable in 2016 -- but many aspects were considerably less imaginable. For instance, you both mention the cultural left: I think liberalism has been internally transformed in profound ways that none of us welcomed, even if the pendulum has arguably swung back in some ways lately, and that certainly changed my own relationship to liberal institutions and the Democratic Party -- my trust in them to be sane and stable, even when I disagreed with them.

Stephens: Good question. I worry about the ricochet effects of either presidency -- of Trump or Kamala Harris. One of my main fears about a second Trump term is that it will revive the resistance not just in terms of an even more woke culture at universities or in the media but also in terms of street violence of the kind that paralyzed much of the country after George Floyd's murder. Then again, if Harris proves to be an incompetent president or if she leans further into the cultural left, it will further radicalize the right, assuming that's even possible.

French: I share many of Bret's concerns. I wonder if the so-called Great Awokening would have happened had Trump lost in 2016. There were certainly stirrings of it in the Black Lives Matter movement and the unrest after Ferguson, but white Democrats, in particular, did lurch left in the Trump years. There was a sense that desperate times called for desperate measures, and we all saw a shocking level of intolerance for dissent in many left-leaning and establishment institutions.

If Harris wins -- and finally ends Trump's political career -- after tacking away from the left-wing positions she embraced in 2019, I'm hopeful for continued cooling in the culture wars. If she loses, I fully expect parts of the left to take that loss as proof that the path of moderation is the path of defeat, that Harris never should have opened the door to the likes of Adam Kinzinger and Liz Cheney and that it's time to fight fire with fire.

Douthat: I just have a lot of uncertainty about this. You had a great surge of awokened politics under Trump, yes, which might suggest that it's all reactive and so things would heat back up if Trump returns and cool further under a President Harris. But the seeds of the Great Awokening were clearly sown in Barack Obama's second term, out of a sense of frustration inside left-wing institutions with the resilience of Republican power and a desire for a more radical style of engagement than a gridlocked D.C. allowed. So if a Harris presidency is legislatively impotent, there will be strong pressure on her administration to be bureaucratically and culturally aggressive, to cede more administrative power to the activist and the ideological groups on the left.

And speaking of uncertainty, there's foreign policy, where my 2016 self expected global chaos under Trump, and then we got much more of it under President Biden.

This is something you gestured toward in your extremely reluctant endorsement of Harris, Bret, but to me, it's a major question mark: Is it really the case that returning the Biden-Harris team to power is the safer move for the Pax Americana? Trump will negotiate with Vladimir Putin, absolutely. Do we think that Harris won't be forced to do the same? Do we really know which kind of presidency will give Beijing more pause in its designs on Taiwan? Isn't it possible that Trump's mercurial style, his mix of aggressive and retrenching impulses, has some advantages over a liberal internationalism that talks a lot about America's global mission but can't come up with the means to match its ends?

Stephens: Maybe. Or maybe Trump got lucky in being surrounded by sober-minded advisers like H.R. McMaster and Gary Cohn, who steered him away from his worst foreign policy instincts -- and who won't be around in a second Trump term. Remember, the global disorder we've seen under Biden started with the shambolic retreat from Afghanistan, which I predicted at the time would embolden Russia to pursue its own adventures in Europe. That withdrawal, though executed by Biden, was originally Trump's idea -- patiently negotiated by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo.

On the other hand, probably my biggest misgiving about Harris is that Putin, Xi Jinping or Ali Khamenei will seek to test her early in her presidency and that she won't rise to the occasion. Either way, it feels as if we are drifting toward the rapids.

French: Every time I hear the argument that voting for Trump is a vote for stability, I think of the mad dash inside his administration to try to stop him from implementing an order for a sudden withdrawal from Afghanistan after he lost the 2020 election. I'm also reminded that many of the people he selected to help him craft his foreign and defense policy now are telling the American public that he's a dangerous man. The very people who helped him achieve the most successful policies of his first term are jumping up and down and yelling, ''Don't do this again!''

The Trump of 2017 and 2018 is gone. Don't expect a national security establishment packed with some of the most respected military leaders in America. Instead, expect a Mos Eisley cantina full of cranks and sycophants -- and many of those cranks and sycophants are deeply hostile to Ukraine and deeply hostile to NATO.

Stephens: Mos Eisley -- you mean the ''Star Wars'' bar, right? Go on.

French: I completely understand that wars tend to end with negotiations, but that also brings us back to Afghanistan. The ''deal'' Trump negotiated to end that war -- which included forcing the Afghan government to release thousands of Taliban prisoners -- was a disaster. If and when Russia and Ukraine go to the bargaining table, Ukraine should be negotiating from a position of strength, with the arsenal of democracy backstopping its defense. That is not the position of Trump-Vance.

Douthat: Well, but again, prodding you toward uncertainty: If all hawkishness rests on material foundations, which administration is more likely to budget for substantial increases in defense spending -- Harris-Walz or Trump-Vance? My bet is the latter.

French: We're already ramping up domestic defense production. We have a goal to produce 100,000 155-millimeter artillery shells per month by next year, for example. But even if Trump would outspend Harris -- by the way, his economic plan would add much more to the deficit than hers -- a bigger defense budget isn't helpful to Ukraine if the weapons and munitions are withheld while Ukrainians fight for their lives.

Stephens: I want to stay open to the idea -- and maybe this is wishful thinking -- that a second Trump term could hold some pleasant surprises, just as the first one did. There is something to the madman theory of international relations, which holds that American adversaries might be better deterred by Trump's erratic and sometimes truculent instincts than by the cautious, measured and predictable patterns of the Biden administration's foreign policy. Trump was also more right than wrong about some big foreign policy questions, such as opposing the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, which would have made Germany even more dependent on Russian gas; promoting peace between Israel and the more moderate Arab states; and, most important, seeing China as the aggressive and determined adversary that it is.

I also think it's important to acknowledge that, as much as I detest Trump the man, there are sides of the MAGA movement that deserve respect. I don't think of it as a collection of unadulterated bigots. Most Trump voters I know are decent people who don't like being condescended to by a morally smug and self-serving elite that fails to see the many ways in which the federal government fails ordinary people. I also think Trump's voters see things that too easily escape the notice of Trump's haters, whether it was the farce of many of the Covid rules and restrictions or the double standards by which Trump's opponents claim to be defending democracy while using every trick in the book to put him in prison.

Douthat: David, can I induce you to follow Bret in saying something optimistic about the possibilities of a second Trump administration?

French: I'm a harder sell. While I love and respect many, many people who vote for Trump, I do not have anything good to say about the MAGA movement itself. Perhaps you have to be embedded in deep-red communities to see its effect on the ground, but I have never seen people go deep into MAGA without profound negative effects on their character, their temperament and their relationships with people outside MAGA.

For example, to truly be a member of MAGA in good standing, you have to defer to the election lie. Any movement that requires that degree of dangerous dishonesty as a condition of remaining in good standing is corrosive to the country.

Regarding a second Trump term, I do have some degree of optimism that he'll continue to nominate judges like many of the judges I know from his first term -- high-integrity civil servants who've proved to be dedicated to the rule of law. In fact, many of them helped block his effort to steal the election in 2020. But I'm worried even about that. There are deep MAGA resentments against many of Trump's judges, and there is a sense that they don't want any more justices quite like Amy Coney Barrett, Brett Kavanaugh and Neil Gorsuch.

Also, and this is no small thing, even if a second Trump administration is far more pro-choice than any Republican administration in my adult lifetime, it won't try to codify Roe, there will be no move to expand or pack the Supreme Court, and it won't try to aggressively wield Title IX to coerce compliance with far-left theories about gender or to deny due process on campus. Each of those moves can be blocked by courts or Congress, even if Harris wins, but I'd rather not see a presidential administration try any of those things.

Douthat: And now, Bret, since both you and David have reluctantly argued that anti-Trump conservatives should accept a Harris presidency, give me your optimist's view of where you think conservatism will stand a few years into a Harris administration.

Stephens: Very optimistically: Trump will be remembered by Republicans as the repeat loser of winnable elections and will be quietly repudiated by rank-and-file conservatives who want candidates who win by appealing to the center of America. The party will regain some of its Reaganite bearings, especially by rejecting protectionism and isolationism and regaining its broadly positive view of immigration, its belief in smaller government and its faith in the free world. Republicans will also demand that their leading political candidates pass the moral smell test and the intellectual laugh test -- no more Matt Gaetz or Marjorie Taylor Greene. And it will remember that the ultimate purpose of American conservatism is to defend a liberal order rooted in the words ''life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,'' ''created equal'' and ''unalienable rights.''

French: I'm not naïve. I know that a renewed Reaganism isn't waiting in the wings. The way I look at a Harris presidency is that it will give Republicans a chance to redefine themselves without Trump threatening, bullying and intimidating everyone who doesn't fall in line. There are still many quite good and competent Republicans in Congress and in state capitals, and even if they may end up more populist and less libertarian than I'd prefer, there is a world of difference between them and Trump. I would have been happy to vote for many, many non-MAGA Republicans, had they gotten the party's nomination instead of Trump.

You don't have to look far to find them. I'm thinking of Kemp, the governor of Georgia. I'm thinking of Bill Lee, my governor in Tennessee. Republicans may never welcome Liz Cheney or Adam Kinzinger back in the fold, and I think they know and accept that, but a Trump loss will create an opening for others. MAGA may still win the Republican civil war that would erupt with a Harris win, but at least decency will have a chance.

Douthat: And on that note, we'll conclude and plan to reconvene in four years. If Harris wins on Tuesday, maybe we'll be talking about a Trump-Harris rematch -- God help us. Or maybe 2028 will pit a progressive artificial intelligence promising utopian bounty in exchange for our souls against Elon Musk, the viceroy of the Mars colony.

Expect the unexpected, gentlemen, and thank you for the conversation.

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**Graphic**

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[***How Trump Wins (and Harris and the Democrats Blow It); David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CWG-STW1-DXY4-X423-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

It’s Nov. 6, 2024, the morning after Election Day.

The people in the Trump campaign should be counting their lucky stars for Donald Trump’s close victory, given the political incompetence they showed in July and August. In the six weeks between July 21, when Joe Biden dropped out, and Labor Day they had one job: to define Kamala Harris as an elite San Francisco liberal before she could define herself as a middle-class moderate. The Trump campaign did next to nothing. All they needed was to play the 2019 clips of Harris sounding like a wokester cliché, but they couldn’t even come up with an argument, let alone act upon it. Harris brilliantly defined herself in that vacuum.

This mistake could have been fatal for the Republicans, because Trump is the 46 percent man. That’s roughly the share of the popular vote he won in 2016 and 2020. He was never going to ride a majority wave to victory in 2024, so it would have been helpful to take his opponent down a few points.

And yet this is the pattern with Trump. He seems to do everything possible to sabotage his own campaigns, but still does surprisingly well in elections. Even with the fantastic weeks she had coming into Labor Day, Harris was not in as good a shape as Hillary Clinton was in 2016 or Biden was in 2020. Harris had a roughly two-point lead on Labor Day weekend, but Clinton led by about four or five percentage points at that stage and ended up losing. That’s in part because polls perennially underestimate Trump’s support — by about 2.2 percent in 2016 and 3.3 percent in 2020.

Just look at the swing states. According to the 2016 polls, Clinton led Michigan and Wisconsin by four to eight points going into the fall, but still lost on Election Day. In 2016, Clinton led in Pennsylvania at summer’s end by about six points, while in 2020 Biden led by between roughly three and four points, but Trump still beat Clinton there and came within a point of beating Biden.

Most of the election models had the 2024 campaign right on Labor Day: It was basically a tied race, even if Democratic exuberance gave the impression that Harris had some ineffable momentum.

Which gets to a core point: It’s always misleading to follow campaign news day to day. The ephemera distracts you from what really matters. Elections are driven by a few core realities. Trump had several fundamental issues that drove support to him, no matter how jerkish he could be. Trump being victorious in 2024 comes down to these five turbines of Trumpism:

People like the red model more than the blue model. The fastest-growing states by population are mostly governed by Republicans, including Florida, Texas, Idaho and Montana. The fastest-shrinking or -stagnating states are mostly governed by Democrats, including New York, Illinois, California, Pennsylvania and Hawaii. The red model gives you low housing costs, lower taxes and business vitality. The blue model gives you high housing costs, high taxes and high inequality.

Democrats want to expand the welfare state so that our social insurance system would look more like Europe’s. But Europe is economically stagnant and falling behind. In 2021, households in the European Union enjoyed, on average, only 61 percent of the disposable income Americans enjoyed. By this measure, rich European countries like Norway are behind poor American states like Mississippi. According to the McKinsey Global Institute, large European corporations invested 60 percent less than American corporations in 2022 and grew at two-thirds the pace. For a decade, Europe has been falling behind on capital development, research and development, and productivity growth. Even the vaunted German economy has basically flatlined since 2018.

Many American voters might envy the long European vacations, but they want economic dynamism more. For years voters in swing states had been telling pollsters that the economy and inflation were their top issues. They looked around the country and concluded that the Republican approach seemed better at generating dynamism and growth, or at least better than Harris’s pitch for and defense of Bidenomics.

Democrats are the party of the ruling class. The most important divide in American life is the diploma divide. College-educated folks tend to vote for Democrats, and high-school-educated folks tend to vote for Republicans. Thus, the richest places tend to be Democratic. The Democrats dominate the media, the universities, the cultural institutions and government. Even the big corporations, headquartered in places like New York and San Francisco, are trending blue.

Ruling-class Democrats live in very different worlds than high-school-educated Republicans. The average high school grad dies nine years sooner than a college graduate, is more likely to be obese, is much less likely to marry and is much more likely to divorce. The overdose death rate for high school grads is about six times as high as the rate for college grads. Of course ***working-class*** voters resent these inequalities.

Worse, educated-class folks have rigged the game. Children from affluent families tend to attend public and private schools flush with cash, while ***working-class*** kids don’t. By the eighth grade, children from affluent families are performing at four grade levels higher than children from poor families. According to Daniel Markovits of Yale, on the SAT, “students from families earning over $200,000 per year (roughly the top 5 percent) score 388 points higher than students from families earning less than $20,000 per year (roughly the bottom 20 percent).” According to a 2017 [*study*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/01/18/upshot/some-colleges-have-more-students-from-the-top-1-percent-than-the-bottom-60.html) led by Raj Chetty of Harvard, students from families in the top 1 percent of earners were 77 times as likely to get into the Ivy League as students from families making less than $30,000 a year. In that year students from the top income quintile were [*about*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/01/18/upshot/some-colleges-have-more-students-from-the-top-1-percent-than-the-bottom-60.html) 16 times as numerous at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill as students from the bottom quintile.

Global populism is a revolt against these kinds of inequities — driven by the sense that the educated class has too much cultural, academic, political and economic power. The revolt is fueled when highly educated professionals condescend to or don’t even see the masses they are sitting on and when students at elite universities spending upward of $100,000 a year on them pretend to be the marginalized victims of oppression.

Highly educated Democrats like Harris see themselves as increasing the size of government to help the downtrodden. But many Americans look at those efforts and they just see affluent people amassing more power for themselves in Washington. They conclude: This is what the educated elites always do. They promise to do stuff for us, but they end up serving only themselves.

Social and moral cohesion. Republicans can be rugged individualists when it comes to economics, but Democrats can be rugged individualists when it comes to morality. They are more likely to hew to a code of moral freedom that holds that individuals should be free to live by their own values. Individuals get to choose their own definition of when human life begins. Any form of family and social life is OK so long as the individuals within it give their consent. This is the privatization of morality.

Yet in most places, people are formed within morally cohesive communities. They derive a sense of belonging and solidarity from shared moral values. Their lives have meaning and purpose because they see themselves living in a universal moral order with permanent standards of right and wrong, within family structures that have stood the test of time, with shared understandings of, say, male and female.

Privatized morality leaves even many progressives with existential insecurity. Forty-one percent of very liberal men and 60 percent of very liberal women report that they are in poor mental health more than half the time.

But the lack of social and moral order is a practical calamity for less-educated folks. For them, economic policy is not separate from social issues and moral values. The things that derail their lives are broken relationships, infidelity, out-of-wedlock births, addictions, family conflict and crime. When Republicans talk about immigration, crime, faith, family and flag, they are talking about ways to preserve the social and moral order. Democrats are great at talking about economic solidarity, but not moral and cultural solidarity.

General dissatisfaction. Kamala Harris practiced the politics of joy in this election, running a hope-filled and sunny campaign, as any incumbent party tries to do. But many Americans are not feeling it. As the fall general election campaign got unofficially underway after Labor Day, only 25 percent of Americans were satisfied with the direction of the country, according to Gallup, while 73 percent were dissatisfied. According to Ipsos, 59 percent of Americans said the country was in decline, 60 percent agreed with a series of statements conveying that “the system is broken,” 69 percent agreed that the “political and economic elite don’t care about hard-working people,” and 63 percent agreed that “experts in this country don’t understand the lives of people like me.”

In other words, many Americans feel betrayed, distrustful, angry. They feel that the American dream has been destroyed. Trump, like all global populists, tells this betrayal story well.

The toxic levels of distrust undermined the Harris campaign in another way. Her basic message was: You should support me because I’ll give you benefits — child care subsidies, mortgage subsidies, student loan debt forgiveness, etc. But distrustful voters no longer reward benefits with votes. Trump sent out more than $800 billion in checks during the pandemic and derived no political benefit from it. Biden spent billions of dollars subsidizing red America and received no boost in support. The expanded child tax credit poured money into middle-class families, but surprisingly, there was little outcry when it went away. Corrosive distrust and disaffection means that voters are not in a mood to reward even those politicians who dole out money to them.

The Blue Bubble problem. Bill Clinton and Barack Obama lived in the shadow of Ronald Reagan’s and George W. Bush’s victories. Clinton and Obama both understood the Blue Bubble problem: If you spend your life listening to what Democrats in the big cities say to one another, then you will misunderstand America. Both Clinton and Obama took tough stances to show that they were not Blue Bubble natives: the crime bill, welfare reform, Obama’s stances on illegal immigration, gay marriage and fossil fuels. Clinton triangulated and Obama talked about transcending left and right.

Clinton and Obama are still popular across the country, but they are disdained by many of the cadres who work in Democratic campaigns and administrations. During the 2010s right-wing populists took over the Republican Party from the outside — MAGA. Left-wing populists like Bernie Sanders tried to do that but failed. They had more success in winning the hearts of minds of the progressive intellectual and apparatchik class, from the top down. In progressive circles, Clinton and Obama are often dismissed as neoliberals who were complicit in preserving the corporate order.

This shift to the left produced the defund the police/decriminalize the border frenzy of 2020. It’s also had dubious economic effects. The new cadres were convinced (rightly) that Obama did not stimulate the economy enough after the financial crisis. In response they decided to stimulate the hell out of the economy after the pandemic. They ended up exacerbating inflation and effectively destroyed Biden’s re-election prospects even before the age issue became so dominant.

Clinton and Obama essentially followed the median-voter theory: Run to the center where independent voters are. By contrast, the new cadres are more likely to believe in the mobilize-the-base theory: Run a really progressive campaign so that young lefties turn out. Harris tried to run a campaign that gave something to each wing of the party. It resulted in the everything bagel — a campaign that offered gestures and a hodgepodge of policies for everybody but lacked a clear vision.

Pennsylvania was the most important state in this election, the hinge around which all sorts of election scenarios pivoted. But as Nate Silver noted in August, there weren’t many polls showing Harris ahead there. Clinton and Biden led in polls there, and Clinton lost and Biden barely won. In hindsight, Harris’s decision not to select Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania as her running mate looked like a terrible act of overconfidence. But Shapiro was perceived as a moderate. The progressive wing lobbied against him. So Harris went with a guy who helped her win a state she was always going to win anyway.

I know who I fervently wanted to win — Harris. But many Democrats were always a little over-ebullient about her. A Trump victory has never come down to running a brilliant campaign. It comes down to those five turbines driving enough support in enough key places in his direction.

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**Body**

Industry leaders attending the conference were asked about artificial intelligence, the economy, international relations and more.

At last week's DealBook Summit in New York City, leaders in business, tech, media, law and other disciplines were invited by The New York Times to lead conversations about pressing issues in their fields. Ahead of the summit, The Times sent questions to each of the Groundbreakers. Their answers have been edited and condensed.

Neil Blumenthal: Co-founder and Co-C.E.O., Warby Parker

Groundbreaker Topic: Shaping Consumer Brands for the Long Term in an Uncertain Economic Landscape

As a leader, how do you manage the new normal of volatility in the retail landscape?

In an increasingly unpredictable world, a leader's role is to serve as a shock absorber. At best, volatility distracts teams, and at worst, it scares them. The best leaders not only prepare teams for sudden swings in the business and geopolitical landscape but also help them maintain focus on their mission and the work at hand. At Warby Parker, we have a clear objective to provide vision for all -- and we can adapt more quickly when we stay focused on that goal. While volatility can foster self-doubt and lead to task switching, a thoughtful and stable strategy still wins in the long run.

Sharon Brous: Founder and senior rabbi, IKAR

Groundbreaker Topic: Repairing the Torn Fabric of Our Communities With Compassion

What is one act we can do as citizens or community members to bridge that which seems to divide our communities?

We are suffering from a widespread curiosity deficit. Through reclaiming curiosity and wonder, we rehumanize ourselves and one another. A society of lonely, atomized people is one at risk of falling into patterns of dehumanization that leave us susceptible to conspiracy theories, ideological extremism and political violence. It is precisely when these conditions emerge, as they have in our time, that genuine, openhearted curiosity is equal parts counterintuitive and urgent. The sacred recognition of one another's humanity is no substitute for equitable policies, accountability or systemic change. But it will be the foundation of any just society.

Steve Case: C.E.O., Revolution

Groundbreaker Topic: Reviving the American Dream Beyond Silicon Valley

Why do you believe the innovation gap poses a threat to the future of the American economy?

In the recent election, states that voted for President-elect Donald J. Trump received 16 percent of 2023 venture capital dollars while blue states received a whopping 84 percent. Venture-backed companies are significant drivers of economic growth and among the country's biggest job creators. It's hard to pitch the promise of technology as a good thing to the half of the U.S. population that has been systematically shut out from the innovation economy. And it's hard to bring together a country when some people see almost limitless potential and others feel the American dream slipping away. We must create more opportunity in more places by building a more inclusive tech and venture ecosystem. America's unity and future as the reigning global tech leader depends on it.

Ron Conway: Founder, SV Angel

Groundbreaker Topic: Silicon Valley and the Importance of Civic Engagement With a New Administration in Washington

What should Trump's team's posture toward the tech industry be? And what should the industry do?

It is critical that federal policies and regulations allow our entrepreneurs to innovate and lead the world in industries like A.I., digital currencies and biotech. I'm committed to helping founders navigate the policy and regulatory landscape as they build products that have a positive effect on society.

Katie Couric: Co-founder, Katie Couric Media

Groundbreaker Topic: The Changing Landscape in Journalism and Media

What is the best tool a person has to combat misinformation today?

There are many remedies for combating misinformation, but sadly getting rid of Section 230 and requiring more transparency by technology companies may not happen. As a result, it's mostly up to the individual to be vigilant about identifying misinformation and not sharing it. This will require intensive media literacy, which will help people understand the steps required to consider the source. That means investigating websites that may be disseminating inaccurate information and understanding their agendas, second-sourcing information, and if it's an individual, learning more about that person's background and expertise. Of course, this is all time-consuming and a lot to ask of consumers, but for now, I ascribe to the Sy Syms adage: ''An educated consumer is our best customer.''

Lynn Forester de Rothschild: Chairwoman, E.L. Rothschild, and founder and co-chair, the Council for Inclusive Capitalism

Groundbreaker Topic: Re-leveling the Playing Field Between Work and Capital

What is an achievable step to reduce the income gap between chief executive and worker pay?

The president, whose election was powered by the ***working class***, cannot leave working Americans behind in favor of his rich friends. The best policies for employees are those that promote direct employee ownership. While existing structures, like employee stock 0wnership plans, provide tax benefits to public companies, these laws should be expanded to provide greater deductions for deeper employee ownership and worker voice opportunities. In the private equity sector, employee ownership has been shown to improve financial returns as well. The business community should champion these changes on the grounds that lower levels of inequality will lead to greater overall economic growth and stability.

Karla Gallardo: Founder and C.E.O., Cuyana

Groundbreaker Topic: The Delicate Balance Between Growth and Profit

What are you seeing as the biggest drivers of growth in Cuyana?

Since launch, we've been hyperfocused on establishing a deep understanding of our customer and have maintained an unwavering commitment to creating products that serve a purpose for our community. Providing a curated assortment of thoughtfully designed items is not only integral to our brand ethos of fewer, better, but has also proven to be a key driver of Cuyana's consistent growth by fostering consumer trust and loyalty. In today's rapidly changing landscape where brands are often driven by trends, building an authentic, values-driven brand that constantly exceeds customer expectations is critical to withstanding the test of time.

Ryan Gellert: C.E.O., Patagonia

Groundbreaker Topic: Purpose-Driven Leadership in a Shifting Landscape

What are the new ways you are working to address climate change today at Patagonia?

Even if the government never mandates doing what's necessary to address the climate and nature crisis, companies can play an outsized role in finding solutions or minimizing environmental impacts. Our future depends on it. We simply cannot run a business in a world in constant climate chaos where customers are fleeing from rising seas or fires, supply lines fail, and infrastructure collapses. At Patagonia, roughly 95 percent of our carbon emissions come from our supply chain. We're investing in scalable programs to reduce our carbon footprint and supporting environmental nonprofits on the front lines of this crisis.

Adam Grant: Organizational psychologist, the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, and author and host of ''WorkLife''

Groundbreaker Topic: Rethinking Effective Leadership in the Workplace

What's the change you recommend to leaders that offers the most dramatic impact in the workplace?

Recognize that many of your best practices were designed for a world that no longer exists. In the face of rapid change, past patterns don't predict the future. A key to adapting is to think like a scientist: Treat strategies as hypotheses and decisions as experiments. Research reveals that when entrepreneurs learn to think like scientists, compared to a control group a year later, their revenue is 40 times higher. Instead of searching for reasons why they must be right, they consider reasons why they might be wrong. That accelerates their ability to abandon bad ideas in favor of better ones.

Jonathan Greenblatt: C.E.O. and national director, the Anti-Defamation League

Groundbreaker Topic: The Rise (and Hopefully Fall) of Antisemitism in the 2020s

How can corporations be a more effective partner in combating antisemitism?

Corporate leadership is crucial in combating hate and antisemitism across society. Many corporations have signed ADL's Workplace Pledge, but amid an unprecedented increase in antisemitism after Oct. 7, many more need to step up. With antisemitism surging, all companies must take meaningful action to protect Jewish employees and customers. This includes using their bully pulpits to strongly and forcefully condemn antisemitism. And to ensure workplaces remain safe and welcoming for Jewish employees, employers should also offer educational programs, update religious accommodations and support Jewish employee resource groups. Anything less is unacceptable.

Chris Hadfield: Astronaut, commander of the International Space Station, combat fighter/test pilot and author

Groundbreaker Topic: The Global Space Race, the Mission to the Moon and Beyond to Mars

How is returning to the moon consequential in attaining the exploration of Mars?

In real estate, the three main things to consider are location, location and location. And often, on Earth, people want sunny waterfront. As we now transition from exploration to settlement on the moon, it's the same. There is eternal solar power and local water available only in select locations near the poles. China has clearly stated its goal to have people there by 2030, and the smooth landing spots are rare. If we want access to the moon's vast untapped resources and strategic location, with international rules we support, we have to be there, too. It's the historic moment.

Jonathan Haidt: Author and the Thomas Cooley Professor of Ethical Leadership at New York University's Stern School of Business

Groundbreaker Topic: The Impacts and Implications of a Phone-Based Childhood on Society, Democracy and the Economy

What is the best motivation parents can use to get children off their phones?

Teens and preteens are intensely focused on what their peers think of them. They are very afraid of being cut off, being ''the only one'' without a phone or an Instagram account. So make sure they are not the only one. Coordinate with the parents of your child's friends. They probably share your concerns. If you have not given your child a smartphone yet, delaying that fateful day until the start of high school is the best single thing you can do. If you already have given a smartphone, set clear boundaries, such as all screens out of the bedroom by 9:30 p.m., no phones at the table and, ideally, no smartphone use at home at all. (Almost everything can be done on a laptop, which is less addictive.)

Sarah Harden: C.E.O., Hello Sunshine and Candle Studios

Groundbreaker Topic: Content Is King, but Creativity Is Queen

Where do you see the industry's appetite for content in 2025? Better, worse, the same?

We are anticipating a market in 2025 that's largely flat to 2024 appetite -- so, more of the same. An improved interest rate environment feels like it should add wind to everyone's backs but I don't feel optimistic that this will translate quickly to an uptick in content spending versus what we are seeing in 2024. I think late 2025 and into 2026 we will see more robust growth.

Sherrilyn Ifill: President and director-counsel emeritus, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund

Groundbreaker Topic: Corporate Citizens as Critical Institutions of a Healthy Democracy

What are the obligations you believe a company owes to the democracy in which it exists?

Democracy is not the same as partisan politics. Far too many corporate leaders confuse the two. Whatever the partisan interests of individual corporate leaders, clients or consumers, corporations have an obligation to support the infrastructure that maintains the health of our democracy. This means support for core values: the rule of law, free and fair elections, the peaceful transfer of power, equal justice, and protection against state-sanctioned seizures and violence against citizens.

Walter Isaacson: Author

Groundbreaker Topic: A.I. and the Data

How can one best protect their intellectual property being used against their wishes for A.I. systems?

In order to be accurate and reliable, A.I. systems will depend on training data that are accurate and reliable. Much of this information is produced by reporters, writers, publishing houses and publications that create this content. These media producers got cut out of a lot of the revenue that flowed to search engines beginning in the 1990s. In order to encourage the creation of high-quality content in the future, media companies and writers need to find ways -- both legal and technological -- to require a revenue share when their content is used as A.I. training data. That is why I have become involved with two companies working on this issue: Created By Humans and ProRata.AI.

Neal Katyal: Former U.S. acting solicitor general

Groundbreaker Topic: The Future of the Supreme Court, the Rule of Law and the War on ''Woke''

Is it realistic to expect the legislative branch to take a more muscular role in the absence of the federal courts? Is this a fair expectation?

At the time of writing, it looks like all the political branches -- the House and Senate along with the presidency -- are going to be under one-party control. History teaches that one-party government is often destructive to the nation's interests, so let us hope that elected officials vote for good policy, not for the good of any particular political party.

Karlie Kloss: Entrepreneur and founder, Kode With Klossy

Groundbreaker Topic: Gender Equity in STEM: Progress, Setbacks and the Road Ahead

As there are currently more women in college than men, is there the same sense of urgency as there once was? Where are you directing your efforts today?

While we've made incredible progress in total college enrollment, we have to look at what fields and demographics are not captured by these figures. Despite greater gender equity across majors, women constitute just 35 percent of the STEM work force. And although the tech industry has ballooned in the past 10 years, the percentage of women in computer science roles has remained at just 25 percent. These numbers are much lower for Black, Latina and Indigenous women. Kode With Klossy continues to feel a sense of urgency in our mission as we work toward true gender equity in STEM.

David Miliband: President and C.E.O., the International Rescue Committee

Groundbreaker Topic: Previewing the International Rescue Committee's 2025 Emergency Watchlist and How Tech Is Innovating to Help the World's Most Vulnerable

What are the most promising areas of humanitarian response where A.I. innovations can make a substantial difference? Are there barriers to those in poverty being able to utilize these advances?

As global risks mount and geopolitics fragments, the worst off are left further behind. Many say we live in a flammable world -- and in the I.R.C.'s 2025 Emergency Watchlist, which has guided the I.R.C.'s emergency preparedness efforts for over a decade, we have the proof. While the challenges in Watchlist countries are complex, I.R.C.'s experience shows that there are ways to reach those most in need. Properly and safely leveraged, A.I. can open new frontiers in humanitarian action -- in scale, speed and reach. In 2025, the benefits of the A.I. revolution must accrue to the poorest in the world.

Sara Moonves: Editor in chief, W Magazine

Groundbreaker Topic: Print Is Not Dead

What is the new argument for print editions, when convention is pushing toward digital-only products? Why do think W is finding success this way?

After years of consuming virtually everything on our screens, a magazine feels like a luxury product. W has always celebrated fashion, art, film and photography on glossy oversized pages; by focusing on long, meaningful stories and photo portfolios, we stand apart from the disjointed, blink-and-you-missed-it content of the digital world. We approach each of our six volumes as a keepsake for our readers, curated to stand the test of time. This approach resonates with our business partners, who still want to see their advertisements in print; in fact, we often hear from them that print feels more special than ever.

Hartmut Neven: Founder and lead, Google Quantum AI

Groundbreaker Topic: Quantum Leaps

What do you think are the first few practically useful things we will see as a result of quantum computing? And when will we see them?

We expect the first game-changing applications of quantum computing to be in chemistry, pharmacology and materials science. Quantum computers excel at simulating molecules and their interactions, and will provide computing power for problems that are even beyond supercomputers. Today's early quantum processors are already used for scientific discovery. As quantum computing systems are developed toward fully error-corrected quantum computers, which could take five-plus years to realize, they will be capable of running increasingly complex algorithms for breakthroughs in areas such as medical imaging, battery design or nuclear fusion.

Michael Oren: Former Israeli ambassador to the United States and author

Groundbreaker Topic: The Future of the Middle East

What do you believe America's fundamental policies toward Iran should be? How should they shift?

Since the advent of the Obama administration in 2009 -- with the exception of the first Trump administration -- America has sought rapprochement with Iran. The policy was based on the belief that, if treated with respect and sufficiently incentivized, Iran would become a responsible regional power. The opposite happened. Iran expanded its regional influence, enhanced its support for terror and enabled the current Middle East war. The United States must recognize this reality and move from a policy of reconciliation with Iran to one of confrontation and deterrence. Full backing must be given to America's allies in the region and a credible American military option returned to the table.

Ai-jen Poo: President, the National Domestic Workers Alliance

Groundbreaker Topic: Take Good Care

What are the keys to unlocking affordable care while also providing living wages to caregivers?

The key to unlocking affordable care and living wages for caregivers is to treat it like other essential infrastructure. Some of us need a bridge to get to work, others need care. The government should build care infrastructure by extending Medicare to cover home care, investing in Medicaid home and community based services, and tying funding to wage standards for care workers. As boomers age and we all live longer, the United States must catch up to our shared need for care. Rather than leaving individual families to shoulder the rising costs alone, it should be a shared, national priority.

Steve Rattner: Chairman and C.E.O., Willett Advisors

Groundbreaker Topic: The Big Economic Policy Issues Facing the New Administration

What's your assessment of the health of the economy as we head into 2025?

The state of the economy is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, unemployment is steady at a modest 4.1 percent. Growth remains brisk and steady. Inflation has subsided, almost to the Federal Reserve's 2 percent target. Yet 75 percent of Americans rate the economy as ''fair'' or ''poor.'' What gives? Income inequality continues to rage and for the first time in memory, the American dream -- the notion that each generation will do better than the previous one -- is in jeopardy. Adjusted for inflation, just half of Americans born in 1980 earned more at age 30 than their parents did.

Eric Ripert: Chef and co-owner, Le Bernardin

Groundbreaker Topic: The Relevance, the Challenges and the Future of Fine Dining

What does a restaurant do for you that makes it feel like a truly special experience? Is there a recent example you can share that surprised you?

There is nothing like feeling a genuine warmth and welcome when you first enter a restaurant. For me, this is always the first step that makes the experience memorable. Of course, the quality of the food, the energy and décor is very important too. The other day I went to a new restaurant. They did not have my reservation in the books, though I did have one. A gentleman came over and introduced himself as the owner. He was incredibly warm and very personable and I felt welcomed. But I knew his demeanor was not just because of who I am as a chef; I could tell he would be like that for any guest. He kept checking in on us throughout the night and it felt very authentic. Even though we had a very simple meal, he was able to create a certain magic.

Liev Schreiber: Co-founder, BlueCheck Ukraine, and actor

Groundbreaker Topic: The People of Ukraine (Still) Need You

What do you say to those who think Ukraine should ''just make a deal'' with Russia, give up some land and end the war?

Completely separate of the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine is the geopolitical issue of democracy and the rising trend toward autocracy, dictatorships and authoritarianism generally. For me the war in Ukraine has always been a vivid reminder of just how precarious and vulnerable our own democracy is. Does anyone really believe that after acquiring Crimea, Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson, Mykolaiv and Zaporizhzhia, Putin is actually going to stop? Is Ukraine enough? If Putin succeeds in Eastern Europe, what are the implications for Western Europe, Asia, Africa, and perhaps more importantly to us in the United States, what are the implications on our own democracy?

Rajiv Shah: President, the Rockefeller Foundation

Groundbreaker Topic: Energy Transitions as the Common Denominator in Solving Global Crises

How do energy transitions affect poverty?

Research shows that 99 percent of people considered energy poor also experience at least one additional poverty indicator. Especially in the modern digital economy, electricity access determines a person's ability to get a job, start a business, or access education, health care and more. When we change energy, we change lives. We can also change the trajectory of climate change. Because the countries where energy access is lowest could produce as much as 75 percent of emissions by 2050, connecting people in those countries to clean energy is the only way to end poverty and end climate change.

Priscilla Sims Brown: President and C.E.O., Amalgamated Bank

Groundbreaker Topic: Closing the Wealth Gap in our Financial Institutions

What is Amalgamated Bank doing that's different to allow people access to credit that wasn't previously available to them?

Small businesses are the backbone of the American economy and fostering entrepreneurship is key to wealth creation and reducing income inequality. While small businesses play a crucial role in local economies, access to capital remains a challenge, especially for minority-owned businesses (approximately 47 percent report unmet financing needs). Amalgamated Bank, founded in 1923 to make a positive impact through banking, believes a key component of bridging the financing gap is re-evaluating credit scoring. By including nontraditional data (rent and utility payments), business owners' credit scores can benefit from the inclusion of additional key indicators of credit worthiness.

Tim Wu: The Julius Silver Professor of Law, Science and Technology, Columbia Law School, and former special assistant to the president for technology and competition policy

Groundbreaker Topic: What to Expect in the Next Administration's Tech Policies

Are you concerned about the wealth-creating capabilities of the A.I. revolution? Why? Should anything be done to address this?

Over history some big inventions -- like the farmer's plow -- created a broad wealth. Others, like the cotton gin, created new wealth but concentrated it -- in that case, in the southern plantation. The benefits of technological growth depend on economic structure. A.I. could go either way. It could spread wealth by empowering startups, small and medium-sized businesses. But it might also reinforce extractive business models by marginalizing actual humans or by giving the tech platforms the power to extract from the rest of the economy. We should try for broader creation of wealth -- for reasons of political stability, if nothing else.

Esther Manheimer: Mayor, Asheville, N.C.

Groundbreaker Topic: Real-Time Assessment of Asheville and Western North Carolina's Recovery from Hurricane Helene

What are the best ways people can support Hurricane Helene's recovery efforts?

The best way to support Asheville and western North Carolina's recovery from Hurricane Helene is through direct contributions. You can make a vital difference by donating to relief funds supporting small businesses and households, such as those listed at WNC Strong. Support our online and e-commerce retailers, buy gift cards for future use, and directly donate to businesses, artists, and nonprofit organizations through the Love Asheville From Afar initiative. Finally, jump-start our economy by visiting W.N.C. We welcome millions of visitors annually, so your patronage of local restaurants and creative venues keeps our work force thriving as we recover.

Suzanne P. Clark: President, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Groundbreaker Topic: Business Implications of the New Administration

What are the drivers of economic growth you want to see in the next presidential administration?

We released our Growth and Opportunity Imperative this summer, outlining key policies to achieve 3 percent growth annually. Our plan includes: preventing the expiration of 2017 tax cuts to avoid the largest tax hike in U.S. history; rolling back Biden-era regulations and reducing government overreach; defending trade as a principal driver of growth; harnessing A.I. to drive innovation; adopting an all-of-the-above energy strategy; expanding and upskilling the work force.

These are some of the most important steps we can take to achieve the growth that will help improve people's lives.

Michael C. Bush: C.E.O., Great Place to Work

Groundbreaker Topic: Leadership, Ethics and A.I. Integration in the Modern Workplace

What are the key elements companies can do to build trust with their employees today?

Companies need people leaders who create a high-trust experience for all employees, full stop. The problem is, 62 percent of all people leaders don't want to lead people but they like the perks that come with it. Employees tell us about this every day across all industries, all around the world. If leaders don't want to work on their humility, curiosity, compassion, no problem, but they should be highly paid individual contributors. Benefits and flexibility matter, but people will trade these things for an experience where they feel their people leader has high expectations for them and wants them to succeed at work and in life.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/business/dealbook/leaders-advice-insights.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/business/dealbook/leaders-advice-insights.html)

**Graphic**

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[***In the Middle (Class) of It All; Postcard from Wausau, Wis.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D58-2W21-DXY4-X1W1-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Voters in Wisconsin are weighing which candidate better understands their economic anxieties.

It was a resplendent autumn morning in central Wisconsin this week, and I was doing what I do best: hanging out at a farmers’ market, admiring a $6 bunch of dahlias, and talking to strangers about the election.

“We’re 50-50. We’re middle-class. We’re in a swing state,” said Toni Case, 65, as she took a break from selling gyros from a silver trailer. “We’re in the middle of an election tornado.”

Case was right.

The market was set up in a suburban shopping center near Wausau, a city of about 40,000 people bisected by the Wisconsin River. The whole area is the kind of place that has almost mythic status in American politics today: a haven for the middle class.

According to the [*Pew Research Center*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/), the Wausau metropolitan area is one of 10 in the country with the largest share of middle-income residents. It has a gleaming downtown, a new Amazon distribution center and an abundance of parks along the river. It’s the sort of place that both Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald Trump are evoking all the time, though not by name, as they talk about how to improve the American economy by strengthening the middle class.

It’s also a place that lays bare the challenges both candidates face as they try to appeal to middle-class voters. As I interviewed voters in Wausau and Weston, right next door, I heard pronounced anxiety over the rising cost of living, and confusion over what being middle class even means anymore. It was clear that Trump’s dire picture of a middle class under attack has resonated here, but also that voters are thinking carefully about which candidate better understands the economic complexities of their lives.

“It’s hard to stay ahead,” Mercedes Anderson, 25, told me. “It feels like you just get by.”

Facing ‘outrageous’ costs, and seeking a solution

Trump has depicted an American middle class on the edge of extinction, accusing Harris of making middle-class life “unaffordable and unlivable.” He pledges to create a middle class that is “once again the envy of the entire world,” mostly by suggesting that his broad promises of tax cuts or mass deportations will help these Americans.

“We can soon have soaring incomes, skyrocketing wealth,” Trump said this month in Saginaw, Mich. “Millions and millions of new jobs and a booming middle class.”

Harris, who evoked the middle class [*three times in a single sentence*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/) of her speech at the Democratic National Convention, speaks of it in a more targeted way, pledging to help by lowering the costs of health care, housing and groceries.

One of her ads [*warns that Trump*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/) “has no plan to help the middle class — just more tax cuts for billionaires.”

Anderson, who was leaving the market with her 10-month old son, a friend and a big bag of fresh celery, told me she had not yet chosen a candidate because she was still trying to figure out who was more likely to bring down her “outrageous” cost of living.

Anderson had toured a day-care facility, she said, but decided that, at $350 a week, it was too expensive — the monthly total would exceed her mortgage payment. She instead relies on friends to look after her son while she works part time as a FedEx driver.

She was leaning toward Trump, she said, because she had heard the economy was better during his presidency. But she hadn’t decided for sure.

“The thing I don’t understand was how he’s going to do that,” Anderson said, referring to his promises to improve the economy. “But I don’t understand Harris, either.”

‘As good as you could get it’

The middle class is an amorphous concept that neither candidate has really defined. But one thing is clear, said Katherine Cramer, a political scientist at the University of Wisconsin-Madison — the days when “middle class” meant “stability” are long gone.

“Now, there’s just so much precarity in terms of people not being sure of whether the jobs that they’re currently in are going to be there in the future,” Cramer said. “They’re not sure of their ability to maintain their standard of living, whether it’s meeting their mortgage payments or rental payments.”

That wasn’t universally the case during my interviews in and around Wausau. Several voters I spoke with felt perfectly secure — particularly if they were affluent or retired.

“We worked, had good jobs in town and lived like a normal person did. I guess that’s as good as you could get it,” said Ray Apfelbeck, a retiree who lives in nearby Rib Mountain, as he left a Country Mart grocery store in Wausau. He was planning to vote for Harris, he said.

But that sense of uncertainty was top of mind for several voters I spoke with. One, a mother who has considered going back to work to supplement her family’s income, told me she “loved” Harris’s plans to create jobs and offer middle-class tax credits, but wasn’t sure she trusted Democrats to solve the country’s economic problems after four years of higher prices. Another, a 61-year-old retiree who was worried she would need to go back to work to support her ailing mother, was firmly decided on Trump.

Kelly Jacobi, 42, a photographer who was loading shopping bags in the back of her car, said she had lost business as people cut back on luxuries. Jacobi, who has leaned Democratic since 2016, said she thought Harris understood the pain of high prices, and worried that Trump’s plans for tariffs would only raise them further.

Jessica Sherfinski, who is in her late 30s, told me she considered herself middle class — but for her, that means buying only the things she needs, not the things she wants, like the fresh-cut flowers at the farmers’ market.

“My husband and I just recently bought property,” she said, after a decade of saving. “I didn’t think it would take that long.”

She hasn’t decided whom to vote for yet, she said, but she hopes the winner will make life more affordable for everybody.

How one Democratic ad makes an economic appeal

My colleagues are [*closely tracking the television ads*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/) shaping the messaging around the election. Future Forward, the main super PAC backing Vice President Kamala Harris’s presidential campaign, is running [*a 30-second ad*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/) on television in states including Arizona and North Carolina this week. My colleague [*Katie Glueck*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/) took [*a closer look*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/) at the spot.

The ad begins with an image of former President Donald Trump, slightly distorted by shadows, [*appearing to speak*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/) 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 Trump’s remarks on an iPad-like device and shaking his head.

After another image of 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 Trump and [*his ally Elon Musk*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/), the world’s richest man, who are separately hobnobbing in tuxedos.

As music soars, the spot cuts to images of Harris walking purposefully before American flags and greeting men wearing hard hats.

The ad is an appeal to two groups of voters whose support Harris needs to shore up: [*Black men*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/) and ***working-class*** Americans of all races. Buddy’s message — that Trump is out for himself and his rich friends, rather than for working people — and the images of Harris meeting with workers, many of whom appeared to be white, both seemed intended to engage those voters.

[*Read the full analysis of the ad here.*](https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/31/the-state-of-the-american-middle-class/)

PHOTO: The Wausau, Wis., metropolitan area is one of 10 in the country with the largest share of middle-class residents, according to the Pew Research Center. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lauren Justice for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Second Trump Term? Three Conservative Columnists Unpack What Could Happen.; Ross Douthat, David French and Bret Stephens***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB8-J121-JBG3-60BW-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 4023 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat, David French and Bret StephensRoss 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:** What will happen after Tuesday to Trumpism and the G.O.P. if Donald Trump wins — or loses?

**Body**

Ross Douthat: Bret, David, I’ve been given a rare opportunity by an obliging genie: I get to describe to our past selves in the autumn of 2016 — when we were all sure Donald Trump would lose in a landslide — what the Republican Party and conservatism look like eight years in the future. Here’s what I’m going to tell them.

Bret Stephens: Assuming the brace position, Ross.

Douthat: The 2024 Republican nominee is even in the national polls, is favored to win in betting markets and is poised to win a bigger share of the African American, the Latino and possibly the youth vote than the G.O.P. has at any point in our lifetimes. He’s assembled a team of future leaders that includes the author of a 2016 best-selling memoir about ***working-class*** dysfunction, the electric-car hero Elon Musk, a former rising-star Democratic congresswoman who switched parties to the G.O.P., a scion of the Kennedy family and more. He’s moved the Republican Party to the center on entitlements, same-sex marriage and marijuana legalization — and he is trusted more than his Democratic rival on the economy, immigration and foreign policy. The main issue where he isn’t trusted, abortion, is a big debate only because a conservative takeover of the Supreme Court was so successful that Roe v. Wade was overturned.

I expect our 2016 Never Trump selves may be relieved to hear all this. Is there anything else I should mention to them?

Stephens: That, in assembling this admittedly intriguing new coalition, this 2024 nominee was responsible for a string of electoral losses — the loss of the House in 2018, the loss of the White House in 2020, the loss of the Senate in 2021 and the strong showing of Democrats in the 2022 midterm elections, which historically should have swung strongly to the G.O.P., save for some atrocious Senate candidates like Herschel Walker in Georgia and Blake Masters in Arizona.

Also, a Republican Party that has abandoned many of the positions that attracted so many principled conservatives to it in the first place. For instance, a commitment to NATO and the defense of embattled democratic allies abroad. Or a belief, rooted in empirical evidence, in the economic benefits of free trade. Or a moral conviction that immigrants are a net positive for the country. Or a sense that civic health requires examples of moral leadership at the top.

And one more thing: that in 2024 roughly half the country sees the Republican Party not only as a challenge to their preferred policy positions but also as a mortal threat to democracy itself. If our 2016 selves thought the country couldn’t possibly be more polarized, suspicious, conspiracy-minded and furious, they are in for a rude surprise.

David French: That’s an intriguing way to frame the question, Ross. Because I was just thinking about how much my 2016 self underestimated what we faced in Trump. As badly as I viewed him, I never imagined that he’d try to overturn the results of an American election. I did not see the dizzying crime spikes and chaos in 2020. This is a man, after all, who pledged to end “American carnage.”

But there were some things that were quite predictable. What you called a move to the center on entitlements is just part and parcel of a larger abandonment of any pretense of fiscal responsibility, which is but one of a wholesale series of abandonments of conservative principles.

On abortion, the story is more mixed. I would have been surprised that his one term yielded three Supreme Court nominees, but I would also be surprised that the decades-long decrease in the abortion rate reversed itself during his presidency, and I would have been stunned by the electoral collapse of the pro-life movement. He truly brought the country together: It’s more pro-choice.

Douthat: I think you both have rounded out our message to our past selves nicely. But my provocation was meant to push us toward a few questions I hoped that we could wrestle with here.

Start with your point about underestimation, David. I think, to a lot of people, opposing Trump from the right in 2016 felt like a temporary maneuver, a response to a fluke nominee that would resolve back into conservative normalcy when his candidacy went down to defeat. Does it still feel that way in 2024? What does it actually mean to be an anti-Trump conservative eight years — and counting? — into the Trump era? Is there a conservatism in America apart from Trump and the larger populist realignment? Is imagining a different form of right-wing politics the equivalent of pining for the return of the Rockefeller Republicans or blue-collar pro-life Democrats or the 19th-century Whigs?

Stephens: I think there’s plenty of life left in normie conservatism, if I can use that term. Most successful G.O.P. leaders I can think of are in that camp, from Mike DeWine in Ohio to Glenn Youngkin in Virginia to Brian Kemp in Georgia. Even to Mike Johnson, the House speaker: They all know that they can’t govern or even win most elections as full-on MAGA Republicans. Ask Kari Lake later this week.

The problem the normies have is twofold: First, no normie Republican today can match Trump’s political charisma. Ron DeSantis auditioned for that job, just as Ted Cruz did eight years ago, and both bombed. Second, they live under the permanent threat of Trump’s blackmail, which forces them to bow and scrape at his altar more than they would otherwise like. But I hope that’s a problem that resolves itself when Trump eventually, inevitably, leaves the stage.

French: I agree with Bret that there’s life left in normie conservatism. You’d be surprised by how little your rank-and-file Republican voter has paid attention to the ideological realignments on the right. They still think they’re with the limited government, pro-life party. That’s changing, of course, but it’s far more gradual than the online activists would have you believe.

Plus, if there’s one thing we learned from the rise of Trump, it’s that voter ideology is far more malleable than we once thought. Republicans moved with blinding speed from imposing an unyielding ideological litmus test on their candidates to imposing an even more unyielding test of personal loyalty. Ideological changes are not fixed, and in the absence of any real evidence that the MAGA ethos works for swing state candidates not named Donald Trump, I wonder about its staying power after Trump leaves the scene.

Douthat: So I half-buy this argument. The parts I buy are that most Republican voters still have political defaults closer to Reaganism than to whatever set of issues unites, say, Tucker Carlson and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and that the Trump style will not automatically transfer to a post-Trump party and its leaders. Even Trump’s — for now — heir apparent, JD Vance, sounded quite different — normal, mainstream, like a conservative answer to Bill Clinton — in his debate with Tim Walz than in, for example, the podcast clips that dogged his candidacy in the beginning. And I think that point generalizes: Future Republicans who want to win will be more normal than Trump, who, because of his celebrity and distinctive kind of charisma, gets away with a style of politics that doesn’t work as well with imitators.

Stephens: Trump’s one of a kind. He leads the G.O.P. not as a party figure in the mold of Lyndon Johnson or as an ideological icon like Ronald Reagan. He’s a cult of personality figure, in the mold of Juan Perón. He draws his power not only from the adulation he inspires among supporters but also from the hatred he generates from his opponents. If he reversed all of his positions tomorrow, his followers would still love him, and his enemies would still hate him. He’s a once-in-a-century phenomenon.

French: Yes, Vance can come across as more normal than Trump — and sometimes not, as the podcast clips demonstrate — but is there evidence that a normal MAGA candidate can be more popular than Trump himself? In 2022 the Trump endorsement sealed Vance’s primary victory, but he substantially underperformed his normie Republican governor, Mike DeWine, in the general election.

Douthat: I agree that what you might call the normal-populist model hasn’t been fully road-tested. But here’s where I’m doubtful about normie Republicanism’s revenge: On substance and policymaking, a party isn’t just its voters or its purple-state governors. It’s also its activists and intellectuals and policy wonks and staff members and so forth. And when I look around the ranks of younger conservatives — the kind of people doing staff work and campaign work and idea work — I think a populist shift has really taken hold: a belief that Bush-era and Romney-era conservatism was a failure rather than something to be recovered, that the party needs to be more nationalist and culturally combative and skeptical of overseas commitments and so on, down a list of Trump-adjacent ideas. Do you have that sense as well?

Stephens: I do. And some of the change is undoubtedly healthy. The kind of management-consultant Republicanism epitomized by Romney isn’t particularly responsive to important ***working-class*** concerns revolving around, say, rampant opioid abuse, family breakdown or the struggles of alienated and purposeless young people, particularly men, in school and the workplace. I also think my brand of conservatism is probably insufficiently allergic to the cultural left. We dislike it but accommodate it, whereas younger, Trumpier conservatives hate it and mean to wage cultural war on it. Good for them; I lack the energy, and maybe the stomach, to write columns about, say, transgenderism.

On the other hand, some of the G.O.P.’s more populist positions are ones they’ll come to regret. High tariffs on imports sound great until you realize it will raise the prices of thousands of consumer goods without doing much to improve the economy at home. Cutting off aid to Ukraine is another idea Republicans will regret when Russian troops march into Kharkiv and China sees it as a case study in how to wear down the West in its own theater of interests.

French: I don’t think there’s any doubt that the young activists online and in Washington are very aggressively anti-woke and much more populist. I also think they’re deeply unrepresentative of their generation and their sense of isolation is driving many of them into dark spaces. The level of outright racism and antisemitism emanating from the young activist right is astounding.

It’s hard for me to forget what Aaron Sibarium, a rising-star reporter at The Washington Free Beacon, [*posted*](https://x.com/aaronsibarium/status/1686035822850555904) on X: “Whenever I’m on a career advice panel for young conservatives, I tell them to avoid group chats that use the N-word or otherwise blur the line between edgelording and earnest bigotry.” The fact that his advice is necessary is astounding.

I have to dissent from Bret when he says, “Good for them,” about this young activist response to the cultural left. I spent decades in courtrooms fighting left-wing illiberalism on campus, and I don’t believe right-wing illiberalism is an improvement. If you’re drafting speech codes — for example, [*Florida’s Stop Woke Act*](https://x.com/aaronsibarium/status/1686035822850555904) — to target left-wing speech, you’re still drafting speech codes. You’ve become the problem to fight the problem.

Douthat: OK, what about the sheer unknowability of the next four years if Trump wins or if he doesn’t? Yes, various aspects of the Trump era were foreseeable in 2016 — but many aspects were considerably less imaginable. For instance, you both mention the cultural left: I think liberalism has been internally transformed in profound ways that none of us welcomed, even if the pendulum has arguably swung back in some ways lately, and that certainly changed my own relationship to liberal institutions and the Democratic Party — my trust in them to be sane and stable, even when I disagreed with them.

Stephens: Good question. I worry about the ricochet effects of either presidency — of Trump or Kamala Harris. One of my main fears about a second Trump term is that it will revive the resistance not just in terms of an even more woke culture at universities or in the media but also in terms of street violence of the kind that paralyzed much of the country after George Floyd’s murder. Then again, if Harris proves to be an incompetent president or if she leans further into the cultural left, it will further radicalize the right, assuming that’s even possible.

French: I share many of Bret’s concerns. I wonder if the so-called Great Awokening would have happened had Trump lost in 2016. There were certainly stirrings of it in the Black Lives Matter movement and the unrest after Ferguson, but white Democrats, in particular, did lurch left in the Trump years. There was a sense that desperate times called for desperate measures, and we all saw a shocking level of intolerance for dissent in many left-leaning and establishment institutions.

If Harris wins — and finally ends Trump’s political career — after tacking away from the left-wing positions she embraced in 2019, I’m hopeful for continued cooling in the culture wars. If she loses, I fully expect parts of the left to take that loss as proof that the path of moderation is the path of defeat, that Harris never should have opened the door to the likes of Adam Kinzinger and Liz Cheney and that it’s time to fight fire with fire.

Douthat: I just have a lot of uncertainty about this. You had a great surge of awokened politics under Trump, yes, which might suggest that it’s all reactive and so things would heat back up if Trump returns and cool further under a President Harris. But the seeds of the Great Awokening were clearly sown in Barack Obama’s second term, out of a sense of frustration inside left-wing institutions with the resilience of Republican power and a desire for a more radical style of engagement than a gridlocked D.C. allowed. So if a Harris presidency is legislatively impotent, there will be strong pressure on her administration to be bureaucratically and culturally aggressive, to cede more administrative power to the activist and the ideological groups on the left.

And speaking of uncertainty, there’s foreign policy, where my 2016 self expected global chaos under Trump, and then we got much more of it under President Biden.

This is something you gestured toward in your [*extremely reluctant endorsement of Harris*](https://x.com/aaronsibarium/status/1686035822850555904), Bret, but to me, it’s a major question mark: Is it really the case that returning the Biden-Harris team to power is the safer move for the Pax Americana? Trump will negotiate with Vladimir Putin, absolutely. Do we think that Harris won’t be forced to do the same? Do we really know which kind of presidency will give Beijing more pause in its designs on Taiwan? Isn’t it possible that Trump’s mercurial style, his mix of aggressive and retrenching impulses, has some advantages over a liberal internationalism that talks a lot about America’s global mission but can’t come up with the means to match its ends?

Stephens: Maybe. Or maybe Trump got lucky in being surrounded by sober-minded advisers like H.R. McMaster and Gary Cohn, who steered him away from his worst foreign policy instincts — and who won’t be around in a second Trump term. Remember, the global disorder we’ve seen under Biden started with the shambolic retreat from Afghanistan, which I predicted at the time would embolden Russia to pursue its own adventures in Europe. That withdrawal, though executed by Biden, was originally Trump’s idea — patiently negotiated by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo.

On the other hand, probably my biggest misgiving about Harris is that Putin, Xi Jinping or Ali Khamenei will seek to test her early in her presidency and that she won’t rise to the occasion. Either way, it feels as if we are drifting toward the rapids.

French: Every time I hear the argument that voting for Trump is a vote for stability, I think of the mad dash inside his administration to try to stop him from implementing an order for a [*sudden withdrawal from Afghanistan*](https://x.com/aaronsibarium/status/1686035822850555904) after he lost the 2020 election. I’m also reminded that many of the people he selected to help him craft his foreign and defense policy now are telling the American public that he’s a dangerous man. The very people who helped him achieve the most successful policies of his first term are jumping up and down and yelling, “Don’t do this again!”

The Trump of 2017 and 2018 is gone. Don’t expect a national security establishment packed with some of the most respected military leaders in America. Instead, expect a Mos Eisley cantina full of cranks and sycophants — and many of those cranks and sycophants are deeply hostile to Ukraine and deeply hostile to NATO.

Stephens: Mos Eisley — you mean the “Star Wars” bar, right? Go on.

French: I completely understand that wars tend to end with negotiations, but that also brings us back to Afghanistan. The “deal” Trump negotiated to end that war — which included forcing the Afghan government to release thousands of Taliban prisoners — was a disaster. If and when Russia and Ukraine go to the bargaining table, Ukraine should be negotiating from a position of strength, with the arsenal of democracy backstopping its defense. That is not the position of Trump-Vance.

Douthat: Well, but again, prodding you toward uncertainty: If all hawkishness rests on material foundations, which administration is more likely to budget for substantial increases in defense spending — Harris-Walz or Trump-Vance? My bet is the latter.

French: We’re already ramping up domestic defense production. We have a goal to [*produce 100,000 155-millimeter artillery shells per month*](https://x.com/aaronsibarium/status/1686035822850555904) by next year, for example. But even if Trump would outspend Harris — by the way, his economic plan would [*add much more to the deficit*](https://x.com/aaronsibarium/status/1686035822850555904) than hers — a bigger defense budget isn’t helpful to Ukraine if the weapons and munitions are withheld while Ukrainians fight for their lives.

Stephens: I want to stay open to the idea — and maybe this is wishful thinking — that a second Trump term could hold some pleasant surprises, just as the first one did. There is something to the madman theory of international relations, which holds that American adversaries might be better deterred by Trump’s erratic and sometimes truculent instincts than by the cautious, measured and predictable patterns of the Biden administration’s foreign policy. Trump was also more right than wrong about some big foreign policy questions, such as opposing the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, which would have made Germany even more dependent on Russian gas; promoting peace between Israel and the more moderate Arab states; and, most important, seeing China as the aggressive and determined adversary that it is.

I also think it’s important to acknowledge that, as much as I detest Trump the man, there are sides of the MAGA movement that deserve respect. I don’t think of it as a collection of unadulterated bigots. Most Trump voters I know are decent people who don’t like being condescended to by a morally smug and self-serving elite that fails to see the many ways in which the federal government fails ordinary people. I also think Trump’s voters see things that too easily escape the notice of Trump’s haters, whether it was the farce of many of the Covid rules and restrictions or the double standards by which Trump’s opponents claim to be defending democracy while using every trick in the book to put him in prison.

Douthat: David, can I induce you to follow Bret in saying something optimistic about the possibilities of a second Trump administration?

French: I’m a harder sell. While I love and respect many, many people who vote for Trump, I do not have anything good to say about the MAGA movement itself. Perhaps you have to be embedded in deep-red communities to see its effect on the ground, but I have never seen people go deep into MAGA without profound negative effects on their character, their temperament and their relationships with people outside MAGA.

For example, to truly be a member of MAGA in good standing, you have to defer to the election lie. Any movement that requires that degree of dangerous dishonesty as a condition of remaining in good standing is corrosive to the country.

Regarding a second Trump term, I do have some degree of optimism that he’ll continue to nominate judges like many of the judges I know from his first term — high-integrity civil servants who’ve proved to be dedicated to the rule of law. In fact, many of them helped block his effort to steal the election in 2020. But I’m worried even about that. There are deep MAGA resentments against many of Trump’s judges, and there is a sense that they don’t want any more justices quite like Amy Coney Barrett, Brett Kavanaugh and Neil Gorsuch.

Also, and this is no small thing, even if a second Trump administration is far more pro-choice than any Republican administration in my adult lifetime, it won’t try to codify Roe, there will be no move to expand or pack the Supreme Court, and it won’t try to aggressively wield Title IX to coerce compliance with far-left theories about gender or to deny due process on campus. Each of those moves can be blocked by courts or Congress, even if Harris wins, but I’d rather not see a presidential administration try any of those things.

Douthat: And now, Bret, since both you and David have reluctantly argued that anti-Trump conservatives should accept a Harris presidency, give me your optimist’s view of where you think conservatism will stand a few years into a Harris administration.

Stephens: Very optimistically: Trump will be remembered by Republicans as the repeat loser of winnable elections and will be quietly repudiated by rank-and-file conservatives who want candidates who win by appealing to the center of America. The party will regain some of its Reaganite bearings, especially by rejecting protectionism and isolationism and regaining its broadly positive view of immigration, its belief in smaller government and its faith in the free world. Republicans will also demand that their leading political candidates pass the moral smell test and the intellectual laugh test — no more Matt Gaetz or Marjorie Taylor Greene. And it will remember that the ultimate purpose of American conservatism is to defend a liberal order rooted in the words “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,” “created equal” and “unalienable rights.”

French: I’m not naïve. I know that a renewed Reaganism isn’t waiting in the wings. The way I look at a Harris presidency is that it will give Republicans a chance to redefine themselves without Trump threatening, bullying and intimidating everyone who doesn’t fall in line. There are still many quite good and competent Republicans in Congress and in state capitals, and even if they may end up more populist and less libertarian than I’d prefer, there is a world of difference between them and Trump. I would have been happy to vote for many, many non-MAGA Republicans, had they gotten the party’s nomination instead of Trump.

You don’t have to look far to find them. I’m thinking of Kemp, the governor of Georgia. I’m thinking of Bill Lee, my governor in Tennessee. Republicans may never welcome Liz Cheney or Adam Kinzinger back in the fold, and I think they know and accept that, but a Trump loss will create an opening for others. MAGA may still win the Republican civil war that would erupt with a Harris win, but at least decency will have a chance.

Douthat: And on that note, we’ll conclude and plan to reconvene in four years. If Harris wins on Tuesday, maybe we’ll be talking about a Trump-Harris rematch — God help us. Or maybe 2028 will pit a progressive artificial intelligence promising utopian bounty in exchange for our souls against Elon Musk, the viceroy of the Mars colony.

Expect the unexpected, gentlemen, and thank you for the conversation.

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[***Even the Battle for Second Turned Out Well for Trump in Iowa***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6B41-PWS1-JBG3-6010-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** A dominant victory and little momentum for his rivals.

**Body**

A dominant victory and little momentum for his rivals.

If there was any question whether Donald J. Trump was on track to win the Republican nomination, it was answered Monday night by the voters of Iowa.

The first-in-the-nation Iowa caucuses delivered him [*a sweeping victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/15/us/politics/trump-wins-iowa.html?smid=url-share), offering the most concrete proof yet of his dominance over the Republican Party.

With nearly [*all the votes counted*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/01/15/us/elections/results-iowa-caucus.html), Mr. Trump’s share was 51 percent. Ron DeSantis finished a distant second at 21 percent, with Nikki Haley at 19 percent.

The result is not surprising or even unexpected, but Mr. Trump’s victory is no small feat. A year ago, Iowa did not look as if it would be easy for the former president. In an upset eight years ago, Iowa voters rejected Mr. Trump [*in favor of Ted Cruz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/02/us/ted-cruz-wins-republican-caucus.html). And unlike the rest of the country, the Iowa political establishment has refused to get in line behind Mr. Trump.

Not only did he win in a landslide anyway, but his 30-point margin of victory set a record for a contested Iowa Republican caucus.

Better still for Mr. Trump, neither Mr. DeSantis nor Ms. Haley posted a strong second-place showing that might have bestowed clear momentum for future races. If anything, Mr. DeSantis’s second-place finish might dampen Ms. Haley’s momentum heading into New Hampshire.

Mr. Trump’s decisive victory was built on his usual — if still remarkable — strengths among ***working-class*** and rural voters, who made up a preponderance of the Iowa electorate. In county after county across the Iowa countryside, Mr. Trump obtained more than 60 percent of the vote — and sometimes 70 percent — with his rivals languishing in the teens or single digits. He also excelled among white evangelical Christians and self-described “very conservative” voters — two groups that held him back here eight years ago. It’s a coalition that naturally gives him a commanding advantage in a party that’s disproportionately conservative, ***working class***, evangelical and rural. It was enough for him to win all but one of the state’s counties, with his one defeat by a single vote in Johnson County.

Mr. DeSantis was dealt a serious setback to his already ailing candidacy. He seemed like a perfect fit for Iowa, as the caucus electorate usually favors ideologically conservative candidates. He followed the winning caucus playbook, including campaigning in [*all 99 counties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/02/us/politics/desantis-iowa-tour-2024.html) and earning high-profile endorsements from the state’s governor, many other elected Republicans in the state and prominent evangelical leaders. None of it seemed to make a difference.

The road ahead for him is bleak. No upcoming contest plainly offers Mr. DeSantis a better chance of victory, and his poll numbers are even weaker in the states ahead. If he can’t compete in Iowa, it’s hard to imagine where he can. It has raised the question of whether he will continue in the race, though he has [*said*](https://www.cnn.com/2024/01/14/politics/desantis-2024-iowa-caucus/index.html) he’s staying in. Either way, Ms. Haley has overtaken Mr. DeSantis as Mr. Trump’s nearest, if still distant, rival.

For Ms. Haley, the third-place finish is a disappointment but not dire. She showed important strength among college-educated, independent and suburban voters, who have long been Mr. Trump’s greatest skeptics. She defeated Mr. Trump by a comfortable margin in precincts where a majority of residents hold a four-year college degree. She also won 64 percent of self-described moderates.

Ms. Haley’s strength among moderates and college graduates wasn’t enough for second in Iowa, as several late polls suggested, but voters like these will represent a much larger share of later primary electorates. It might just be enough for her to compete in relatively well-educated states with larger numbers of independent voters, including New Hampshire next week — where the polls already show a close and tightening race.

But the results also confirmed that her appeal is extraordinarily narrow, all but confined to those moderate and highly educated voters. She routinely failed to reach 10 percent of the vote in rural, ***working-class*** precincts. The entrance polls found that she won just 9 percent among voters who never attended college.

College-educated and independent voters can only take a candidate so far in a ***working***- ***class*** Republican Party. It certainly didn’t take her very far in Iowa on Monday night. There is no path for Ms. Haley to win the nomination without greatly expanding her appeal among these base constituencies.

PHOTO: Donald Trump won by 30 percentage points. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Teamsters Clash Over Leader's Talks With Trump and Speaking Slot at the R.N.C.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CG0-13G1-DXY4-X2P2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 12, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1321 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

The Teamsters' president, Sean O'Brien, will address the Republican convention next week in Milwaukee, just when President Biden needs unified support from organized labor.

Sean O'Brien, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has framed his decision to speak at the Republican National Convention next week as a savvy maneuver to keep the union's doors open to whoever prevails in November's presidential election.

But his open flirtation with former President Donald J. Trump has divided the union's leadership, rankled some of its 1.3 million members and set up a showdown over the Teamsters' eventual endorsement that has undermined President Biden's standing with organized labor just when he needs it the most.

''We will not allow the ***working-class*** labor movement to be destroyed by a scab masquerading as a pro-union advocate after doing everything in his power to destroy the very fabric of unions,'' James Curbeam, the national chairman of the Teamsters National Black Caucus, wrote in a blistering letter to Teamsters members after Mr. O'Brien announced a meeting with Mr. Trump earlier this year.

On Monday, a Teamsters spokeswoman, Kara Deniz, defended what she framed as bipartisan overtures and shot back at Mr. O'Brien's critics.

''The Teamsters have never been afraid of democracy, but self-interested ideologues -- on the left and the right, within and outside the union -- are terrified of democracy,'' she said.

It was only last November that Mr. O'Brien burst into the national consciousness. The Teamsters president, who was elected to his post in 2022, nearly got into a fistfight with a pro-Trump Republican senator, Markwayne Mullin of Oklahoma, during a Senate labor committee hearing. In 2022, after his election, Mr. O'Brien was appearing with that committee's left-wing chairman, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, at rallies against ''corporate greed.''

But more recently, Mr. O'Brien has cut a more bipartisan image. His union wrote checks for $45,000 to both the Democratic and Republican conventions. He met with Mr. Trump at his Mar-a-Lago resort in January, then brought the former president to a Teamsters executive board meeting on Jan. 31 to talk over labor issues and dangle an endorsement.

In May, Mr. O'Brien snapped photos with Dana White, president of the Ultimate Fighting Championship and a longtime friend of Mr. Trump's. He then sought out speaking slots with both conventions -- and landed one in Milwaukee with the Republicans.

For weeks, the union's leadership has downplayed the idea that all this was leading toward a more formal embrace of the presumptive Republican nominee, saying the Teamsters represent workers of all political persuasions.

''General President O'Brien looks forward to addressing a crowd that hasn't traditionally been open to union voices,'' Ms. Deniz said. ''But that is what democracy is all about.''

The Teamsters have yet to make a presidential endorsement, and, Ms. Deniz said, this year's protracted process has been ''the most democratic, inclusive and transparent it's ever been in our 121-year history.'' It has included round-table discussions with every major candidate, 300 town hall meetings at locals and straw polls in May, the results of which have still not been announced.

But for Mr. Trump, who has pushed hard for union votes, with or without union leadership endorsements, the O'Brien invitation was a victory. Organized labor, at least for now, remains strongly behind Mr. Biden's re-election, and the president has worked hard to keep unions by his side.

The Biden administration's National Labor Relations Board has been staffed with pro-union officials, a marked departure from Mr. Trump's. Mr. Biden's three signature domestic achievements -- the $1 trillion infrastructure bill, a $280 billion measure to rekindle a domestic semiconductor industry and the Inflation Reduction Act, which included $370 billion for clean energy to combat climate change -- all contained pro-union provisions that have particularly helped Teamsters, who drive trucks and work construction sites.

And his 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. Virtually every major union, including the umbrella A.F.L.-C.I.O., has already endorsed Mr. Biden for re-election.

Yet Mr. Trump remains a draw to the ***working-class*** voters Mr. Biden desperately needs. As Mr. O'Brien toys with both sides, any Teamsters effort to educate and organize its members ahead of November has been put on hold, according to John Palmer, a Teamsters executive board member and vice president at-large, and other Teamster officials.

''We aren't in a rush to judgment, and we don't make decisions until after the conventions,'' Ms. Deniz said.

For Mr. Trump, even having Mr. O'Brien at his convention is a triumph.

''When I am back in the White House, the hardworking Teamsters, and all working Americans, will once again have a country they can afford to live in and be respected around the world,'' Mr. Trump wrote on his social media website Truth Social.

Mr. O'Brien's efforts have prompted remarkable dissent within the famously tight-knit union and a leery response from conservative business groups.

Outside the arena where the convention will unfold, the Center for Union Facts, an anti-union group, has posted billboards calling the Teamsters ''two-faced'' and warning that the union has spent 99 percent of its advocacy on ''left'' causes.

The forceful response from Mr. O'Brien's leadership team to internal disagreements has been equally surprising.

Mr. Palmer refused to attend the leadership meeting with Mr. Trump, instead releasing a letter to Mr. O'Brien in which he called Mr. Trump a ''known union buster, scab and insurrectionist.''

Weeks later, the union's general counsel, David O'Brien Suetholz, sent Mr. Palmer a four-page letter listing 24 media reports in which Mr. Palmer's name had appeared, demanding confirmation in writing that he was authorized to speak on behalf of the union in each of the articles, and requesting a list of ''every document you shared with a member of the media'' concerning Mr. Trump's interview with the union.

''There's not a more Trump-like figure in the labor movement,'' Mr. Palmer said of Mr. O'Brien. ''It's in his nature.''

Early this year, the union filed a copyright infringement case against an internet forum that members have long used to discuss issues, and where recent posts have featured differences of opinion about Mr. O'Brien's approach to Mr. Trump. The union brass demanded it stop using the Teamsters name and logo on its website.

When Rick Smith, a Teamsters member and podcaster, spoke out against Mr. O'Brien ''platforming Donald Trump'' on an episode of his show, the Teamsters president had what Mr. Smith called ''an encounter'' with him at a crowded party in Pennsylvania. According to Mr. Smith, he demanded an on-air apology if Mr. Smith wanted a relationship with the union he had been a member of for 35 years.

Mr. Smith didn't give it, though he did say, ''I do agree with Sean O'Brien of 2018 where he wrote on his Facebook page after Trump's State of the Union address, 'We refuse to remain silent as Trump dismantles all we've fought for.'''

Mr. Palmer said the straw polls taken in May showed Mr. Trump with the support of a healthy 37 percent of Teamsters members, but Mr. Biden with a clear lead, 46 percent. After the executive board met with Mr. Biden, he added, virtually every member present said the union had to back the president. But Mr. O'Brien wanted to string out the process as he courts Republican support.

''But you know,'' Mr. Palmer added, ''you can pick up a snake and play with it, but if you play with it enough, it's going to bite you eventually.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/us/politics/teamsters-trump-biden.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/us/politics/teamsters-trump-biden.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Sean O'Brien, president of the Teamsters, has drawn critics. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNA SCHOENEFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** July 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In His Last Months as President, Biden Is Both Liberated and Resigned***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CX1-3SN1-JBG3-62F4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 6, 2024 Friday 22:24 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 904 words

**Byline:** Zolan Kanno-Youngs Zolan Kanno-Youngs is a White House correspondent, covering President Biden and his administration.

**Highlight:** President Biden spent decades seeking the highest office, only to drop his bid for re-election under pressure. These final months before the November election are bittersweet, his allies say.

**Body**

President Biden spent decades seeking the highest office, only to drop his bid for re-election under pressure. These final months before the November election are bittersweet, his allies say.

President Biden began the final stretch of his political career this week freed from the rigors of running for re-election, appearing by turns nostalgic, liberated and — in some cases — resigned to finding himself once again in a supporting role.

After a two-week summer vacation, Mr. Biden has been campaigning for Vice President Kamala Harris, now at the top of the Democratic ticket, and traveling the country to promote his administration’s accomplishments.

But for a man who has spent decades seeking the highest office, only to drop his bid for re-election under pressure from his own party, these final months before the November election are bittersweet, his allies say.

“For my whole career I’ve either been too young or too old, never in between,” Mr. Biden told a crowd of union workers on Friday in Ann Arbor, Mich. The president, who was not yet 30 when he first won a Senate seat in 1972, cracked that he went on to serve for “374 years.”

Earlier in the week, Mr. Biden appeared unbothered about alienating conservatives when he attacked Senator Ron Johnson of Wisconsin — in the Republican’s home state — for not voting for the Inflation Reduction Act, the president’s signature legislation.

And on Monday in Pittsburgh, during an event with Ms. Harris, Mr. Biden did not seem particularly keen to cede the spotlight. He spoke eight minutes longer than the vice president, even as he said he would be “[*on the sidelines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/us/politics/harris-walz-michigan-pennsylvania.html)” going forward.

“It’s complicated because this is not the September he had planned,” said David Axelrod, a former senior aide to former President Barack Obama. He described the president as relaxed, candid and — to borrow a term from Ms. Harris’s allies — [*unburdened*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/us/politics/harris-walz-michigan-pennsylvania.html).

“He’s not doing much ‘Well, I shouldn’t say that’ anymore,” Mr. Axelrod said. “And that’s probably good.”

The Harris campaign is [*deploying Mr. Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/us/politics/harris-walz-michigan-pennsylvania.html) in a targeted way — mostly to the swing states of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan, where he still appeals to white, ***working-class*** voters and union members.

But Ms. Harris will try to forge her own political identity.

Last month, in their first joint public appearance since Mr. Biden dropped out of the race, Ms. Harris was clearly the main figure during a health care event in Largo, Md.

She was the one who thanked all the elected officials by name. She was the one who set the tone for the event. While she spoke, he stood quietly to the side, his hands clasped in front of him, almost as if he were the vice president again. It was a role he played for eight years under Mr. Obama, but one he thought was behind him.

Mr. Biden’s allies emphasize that he is still the president, and that he is still navigating crises both at home and abroad, including the wars in Ukraine and Gaza. In blunt terms, he told reporters on Monday that he did not think Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel was doing enough to bring home hostages.

Three days later, he accused Republicans of failing to address gun violence after two students and two teachers were shot and killed in the deadliest episode of school violence in Georgia history.

“We need more than thoughts and prayers,” Mr. Biden said. “Some of my Republican friends in Congress just finally have to say: ‘Enough is enough. We have to do something.’”

And while the pressures of the campaign may have relented, Mr. Biden is still facing personal difficulty as his son, Hunter, faces [*the possibility of time behind bars*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/us/politics/harris-walz-michigan-pennsylvania.html) in a federal tax case.

Mr. Biden has spent much of his time on the trail burnishing his own legacy and dipping into the past, nothing new for a president known to embrace storytelling. (He often adds an emphatic “Not a joke!” in the middle of a tale.)

But now, in the final months of his presidency, Mr. Biden appears to be looking back a bit more than usual. This week, he described the joy he felt during his first Senate race when a steelworker named Hughie endorsed him. He told stories about his great-grandfather working in mining in Pennsylvania. He shouted out his friends in the Senate, reminding voters that he grew up in the same neighborhood as Bob Casey of Pennsylvania.

“The literal weight of the world is not solely on his shoulders,” said Quentin James, an ally of Mr. Biden and a co-founder of the Collective PAC, which aims to rally Black voters. “I think he is able to be unfiltered. To be relaxed.”

On Friday, he took a particularly unfiltered tone toward former President Donald J. Trump, the person he felt duty bound to keep out of the White House.

Choking up as he remembered his son, Beau, who served in Iraq and later died of brain cancer, Mr. Biden said he was enraged by comments attributed to Mr. Trump, that American soldiers killed in combat were “losers” and “suckers.”

“I mean this from the bottom of my heart, I’m glad I wasn’t there,” Mr. Biden said. “I think I would’ve done something.”

Peter Baker contributed reporting.

Peter Baker contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: President Biden returning to the White House on Monday after campaigning for Vice President Kamala Harris in Pittsburgh. Left, signs of gratitude at the Democratic National Convention. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENT NISHIMURA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** September 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Is Courting Apolitical Young Men. Will It Pay Off?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9X-8SH1-DXY4-X4FK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1902 words

**Byline:** Kellen Browning, Benjamin Oreskes and Eduardo MedinaKellen Browning is a Times reporter covering the 2024 election, with a focus on the swing states of Nevada and Arizona.

**Highlight:** Gen Z men are increasingly turning away from the Democratic Party, swayed by the former president’s bravado and irreverence. But they also do not usually vote in high numbers.

**Body**

Gen Z men are increasingly turning away from the Democratic Party, swayed by the former president’s bravado and irreverence. But they also do not usually vote in high numbers.

Back in June, former President Donald J. Trump appeared on a podcast interview with Logan Paul, the wrestler and social media star. They chatted about immigration and the economy, but also about boxing and the existence of aliens — which Mr. Trump described as “very possible.”

Finn Murphy, a 20-year-old college student in Carolina Beach, N.C., generally stays away from politics. But when he listened to snippets of the podcast, he liked what he heard. That’s why, hair still wet from an afternoon of surfing, he was standing in line last week alongside people three times his age to cast a vote for Mr. Trump.

“He’s strong; he’s a man,” Mr. Murphy said. “I’m here to make sure he wins.”

Young men like Mr. Murphy have traditionally been among the least likely to vote in presidential elections. Campaigns and pollsters frequently struggle to reach them, because they are less prone than most to pick up the phone, trust institutions or participate in politics at all.

But in this election, Mr. Trump has made a concerted effort to court Gen Z men, especially white, Black and Latino men without a college degree, seeking out the podcasts and influencers that they flock to and appearing on shows where he exhibits a bravado and disdain for cultural norms.

In recent years, young men have [*become more conservative*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html) and increasingly anxious about their economic status. In two national surveys conducted by The New York Times and Siena College recently, the gender gap among young Americans was stark, with young women backing Vice President Kamala Harris by 42 percentage points, and young men favoring Mr. Trump by 12 points. Mr. Trump is betting that he can harness all of this to motivate a wave of young men to vote on Election Day.

If successful, the gambit would be, perhaps, an even more surprising version of the feat Mr. Trump pulled off in 2016, when he persuaded a significant number of white, ***working-class*** and low-propensity voters to vote Republican [*for the first time*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html). Young men without college degrees represent a greater challenge because past trends suggest they are unlikely to vote in large numbers. Pollsters and strategists from both parties said they were skeptical that 2024 would be any different.

“These groups that he’s targeting have generally been the least engaged politically and the least likely to vote,” said John Della Volpe, the director of polling for the Institute of Politics at the Harvard Kennedy School who was an adviser to President Biden’s 2020 campaign. “Having said that, Trump has a history of turning out groups like that, and we cannot underestimate that.”

In 2020, about 6.6 million men between 18 and 24 reported voting, according to U.S. Census Bureau population surveys. That’s about 4 percent of the 154 million who reported voting that year. In general, women vote at a higher rate than men across age groups, according to Debbie Walsh, the director for the Center for American Women and Politics.

In interviews with two dozen young men in battleground states across the country, many said they admired Mr. Trump, but questioned whether the outcome of the election would make a real difference in their lives — the kind of skepticism that makes political experts doubt that they will ultimately bother to vote.

In Phoenix, Alfonso Arribe, 21, said he liked Vice President Kamala Harris’s tax plans and promises of student-loan debt relief, as well as her support for women’s rights. But he said he was unhappy with how the Biden-Harris administration had handled the economy and frustrated at how inflation had eaten into his paycheck from his job at a local community college.

In Mr. Trump, he said, he saw a man who said whatever he wanted and did not modulate his opinions for anyone.

“If I’m honest, both of them are bad,” Mr. Arribe said. “It’s just coming down to: What are they going to take away? Is it going to affect me badly?”

But some young men said they believed that Mr. Trump and the Republican Party would be better for the country — and for their demographic in particular.

Nick Kerkhoff, 21, a football player and fraternity president at Carroll University, in Waukesha, Wis., said he had voted early for Mr. Trump, mainly because of his economic agenda and a fear that Ms. Harris might get the country embroiled in a war that men would be drafted into.

Mr. Kerkhoff and other young male voters said they felt unfairly written off by Democrats, with people assuming in social settings that they would be “inherently racist, misogynistic.”

“They’re making uneducated conclusions that hurt a large majority of people living in the country without even realizing,” Mr. Kerkhoff said. “For the longest time, the Democratic Party has been consistently known as the party of unity. And it doesn’t sound like that.”

Chasing an elusive group

In the past decade, men under 30 have confronted rising challenges, from [*stagnant wages*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html) to a [*decline in college enrollment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html) and an [*epidemic of loneliness and a rise in suicide rates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html). At the same time, they have [*reported feeling increasingly left behind*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html) culturally and blamed for society’s ills.

“These have metastasized into grievances, and these grievances come to be exploited,” said Richard Reeves, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and the president of the American Institute for Boys and Men. While Democrats have rallied women around issues like restoring abortion rights, Mr. Reeves argued they have done a comparatively poor job of speaking to men — in some cases alienating them by suggesting they are responsible for society’s problems.

It is Democrats, strategists said, who have offered more specific policy proposals that might benefit young men, like assistance for first-time home buyers. But they said Republicans were the ones speaking directly to this group.

“The vibe of the Republicans is, ‘We’re guys who like guys, and we like the things that guys like. We see you,’” Mr. Reeves said.

Mr. Trump has sought the support of such disaffected voters. He has [*bantered on a livestream*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html) with Adin Ross, an internet celebrity who has broadcast with avowed white supremacists and neo-Nazis, [*quizzed the comedian Theo Von*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html) about drug use and played golf [*with a group of YouTube pranksters known as the Nelk Boys*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html). He has surrounded himself with masculine sports figures like Dana White, the chief executive of the Ultimate Fighting Championship, and Hulk Hogan, the former professional wrestler. Courting Latino and Black men, Mr. Trump and his team [*adopted hip-hop imagery and slang*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html).

Last week, he recorded a three-hour podcast with Joe Rogan, the [*media behemoth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html) with a large male audience.

His allies have also been present on college campuses to encourage young people — especially men — to vote. They have held events with Republican speakers, including Charlie Kirk, who heads the conservative group Turning Point USA.

Whether this will translate on Election Day remains an open question. The very factors that have drawn Gen Z men to Mr. Trump — disdain for traditional politics and a distrust of institutions — also make them less inclined to vote. [*A recent Harvard Youth Poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html) found that Ms. Harris leads among young men who are likely to vote, while Mr. Trump leads with those who are less certain.

Mr. Trump’s campaign feels confident.

“I think they have been low-propensity over the years because nobody’s ever talked directly to their concerns before in a way that resonates,” James Blair, the Trump campaign’s political director, said in a statement. “For the first time ever, a presidential candidate is acknowledging the issues that young men face.”

Tim Walz’s bro tour

Ms. Harris maintains a lead among young voters overall, and even with young men in some surveys. Her campaign said it had done more than Republicans to offer policies that would actually improve the lives of young men, such as a proposal that forgives business loans for Black-owned start-ups.

And the Harris operation has tried to reach them, pointing to advertisements on sports betting websites like DraftKings and Ms. Harris’s appearances on podcasts like “All the Smoke,” hosted by two former N.B.A. players. The campaign said it has been active on college campuses, and Ms. Harris has been endorsed by celebrities popular with young men, like Bad Bunny, the Puerto Rican singer, and [*LeBron James*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html).

Seth Schuster, a Harris campaign spokesman, said Democrats were “competing hard for every vote,” while Mr. Trump seemingly had “no interest in building a winning coalition of voters” — citing the former president’s campaign event at Madison Square Garden in New York on Sunday, where speakers let loose a torrent of racist and misogynistic language.

Stopping by a Democratic voter information booth at Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, Mich., last week, Nicholas Hanser, 20, said he planned to vote for Ms. Harris because he feared the impact of a second Trump term.

“I think he wants to run it like a dictatorship and a monarchy, truly,” he said.

In recent weeks, the Harris campaign dispatched Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, Ms. Harris’s running mate, on something of a bro tour, sending him to football games and hunting for pheasants. On Sunday, he joined the Twitch stream of Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York to play video games.

Still, some said the outreach felt inauthentic.

Rachel Janfaza, [*a researcher of youth political culture*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/upshot/polls-trump-harris-young-men.html), said Democrats needed to directly address an issue she has heard repeatedly: Some young men no longer feel the Democratic Party is friendly to them, and Mr. Trump’s approach — blustery, profane and transgressive at times — has drawn them in.

Many in this cohort, Ms. Janfaza said, consider themselves politically moderate or liberal, supporting abortion rights and L.G.B.T.Q. issues. But they also enjoy the less restrained humor on the right.

“Even if they disagree with Trump’s character, they appreciate the fact that he can get away with or say whatever he wants,” Ms. Janfaza said, “and it really flies in the face of this political correctness and culture they grew up with and have become frustrated by.”

The newfound Republican support among young men, however, will mean very little if they do not show up.

Jonathan Marin, 18, works as a busboy at a Las Vegas hotel and casino alongside his father, who immigrated to the United States from Mexico. On TikTok, he learned about Mr. Trump’s proposal to eliminate tax on tips, and he liked it.

Last Thursday, Mr. Marin, who is a student at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, said he planned to vote for Mr. Trump on Saturday.

But when Saturday rolled around, he slept in, then got caught up with other obligations. “Things come up,” he said.

Still, he promised, he would eventually show up to the polls.

Jack Healy, Mitch Smith, Ruth Igielnik and Alan Blinder contributed reporting.

Jack Healy, Mitch Smith, Ruth Igielnik and Alan Blinder contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Nick Kerkhoff, a football player and fraternity president at Carroll University, in Waukesha, Wis., said former President Donald Trump’s economic agenda and a fear that Vice President Kamala Harris might get the country embroiled in a war that men would be drafted into led him to vote early for Mr. Trump. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jim Vondruska for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Sunday Library Hours and Free 3-K for Some Are Added Back to New York Budget***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CC6-FYT1-DXY4-X1PV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1232 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

Mayor Eric Adams and the City Council reached a $112 billion budget deal that restored some unpopular cuts to key programs.

After months of tense and protracted negotiations, Mayor Eric Adams and City Council leaders announced on Friday that they had reached agreement on a $112.4 billion budget for New York City that restored many of the mayor's proposed cuts, including to libraries and cultural institutions.

But other key programs were not made whole, including a popular and free preschool program for 3-year-olds.

This budget is particularly significant for Mr. Adams, a Democrat who is running for re-election in a competitive primary next June. Mr. Adams has insisted that major budget cuts were necessary to help offset the costs of the migrant crisis, new union contracts for city workers and the ending of federal pandemic aid.

The mayor and the City Council speaker, Adrienne Adams, adopted a celebratory tone at the announcement at City Hall, smiling and holding a model airplane to show that they had ''landed the plane'' as promised. Mr. Adams said they had found comity to fund important programs as the city faces major financial challenges.

''We are delivering a budget that invests in the future of our city and the ***working-class*** people who make New York City the greatest city in the world,'' the mayor said.

For months, Council leaders and a wide range of advocates have argued that the mayor's budget cuts would make life harder for New Yorkers at a moment when the city was increasingly unaffordable. Groups rallied on the steps of City Hall to call for more funding for libraries and preschools and enlisted celebrities such as Hillary Clinton and Rachel Griffin Accurso, a children's entertainer known as Ms. Rachel.

Library leaders said on Friday that $58 million in restored funding would allow them to reopen branches on Sundays and to remain open on Saturdays. They added that Sunday reopenings would begin at some branches ''in the coming weeks,'' returning to the same hours of operation before cuts forced the closures in November.

The fight over the libraries was emblematic of the deep divide between the mayor and representatives of Ms. Adams. The two sides could not agree on basic revenue estimates and offered vastly different visions for the city. Neither got everything they wanted.

Ms. Adams hinted at their differences on Friday, arguing that the city should move ''away from restoring and toward strengthening and building'' during the budget process -- a reference to the mayor's budget cuts.

As the budget process progressed, updated revenue projections showed that many of the cuts weren't needed. Both fiscally conservative and liberal good government groups and the Independent Budget Office said City Hall's revenue projections were inaccurate. But the mayor ordered agencies to slash their budgets anyway.

Nathan Gusdorf, the director of the left-leaning Fiscal Policy Institute, said the mayor's ''unduly pessimistic revenue forecasts'' were ''fiscally irresponsible'' and had resulted in hiring freezes and the elimination of jobs that helped the city run smoothly.

''As the cost of living rises and our city loses working and middle-class families,'' Mr. Gusdorf said, ''the mayor should prioritize deeper investments in child care and affordable housing to keep New Yorkers here rather than insisting on budget cuts that will only drive more families out.''

Justin Brannan, the chairman of the Council's Finance Committee, said he and his colleagues never doubted that the city had enough revenue to restore most of the mayor's cuts and to make investments in housing and mental health.

''If we want to make sure New York City remains the capital of the world,'' Mr. Brannan said, ''we've got to keep investing in it.''

The budget also includes $2 billion in capital funding for affordable housing and restores funding for arts programs, H.I.V. treatment programs, community composting, summer youth programs and half-price MetroCards for poor New Yorkers.

A package of roughly $100 million was included for early childhood education, including for young children with disabilities.

About $20 million will pay for additional preschool seats for 3-year-olds, which is known as 3-K. Other funding aims to fill vacant seats and clear wait lists for children who receive special education services, and a biweekly working group will focus on addressing the problems.

Some 3-K supporters were disappointed that the program did not receive enough funding to make it truly universal.

''Parents are grateful to the New York City Council for their herculean efforts in achieving a budget that rolls back some of the mayor's cuts to 3-K,'' said Rebecca Bailin, executive director of New Yorkers United for Child Care. ''Despite these steps, families are still facing millions in unnecessary cuts to 3-K.''

Jennifer March, executive director of Citizens' Committee for Children, a nonprofit, praised the planned operational changes to 3-K. If the city fills empty seats that are currently funded, ''we'd make big leaps forward'' toward universal 3-K, Ms. March said.

Other groups, including supporters of city parks, expressed more disappointment that the budget deal did not address their cuts, saying they were ''left behind.''

''There is no doubt that every New Yorker will notice the effects of such a shortsighted and harmful parks budget,'' said Adam Ganser, executive director of New Yorkers for Parks.

The city's tax revenues were roughly $650 million higher than expected over two fiscal years, which helped fend off some of the deeper cuts. Still, a budget deficit of $5.5 billion is expected in 2026, and budget watchdogs have cautioned that the city is not prepared for an economic downturn and called for more money to be placed in reserve.

''The mayor has talked a lot about efficiency, but we have yet to see the rubber meet the road,'' said Andrew Rein, president of the Citizens Budget Commission.

Some Democrats who are considering running against Mr. Adams next year have criticized him, arguing that his budget cuts have sowed confusion and hurt ***working-class*** New Yorkers. The mayor's cuts to early-childhood education programs, for example, are expected to be a major issue in the upcoming primary.

''The mayor should be laser-focused on making our city more livable and more affordable,'' said Zellnor Myrie, a state senator from Brooklyn who is exploring a mayoral run. ''Instead, his mismanagement and budget cuts are making it harder for families in every way.''

Scott Stringer, the former city comptroller who is exploring a primary challenge against Mr. Adams, said the mayor's questionable revenue projections made it feel like the city had regressed to the ''bad old budget days of the 1970s when the city was on the edge of bankruptcy'' and lamented that the budget had harmed families and children in particular.

Jessica Ramos, a state senator from Queens who is also considering running for mayor, called the budget ''mediocre and uninspired'' and said the budget process should ''evolve past public gaslighting.''

Mr. Adams was seemingly unaffected by the criticism during the budget handshake ceremony. He praised his ''fiscal responsibility'' during the budget process, but also urged New Yorkers to celebrate what had been restored -- even holding a campaign-style pep rally afterward.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/nyregion/budget-libraries-3k-adams.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/nyregion/budget-libraries-3k-adams.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Citing pessimistic revenue projections, Mayor Eric Adams had proposed major cuts. This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** June 29, 2024

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[***Fifth Avenue: The ‘Street of Dreams’ for Over a Century***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBR-4XX1-JBG3-62FC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 2234 words

**Byline:** Charles V. BagliCharles Bagli has been a reporter at The Times for more than 20 years, covering the intersection of real estate and politics.

**Highlight:** The reputation of the iconic New York City thoroughfare began with a competition to build lavish mansions that came crashing down with the advent of luxury apartment buildings.

**Body**

In 1916, Marjorie Merriweather Post, heir to the Postum cereal fortune, moved into her new home, a five-story, 54-room mansion at the southeast corner of Fifth Avenue and 92nd Street.

This was Millionaires’ Mile, a stretch of Fifth Avenue where the neighbors living in block after block of mansions were the richest, most powerful and socially prominent people in America. It could be a tough neighborhood. The social strictures were suffocating, while the reach for grandiosity knew no bounds.

Money had become more important than pedigree. And competition was fierce to build the biggest, most lavish home, borrowing English, French or Italian architectural styles while incorporating modern technology and dozens of servants.

Andrew Carnegie lived across 91st Street and Ms. Post’s neighbors included James Duke, F.W. Woolworth, the Astors, the Vanderbilts, Whitneys, Belmonts and Fishes.

Ms. Post was equal to the task of decorating a manse with 17 bathrooms, a wood-paneled dining room, a marble stairway, two elevators, a glassed-in breakfast room and a gown closet. She filled her mansion’s 54 rooms with Louis XVI furniture, Beauvais tapestries, Sèvres porcelains, Aubusson rugs, antique lace and paintings by Thomas Gainsborough.

“She wasn’t afraid to be rich,” as one of Ms. Post’s biographers put it. Ms Post, who was married to her second husband, E.F. Hutton, would eventually acquire the Birdseye frozen food business, turning her father’s company into the behemoth General Foods Corporation.

She was also not alone. For a relatively brief time during the Gilded Age in the late 1800s and early 1900s, there were anywhere from 182 to 400 of these flamboyant “statement homes” — above and below 59th Street — on what Mosette Broderick, a New York University art historian and the author of “Fifth Avenue,” calls “America’s Street of Dreams.”

Old-money families and newly minted railroad barons, mining tycoons, bankers, department store owners and industrialists from across the country all wanted a spot on Fifth. Andrew S. Dolkart, a Columbia University professor of historic preservation, estimates that “95 percent of the land on Fifth Avenue between 59th and 96th Streets was occupied by mansions.”

“Fifth Avenue pulled Manhattan northward,” Ms. Broderick said. “It dragged New York up with the rich in the middle. Everyone else was off to the side.”

But in the incredibly short life of the mansions on Fifth Avenue, north of 59th Street, Ms. Post’s house and most of the ostentatious private homes along Millionaires’ Mile would come crashing down after World War II to make way for private clubs, museums and the next big thing: luxury apartment houses like the one that now sits on the site of Ms Post’s mansion at 1107 Fifth.

Another century would go by before New Yorkers would see anything like it, though not on Fifth. Beginning in the 2010s, during what some historians have called the second Gilded Age, a handful of supertall towers along Billionaires’ Row — generally, the 57th Street corridor — became homes for the international superrich: tech giants, hedge funders, metal barons from Russia and tycoons from Latin American countries.

Through the decades, Fifth Avenue never lost its luster. It remains home to some of the most expensive and sought-after apartments on the planet.

Last month, New York City officials announced plans [*to make the avenue friendlier to pedestrians*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/17/nyregion/fifth-avenue-redesign-pedestrians.html) with the widening of sidewalks and the removal of two lanes of traffic between Bryant Park and Central Park.

The street that bisects Manhattan island was originally known as Middle Road. It provided access to the undeveloped land that the city fathers had ordered surveyors in 1785 to subdivide into five-acre parcels to be sold to support the local government.

Middle Road morphed into Fifth Avenue under a subsequent commission’s plan in 1811 for the city’s future expansion along (north-south) avenues and (east-west) cross streets.

Before that, most people lived downtown, a hub for finance, wholesale goods, and commodities that flowed from piers to warehouses and factories. The neighborhood was noisy, crowded and perfumed with eau de manure from the 40,000 horses hauling those goods around downtown, according to the first volume of “Gotham” by Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace.

Very little development had taken place on the then rural land to the north, where there were some scattered wood-frame houses.

The march up Fifth began in 1834 when Henry J. Brevoort erected a three-story Greek Revival house with a large garden on his father’s farm at the west corner of Ninth Street. The Brevoorts and other farm owners began building houses that would serve as anchors for other houses to be built and sold on the vacant lots laid out along the avenue and radiating down the adjoining side streets.

“In the 1830s,” said Horatio Joyce, a former fellow at the New-York Historical Society, “you begin to see the estrangement of the elite from the rest of society and the development of class consciousness and the creation of these enclaves.”

In 1850, Hart M. Shiff built a house at the southwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 10th Street that had a grand staircase, hot and cold running water and central heating, topped off with what was possibly the first mansard roof in the city.

Federal rowhouses were replaced by tidy and relatively understated brownstones as development moved up Fifth at the rate of about a block a year.

In 1856, William Backhouse Astor Jr. and his wife, Caroline Astor, built a four-story brownstone at 350 Fifth Avenue and 34th Street (where the Empire State Building now stands). William was a businessman and yachtsman who died in 1892. But his wife became the reigning “Mrs. Astor,” presiding over high society in New York and Newport, R.I.

Edith Wharton, the novelist who chronicled the upper class life in Manhattan, bewailed the lack of towers, porticoes and fountains in a city studded with four-story brownstones enshrined in a “chocolate-colored coating of the most hideous stone ever quarried.”

New York’s spectacular growth was propelled by the unrelenting flow of immigrants and migrants from other states, with the population jumping from 60,515 in 1800, to 515,547 in 1850, to 3.4 million by the end of the century. But Fifth Avenue’s prominence was also a matter of geography and topography. The avenue was far from the piers on the East and Hudson Rivers that served brick yards, breweries, lumberyards, factories and machine shops. The land sat on bedrock and was relatively easy to clear.

As department stores (Altman’s, Lord &amp; Taylor), hotels and office building also moved onto Fifth Avenue, wealthy families continued moving farther north, finally breaching 59th Street in the 1890s as the ostentatiously grand mansions became the fashion. Middle class townhouses lined the side streets as well as tenements and ***working class*** housing closer to the piers.

Private schools like St. Bernard’s and Brearley also moved to new homes on Fifth Avenue and the Upper East Side, as well as the elite University, Union, Harmonie, Knickerbocker and Colony clubs.

By 1880, The New York Times was reporting that certain “capitalists and builders” were buying up land at low prices between 50th and 80th Streets, in particular, the Vanderbilts. In what was sometimes referred to as Vanderbilt Alley, William K. Vanderbilt and his wife, Alva Vanderbilt, built their mansion, a break with the brownstone trend and an adaptation of the Château de Blois, in 1882, decorating it with tapestries, armor and Renaissance and medieval furniture.

William Henry Vanderbilt bought the block between 51st and 52nd Streets and built brownstone palaces for himself and for each of his daughters, Emily and Margaret. Still, Edith Wharton found the Vanderbilt mansions distasteful.

Nevertheless, Alva Vanderbilt used her palatial home as a sledgehammer to break Mrs. Astor’s position as the imperial arbiter of high society and the exclusive “Four Hundred” on its roster. Soon after completion Alva sent invitations out to new- and old- money families, but not Mrs. Astor, whose young daughter Caroline had her heart set on attending. In the end, Caroline went to the ball and Mrs. Astor’s grip on high society gradually melted away.

The push northward along Fifth continued, as wealthy families overcame their initial reluctance to move opposite the newly created Central Park. By 1915, palatial mansions covered most of the avenue frontage as far north as 96th Street.

Henry Flagler, a Standard Oil mogul, took the southeast corner of 54th Street and Fifth, while William Rockefeller built his mansion on the northeast corner. Andrew Carnegie plunged farther north, buying a broad swath of land centered around 91st Street and Fifth, where he built a 64-room Georgian Revival mansion at 91st Street, while evicting shantytown residents and selling his remaining sites to those worthy enough to be his neighbors.

The lure of Fifth Avenue proved irresistible for William A. Clark, the “Copper King” of Montana and a newly elected U.S. Senator. Mr. Clark bought a vacant parcel at the northeast corner of 77th Street in 1897 and spent the next 14 years building what was regarded as the most expensive home in the world. It was a feat that entailed buying a granite quarry in Maine, a bronze foundry in Manhattan for the metal fittings and importing marble from Italy, oak from Sherwood Forest and pieces of a château from France.

Mr. Clark’s mansion comprised 120 rooms, four art galleries, a marble swimming pool, Turkish baths, one of the largest pipe organs in the world and an underground rail line to shuttle in coal.

But the flamboyant mansion-building craze on Fifth Avenue was nearing an abrupt end. The introduction of an income tax, the cost of land and maintaining a small army of servants had grown burdensome, while luxury apartment buildings, once eschewed by the rich, grew increasingly attractive.

By 1924, Marjorie Merriweather Post had become weary of the noisy street traffic, the fumes and the Fifth Avenue Coach Company double-decker buses roaring past her limestone and red brick mansion. She was also building a 115-room home in Palm Beach called [*Mar-a-Lago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/17/nyregion/fifth-avenue-redesign-pedestrians.html).

She was approached by the George A. Fuller Company about buying the property so it could erect a more profitable 14-story luxury apartment house on the site. She and her husband had no intention of giving up their Manhattan address, according to her biography, “American Empress: The Life and Times of Marjorie Merriweather Post.”

So Ms. Post cut a deal: The builder could buy the 19 year-old house and demolish it. But, she insisted, the builder had to recreate her 54-room home in a triplex atop the new apartment house. Further, she wanted a private entrance for her exclusive use at 2 East 92nd Street.

She got her wish, which included a wraparound terrace, 12 wood-burning fireplaces, 17 bathrooms and two kitchens. Thus was born a new and enduring signifier of wealth and prestige: the penthouse.

Senator Clark, the copper king, lived in his 12-story mansion for only 14 years, the same amount of time it took to build it. He died at home in 1925 of pneumonia. A year later, the house was sold for less than $3 million and quickly demolished, replaced by a 12-story luxury co-op designed by Rosario Candela.

The “relics” on Fifth Avenue today mostly serve as museums. Andrew Carnegie’s house at 2 East 91st Street is now home to the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum. Willard and Dorothy Whitney Straight’s house at 1130 Fifth Avenue, which was completed at the northeast corner of 94th Street in 1915, was the International Center of Photography and is now a private residence. And the Payne Whitney House at 972 Fifth Avenue, at the corner of 79th Street, serves as the Cultural Services Center of the French Embassy.

PHOTOS: Architecture varied through the years as old- and new-money families borrowed from English, French or Italian architectural styles while incorporating modern technology when building their mansions. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY COLIN CLARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (RE6); Above, Broadway and Fifth Avenue at Madison Square and 23rd Street circa 1898. Upper row, Fifth Avenue circa the 1910s around 87th Street, left, and Fifth Avenue today, near 93rd Street. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HERITAGE ART/HERITAGE IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES; GEO. P. HALL &amp; SON/THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (RE7); From left: a brownstone mansion at 34th Street and Fifth Avenue that was home to Caroline Astor and later the site of the old Waldorf Astoria Hotel and now of the Empire State Building; Fifth Avenue between 60th and 61st Streets in 1900; the mansion owned by William A. Clark, the Copper King of Montana, at Fifth Avenue and 77th Street, seen here in 1895; the modern shopping corridor of Fifth Avenue, seen here at 51st Street; and a corner of Fifth Avenue and 92nd Street. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK/GETTY IMAGES; GEO. P. HALL &amp; SON/THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VIA GETTY IMAGES; COLIN CLARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Andrew Carnegie’s residence at Fifth Avenue and East 91st Street, seen in the early 20th century. The mansion is now home to the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY WURTS BROTHERS/MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, VIA GETTY IMAGES; COLIN CLARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (RE6-RE7) This article appeared in print on page RE6, RE7.

**Load-Date:** December 19, 2024

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[***A Model for Taking on Republicans in Red States***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8T-S731-DXY4-X2P7-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 3; MICHELLE GOLDBERG

**Length:** 1724 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

The first person I met at a Monday night meet-and-greet for Dan Osborn, the independent Nebraska Senate candidate, was a Donald Trump-voting Republican named Joe Hallett. He'd worked, alongside his wife, Sherri, with Osborn at Omaha's Kellogg plant. Explaining Osborn's appeal, Joe said, ''He's not a millionaire or anything like that.'' Sherri added: ''He works hard. We did the same thing.''

Neither was a fan of Osborn's opponent, the Republican senator Deb Fischer. ''We were never impressed with her because she was never personable,'' said Sherri. ''She was never around.''

Osborn, by contrast, has been around a lot. The Monday event, at a cider house in Ashland, a town about 30 miles from Omaha, was one of more than 170 he's done all over the state. It drew a few dozen people -- more Democrats and independents than Republicans -- and Osborn stayed to talk and shake hands until the place closed. Afterward, I went with him to a nearby bar to talk about his surprisingly competitive race against Fischer, which has become an unexpected problem for Republicans as they seek to retake the Senate.

As we walked, a young opposition researcher who tracks Osborn at most of his events shouted questions about which presidential candidate he'd voted for in 2020, hoping to catch him on camera saying something damaging. Osborn refused to answer, just as he won't say whom he'll vote for in November, insisting that the heat of partisan politics makes substantive discussion of the issues impossible. When I asked him to name a politician in Washington he hoped to work with, he said he hadn't given the matter much thought.

The bar, with its brown walls, dropped ceiling and fluorescent overhead lights, was the apotheosis of Midwestern drab. Osborn, a tattooed Navy veteran and former union leader with a short gray beard, declared it his kind of place. As he nursed a Busch Light, I sensed he was eager to finish our interview and join Joe Hallett, who was waiting to catch up with him. But when I mentioned a book I'd heard Osborn talk about, ''Goliath: The 100-Year War Between Monopoly Power and Democracy,'' by the progressive writer Matt Stoller, he seemed to perk up.

''What that book taught me was this is not a new idea what we're doing here,'' he said of his campaign, which is focused on the predations of concentrated wealth. Ever since the Industrial Revolution, he said, corporations have sought to buy more and more political power, and though they succeed for a time, people eventually revolt. ''I think that's where we're at right now,'' said Osborn. ''We're at the apex of a corporate-run government.''

At such moments, he said, people's frustrations inevitably reach a boiling point. ''So they start electing a different government, a more populist message, because they know that their lives are getting harder and their government is not working for them.''

The word ''populist,'' as it happens, is tied up with Nebraska political history. It was coined to describe members of the People's Party, which held its first convention in Omaha in 1892, seeking to represent farmers and laborers against what it called the ''power and plunder'' of the two major parties. ''I have read about the prairie populism, and I hope we can emulate that,'' said Osborn.

Osborn is still an underdog, but his mix of leftish economics and deep anti-elitism has already shaken up politics in bright-red Nebraska, making the Senate race far closer than almost anyone predicted. The Cook Political Report initially considered the seat ''Solid Republican,'' but in late September it changed its forecast to ''Likely Republican.'' The day I met Osborn, Cook shifted its rating another tick in Osborn's direction, to ''Lean'' Republican.

Though both the Fischer and Osborn camps have released internal surveys with their candidates leading, there have been only a couple of nonpartisan polls, the most recent of which showed Osborn up by 5 points. That was in early October, and it's entirely possible that it doesn't capture the current state of the race. But the G.O.P. is clearly concerned; as Semafor reported this week, the Senate Republicans' top super PAC is pouring $3 million into Nebraska to bolster Fischer in the race's final weeks.

If Osborn wins -- and maybe even if he doesn't -- his campaign will likely be seen as a model for running pro-worker candidates in places where majorities have drifted away from the Democratic Party. Democrats, like traditionally left-leaning parties across much of the developed world, have been losing ***working-class*** voters to the right, even as they attract more support from educated, cosmopolitan urbanites. Though Joe Biden has been the most pro-labor president in recent history, he's been unable to reverse this trend.

Now Osborn's campaign is testing a new approach to class politics. Can a message based on workers' rights and corporate greed win over red-state voters when it's decoupled from the cultural baggage that adheres, however unfairly, to the Democratic Party? ''Ultimately I want people to see what we've done here, and to be able to do it in their states too,'' Osborn told me.

Osborn, who spent 20 years as an industrial mechanic at Kellogg, insists he was never particularly political until 2021, when, as president of his Omaha union, he started negotiating with management over a new contract. As essential workers during the Covid pandemic, he told the crowd at the cidery, he and his members had worked 12-hour shifts, seven days a week, at least when they weren't sick or stuck in quarantine. In 2020, Kellogg's sales and profits had risen, and its chief executive's compensation increased 20 percent to more than $11.6 million.

Osborn went into talks with management sure he and his fellow workers would ''share a little sliver of the pie.'' Instead, he said, Kellogg tried to cut their health benefits and cost-of-living raises, and to expand a two-tier wage system in which new employees could be paid significantly less than existing ones. ''That was my 'oh, crap' moment,'' he said.

When talks failed in October, Osborn led workers at his Omaha plant out on strike. ''One of the hardest things I've ever had to do, leading 500 of my friends and their families out into the great unknown, not knowing if we were going to have a job at the end of it,'' he said. It lasted 77 days and ended with most of the strikers' demands being met.

Osborn no longer works at the plant; Kellogg fired him in 2023. The company accused him of watching Netflix on the job, but he believes it was retaliation. He retrained as a steamfitter, which was what he was doing last year when a union official named Jeff Cooley approached him about mounting an independent challenge to Fischer.

The senator, now running for her third term, had repeatedly enraged railroad workers, including by voting to thwart their ability to strike in 2022. The best way to oust her, union leaders believed, was to run an independent who could avoid getting bogged down in what Cooley called ''wedge issues'' that alienate social conservatives. If neither political party could come up with a viable pro-labor candidate, Cooley recalled thinking, ''we'll find our own.''

Nebraska's Democratic Party is not pleased about the way Osborn has bypassed it. Initially, he'd sought Democratic support, hoping to build a coalition that included Libertarians and some Republicans. Then the campaign's strategy changed, and he announced he wouldn't accept partisan endorsements. At that point, it was too late for Democrats to field their own candidate. Partly as a result, the Nebraska Democratic Party chair, Jane Kleeb -- a woman who has worked hard to rebuild the party's neglected rural infrastructure -- regards Osborn with deep distrust.

''Do I think the vast majority of Democrats are going to vote for him because they don't like Deb Fischer?'' she asked. ''Yes. Do I think he has a shot? Absolutely. Do I think he's being inauthentic? Yes. Do I worry that if he gets elected, that he's going to be Kyrsten Sinema, the person that destroys really good bills for their own ego? Absolutely.''

But Osborn has different politics than Sinema, who regularly put the interests of her rich donors over those of her constituents. Though he insists he doesn't plan to caucus with either the Democrats or the Republicans, he shares many key Democratic priorities. Osborn wants to raise both corporate taxes and the minimum wage. Like Biden, he champions the PRO Act, which would make it easier to organize a union. On the stump, he attacks price gouging, an issue Kamala Harris has highlighted.

Nor is he entirely at odds with the Democratic Party on social issues. He's personally opposed to abortion, but he believes it should be legal. He's protective of Second Amendment rights but backs the sort of regulation often supported by urban police forces.

His differences with the party often seem less about policy than about vibes. Osborn said he felt ''talked down to by the Democrats,'' a sentiment he believes many others share. While Republicans promise to protect people's paychecks, ''the Democrats come in and say that you need to respect people's pronouns,'' he said. ''People who are working 80 hours a week in meatpacking plants or on farms or anything else -- they're not too concerned about that.''

This seems like a caricature -- I can't think of a single influential Democrat who talks about pronouns more than wages -- and I can see why it would infuriate Kleeb. But ultimately, a candidate who rejects Democratic branding seems infinitely preferable to one who rejects democratic principles.

''Imagine the ramifications on American politics if Nebraska elects an independent mechanic to the halls of power,'' Osborn said at the cidery. ''It's going to tell people all around the country that you don't have to be a self-funding crypto billionaire to run for office. So nurses, teachers, plumbers, carpenters, mechanics, they can all now know that they can do the same thing.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID ROBERT ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***For Working-Class Boys, Religion May Be the Key To College Success***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:650X-RKG1-JBG3-6106-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1678 words

**Byline:** By Ilana M. Horwitz

**Body**

American men are dropping out of college in alarming numbers. A slew of articles over the past year depict a generation of men who feel lost, detached and lacking in male role models. This sense of despair is especially acute among ***working-class*** men, fewer than one in five of whom completes college.

Yet one group is defying the odds: boys from ***working-class*** families who grow up religious.

As a sociologist of education and religion, I followed the lives of 3,290 teenagers from 2003 to 2012 using survey and interview data from the National Study of Youth and Religion, and then linking those data to the National Student Clearinghouse in 2016. I studied the relationship between teenagers' religious upbringing and its influence on their education: their school grades, which colleges they attend and how much higher education they complete. My research focused on Christian denominations because they are the most prevalent in the United States.

I found that what religion offers teenagers varies by social class. Those raised by professional-class parents, for example, do not experience much in the way of an educational advantage from being religious. In some ways, religion even constrains teenagers' educational opportunities (especially girls') by shaping their academic ambitions after graduation; they are less likely to consider a selective college as they prioritize life goals such as parenthood, altruism and service to God rather than a prestigious career.

However, teenage boys from ***working-class*** families, regardless of race, who were regularly involved in their church and strongly believed in God were twice as likely to earn bachelor's degrees as moderately religious or nonreligious boys.

Religious boys are not any smarter, so why are they doing better in school? The answer lies in how religious belief and religious involvement can buffer ***working-class*** Americans -- males in particular -- from despair.

Many in the American intelligentsia -- the elite-university-educated population who constitute the professional and managerial class -- do not hold the institution of religion in high regard. When these elites criticize religion, they often do so on the grounds that faith (in their eyes) is irrational and not evidence-based.

But one can agree with the liberal critique of conservatism's moral and political goals while still acknowledging that religion orders the lives of millions of Americans -- and that it might offer social benefits.

A boy I'll call John (all names have been changed to protect participants' privacy under ethical research guidelines) was a typical example of the kind of ***working-class*** teenager I've been studying. He lived an hour outside Jackson, Miss. His father owned an auto-repair shop and his mother worked as a bookkeeper and substitute teacher. His days were filled with playing football, fishing and hunting with his grandparents, riding four-wheelers with friends and mowing the occasional lawn to earn pocket money.

John aspired to attend college, but given his parents' occupations, income (the equivalent of $53,000 today) and education (both had earned vocational certificates), the odds were not in his favor.

Still, he reached a milestone that has become largely out of reach for young men like him: He earned his associate degree. And his faith and involvement in church played a large part in that.

Children with college-educated parents have many advantages that make their academic trajectories easier. They tend to live in neighborhoods with a strong social infrastructure, including safe outdoor spaces. They have more familial and geographic stability, which means they rarely need to transfer between schools, disrupting their educations and severing social ties.

Children from wealthier families also benefit from a network of connections and opportunities that many poorer children lack. College-educated parents tend to work in professional organizations and have robust social networks from college where they meet other members of the professional class. All these social ties -- from the neighborhood, the workplace, and college -- provide a web of support for upper-middle-class families, which sociologists refer to as ''social capital.''

But ***working-class*** families like John's do not have the same opportunities to develop social capital. The workplace used to be a central social institution for ***working-class*** families, but in the gig economy it is nearly impossible to feel a sense of stability, acquire health insurance or develop relationships with colleagues.

The lack of social capital -- along with systemic problems and inequities -- has contributed to the unraveling of the lives of millions of ***working-class*** Americans, especially men. Since the early 2000s, just as the kids in my study were entering adolescence, there has been a drastic rise in the number of ***working-class*** men dying ''deaths of despair'' from opioids, alcohol poisoning and suicide.

But despair doesn't die: It gets transmitted to children. Most of the ***working-class*** kids in my study -- especially boys -- seemed to look out in the world and feel despair physically, cognitively and emotionally. I found that most of the ***working-class*** boys in the study had dropped out of the educational system by their mid-20s and seemed on track to repeat the cycle of despair.

But not John. He and dozens of other boys in the study had a support system that insulated them from the hopelessness so many of their peers described. Through his teenage years, John regularly attended his local evangelical church and was active in its youth group. There were organized social activities like rafting and weekly gatherings at the minister's house to talk about what was going on in their lives.

Being involved with his church reinforced biblical teachings, leading John to think of Christ as the person he most wanted to emulate (most teenagers answer by referring to an actor, an athlete or a family member). By observing how his parents and others in his religious community behaved, John learned to see God as someone he ''can talk to and tell personal things to.''

The academic advantage of religious ***working-class*** children begins in middle and high school with the grades they earn. Among those raised in the ***working class***, 21 percent of religious teenagers brought home report cards filled with A's, compared with 9 percent of their less-religious peers. Grades are also the strongest predictor of getting into and completing college, and religious boys are more than twice as likely to earn grades that help them be competitive for college admissions and scholarships.

Religious girls from ***working-class*** families also see educational benefits compared with less religious girls, but there are other factors that help them be academically successful outside of religion. Girls are socialized to be conscientious and compliant, have an easier time developing social ties with family members and peers, and are less prone to get caught up in risky behaviors.

Why does religion give boys like John an academic advantage? Because it offers them the social capital that affluent teenagers can get elsewhere. Religious communities keep families rooted to a place and help kids develop trusting relationships with youth ministers and friends' parents who share a common outlook on life. Collectively, these adults encourage teenagers to follow the rules and avoid antisocial behaviors.

Although John cited peer pressure as the most stressful problem facing teenagers, he avoided falling into a pattern of drug and alcohol abuse that often derails kids from academic success. The research for my book focused on Christians, but I've found that religious communities are a source of social capital for Jewish people as well.

Theological belief on its own is not enough to influence how children behave. Adolescents must believe and belong to be buffered against emotional, cognitive or behavioral despair. I found that religion offers something that other extracurricular activities such as sports can't: It prompts kids to behave in extremely conscientious and cooperative ways because they believe that God is both encouraging and evaluating them.

As John put it at the beginning of my study, when he was 16, religion ''helps me in my problems or when I'm down.'' When he was unsure of how to handle a situation, he looked to his minister and scripture for answers. John said he suspected that if he weren't part of his weekly church youth group, he would have been ''doing a lot of things wrong.''

Religion doesn't just help boys from ***working-class*** families during their teenage years -- it also deters them from falling into despair in adulthood. We can see this in the way John's life unfolded. In his early 20s, John stopped reading the Bible and no longer participated in his church community. Other parts of his life also started to fall apart. He dropped out of college and got arrested for marijuana possession.

That was a wake-up call, and John decided to return to church. Within a few years, he managed to get his life back on track. John is now living with his grandmother, whom he cares for, and his girlfriend, whom he plans to propose to. He believes that God has called him to serve others by working in the medical field. He returned to community college and earned an A.A. while working as an E.M.T. and plans to become a paramedic or a nurse. He attributes much of this to his faith.

In his final interview with researchers at age 26, John said, ''The most important things in life to me is my family and my relationship to God.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/opinion/religion-school-success.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/opinion/religion-school-success.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Arne Bellstorf FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***How the Election Could Unfold: Four Scenarios***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBR-4XX1-JBG3-62G4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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

**Highlight:** A look at plausible outcomes that might wind up seeming obvious in hindsight.

**Body**

A look at plausible outcomes that might wind up seeming obvious in hindsight.

The 2024 election is close and deeply uncertain.

One reason? On paper, neither side ought to win.

For Democrats, it’s a textbook challenge. In the latest [*New York Times/Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) national poll, only 40 percent of voters approved of President Biden’s performance, and just 28 percent of voters said the country was heading in the right direction. No party has ever retained control of the White House when such a small share of Americans think the country is doing well.

The challenge for Donald J. Trump is much more unusual, but equally obvious: He’s [*a felon*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) who attempted to overturn the last election. Usually, this would be disqualifying — and Mr. Trump still faces [*several more criminal cases*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html).

For good measure, each side has another major (and largely self-inflicted) vulnerability on an important issue: abortion for Republicans, immigration for Democrats.

Nonetheless, one candidate is going to win this thing.

If the final result resembles the polls, all strengths and weaknesses will more or less cancel out, yielding yet another close election. There are reasons to think, however, that the race might break one way or another. The polls may show a tight race now, but they could err either way. Even if the polls are better this cycle, voters still might summarily decide that one side’s liabilities are more important as they head to the polls.

Here are four scenarios for what could happen in this election. They’re all plausible — so plausible that each might seem obvious in hindsight.

The repudiation

If Kamala Harris wins big, we should have seen it coming all along.

Democrats have won election after election since Mr. Trump’s upset victory in 2016. They beat him in 2020, and it’s arguably gone even better for them since Jan. 6. They’ve [*excelled*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) in special elections and [*overperformed*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) in the midterms (given the tendency for a midterm backlash against the party holding the presidency). They even fared well in this year’s Washington State’s top-two primary — a sort of election year [*groundhog day for political junkies*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html).

Yes, the electorate is wary of the status quo, but the usual rules haven’t applied since Jan. 6 and the Supreme Court’s decision to overturn Roe v. Wade. If people go into the voting booth thinking of abortion, Jan. 6 and threats to democracy — as they have over the last few years — Ms. Harris could win decisively. In [*the final*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) Times/Siena national poll, she had a 13-percentage-point lead on abortion and a seven-point lead on democracy.

Could Mr. Trump be repudiated with a decisive loss? It’s hardly out of the question. For one, there’s a chance that pollsters have [*overcompensated*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) for failing to reach his supporters in recent elections.

For another, Mr. Trump’s strength rests on shaky ground. He needs to get disaffected, young, Black and Hispanic voters to turn out and vote for a very different candidate than they would have in the past. If these disaffected voters return to Ms. Harris or simply don’t show up, the race could look different very quickly.

And finally, the race turned toward democracy down the stretch. This is partly because the election itself naturally raises questions about whether Mr. Trump and his allies will accept the results. Mr. Trump has drawn attention to the issue with remarks about using the military against an “enemy within.” His former chief of staff John Kelly also recently said Mr. Trump [*fit the definition of a fascist.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html)

[*It wouldn’t take much*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) for the election to feel like a blowout for Ms. Harris. If she outperformed her poll numbers by a mere two points, she would win well over 300 votes in the Electoral College. Given where Democrats were a few months ago, even a modest victory would feel like a landslide.

There’s no reason she couldn’t outperform by even more. After all, the polls show her doing quite well among white and older voters — which, for Democrats, would usually count as the big challenge. On Saturday night, [*the final Selzer/Des Moines Register poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) offered perhaps the most striking illustration yet of that potential strength: Ms. Harris led by three points in solidly red state Iowa. It may not pan out, but she can fall well short of “blue Iowa” and it would still count as a decisive rebuke of MAGA.

If you added the usual Democratic margins among young, Black and Hispanic voters to strength among older white voters, suddenly there are the makings of a rout. The final Times/Siena battleground polls [*showed her*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) making late gains among exactly these groups.

The repeat: 2020

In today’s polarized country, what could be less surprising than a more-or-less repeat of the 2020 election: yet another close election across the battleground states, with few swings from four years ago?

After all, Mr. Trump is on the ballot for a third straight time. Voters may hem and haw, but it’s easy to see how they might mostly vote as they did last time, yielding a result a lot like 2020.

That’s essentially what the polls [*depict today*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html): a tiny gap of a point or two in the same seven battleground states where Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump finished within a few points of each other four years ago.

You might think a 2020 repeat means a Harris victory, but that’s not what I mean. She might win the “2020 repeat” election more often than not, but this scenario isn’t about an exact repeat of the last election. The 2020 race was so close in the Electoral College that it wouldn’t take too many shifts to change the outcome. Even a modest dip in support or turnout for Ms. Harris among young, Black or Hispanic voters could be enough to put Mr. Trump over the top.

Mr. Biden won each of Georgia, Arizona and Wisconsin by less than a point — in a 2020 repeat, Ms. Harris would need at least one of those states to prevail.

Ms. Harris could be a slight favorite in a 2020 repeat scenario. But whoever wins, the election would be very close.

The repeat: 2022

Of the four scenarios, perhaps this is the one that was hardest to see coming. Historically, there isn’t much reason to think midterm elections have much predictive value for the next presidential election.

Yet the polls suggest that the 2024 election might look more like the 2022 midterms than the 2020 race: an election where different states, regions and demographic groups swing significantly, but in different directions.

For one, national polls show a much tighter race than four years ago, even as Ms. Harris remains competitive in the key battlegrounds. This is also what happened in the 2022 midterms, when Republicans [*won the popular vote but struggled*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) in the key states.

For another, many polls show Mr. Trump faring well in the same places where Republicans excelled in the midterms, like in New York and Florida. Conversely, Ms. Harris is showing more resilience across the relatively white Northern battleground states where Democrats excelled in 2022.

Why would the midterms have been a harbinger of a changing electoral map? It was the first election after the pandemic and all the upheaval that followed — including Jan. 6, the end of Roe, the debate over “woke,” a crime spike and surging prices. Many of these issues were also deeply personal, from school closures and vaccine mandates to the feeling of being priced out of a first home.

Unlike many national policy debates, many of these issues played out differently state by state. In New York, abortion rights were safely protected by Democratic rule, but a [*crime wave*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) hit the subways and new migrants burdened the city’s resources. In Michigan, meanwhile, the stop-the-steal movement raged, and the end of Roe v. Wade threatened abortion rights.

Or maybe Ms. Harris really is doing quite well in states like Iowa or Nebraska, where voters have focused on Republican excesses and abortion bans, even as the success of Democrats in Wisconsin and Michigan oddly helped to take abortion off the table.

Another factor: the campaign. While Democratic-leaning voters can take out their frustration with the status quo by casting ballots in New York or California, voters in Pennsylvania or Michigan might have a different perspective. In these key states, Democrats have spent millions on ads, knocked on thousands of doors, and the voters themselves know the stakes. At a time when Democrats are counting on voters to set aside their frustrations with the status quo, perhaps the campaign is exactly what might make the battlegrounds different from the rest of the country.

Whether it’s a 2022 or 2020 repeat, the takeaway is the same: a very close election in which either side can prevail. Consider that Republicans won the House popular vote in states worth more than 270 electoral votes in 2022, even as Democrats won the key Senate races.

Still, the differences between a 2020 and 2022 repeat matter. In the 2022 scenario, Ms. Harris would have a much worse chance of winning the popular vote. She might also face a steeper challenge in the relatively diverse Sun Belt battleground states, like Georgia or Arizona. Without the Sun Belt, her chances would come down to running the table in Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. It’s possible, but a tall order.

The realignment

If Mr. Trump wins big, we should have seen it coming all along.

On paper, this election [*should be*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) a Republican victory. After all, President Biden’s approval rating [*is stuck in the upper 30s*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html), voters are convinced that the country is heading in the wrong direction, and they don’t think the economy is in good shape. These are losing numbers for the president’s party, and ruling parties have been toppled in election after election all over the world.

The signs of a Republican victory have been building for years. For the first time since 2004, the highest-quality polls show Republicans with an advantage in party identification. The party registration figures have also trended significantly toward the Republicans, with registered Republicans poised to outnumber Democrats in the November electorate in every battleground state with party registration: Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Arizona and Nevada.

While Democrats have fared well in recent lower-turnout elections, it’s mostly been because of their [*support among*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) high-turnout voters. Mr. Trump’s more disengaged base is likelier to show up in this high-turnout election. And indeed in state after state, the early vote is far more Republican than it was in the past. Democrats hope to counter with a stronger turnout on Election Day than in recent cycles, but if they do not the election could quickly become a rout.

No, the polls don’t show a Trump blowout, but what could be less surprising than the polls underestimating Mr. Trump, just as they did in 2016 or 2020? The pollsters [*never found*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) a convincing explanation for what went wrong, and the simplest one is that they just can’t reach enough of Mr. Trump’s less engaged supporters. Despite [*their efforts*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/25/us/elections/times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html) over the last eight years, there may simply be no fix for this problem.

In this scenario, Ms. Harris’s apparent strength among white and older voters, or her resilience in the Midwestern battlegrounds, is nothing more than another polling mirage — in exactly the same states where the polls got it wrong four and eight years ago. Add in Mr. Trump’s gains among young, Black and Hispanic voters and you end up with a decisive victory for him. It would mark the beginning of a new era of politics.

Is “realignment” too strong a word? If we’re talking strictly about 2024, then yes. It might be fairer to call a decisive Trump victory a “change election,” like 1992 or 2008.

But if the three Trump elections are viewed collectively, the “R” word ought to be in the conversation. The rise of Mr. Trump’s brand of conservative populism has transformed American politics. It redefined the basic political conflict between the two parties. It led to major demographic shifts, first with Mr. Trump making huge gains among the white ***working class*** and now with nonwhite voters, while Democrats gained among white college graduates.

If the shifts endure after Mr. Trump, historians might well look back and say that the 2024 result was the culmination of the populist realignment he unleashed a decade ago.

It has long been clear that Mr. Trump’s rise destroyed the Republican Party as we knew it. This scenario would reveal the extent that it destroyed the Democratic Party as we knew it, too.

PHOTO: We can’t know the result of the race, but we can guess at some of the contours. Rally attendees in Kalamazoo, Mich. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Emily Elconin for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***From the DealBook Summit: Influential People Share Their Insights***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMF-N221-JBG3-61GG-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Industry leaders attending the conference were asked about artificial intelligence, the economy, international relations and more.

**Body**

Industry leaders attending the conference were asked about artificial intelligence, the economy, international relations and more.

At last week’s [*DealBook Summit*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section) in New York City, leaders in business, tech, media, law and other disciplines were invited by The New York Times to lead conversations about pressing issues in their fields. Ahead of the summit, The Times sent questions to each of the Groundbreakers. Their answers have been edited and condensed.

Neil Blumenthal: Co-founder and Co-C.E.O., Warby Parker

Groundbreaker Topic: Shaping Consumer Brands for the Long Term in an Uncertain Economic Landscape

As a leader, how do you manage the new normal of volatility in the retail landscape?

In an increasingly unpredictable world, a leader’s role is to serve as a shock absorber. At best, volatility distracts teams, and at worst, it scares them. The best leaders not only prepare teams for sudden swings in the business and geopolitical landscape but also help them maintain focus on their mission and the work at hand. At Warby Parker, we have a clear objective to provide vision for all — and we can adapt more quickly when we stay focused on that goal. While volatility can foster self-doubt and lead to task switching, a thoughtful and stable strategy still wins in the long run.

Sharon Brous: Founder and senior rabbi, IKAR

Groundbreaker Topic: Repairing the Torn Fabric of Our Communities With Compassion

What is one act we can do as citizens or community members to bridge that which seems to divide our communities?

We are suffering from a widespread curiosity deficit. Through reclaiming curiosity and wonder, we rehumanize ourselves and one another. A society of lonely, atomized people is one at risk of falling into patterns of dehumanization that leave us susceptible to conspiracy theories, ideological extremism and political violence. It is precisely when these conditions emerge, as they have in our time, that genuine, openhearted curiosity is equal parts counterintuitive and urgent. The sacred recognition of one another’s humanity is no substitute for equitable policies, accountability or systemic change. But it will be the foundation of any just society.

Steve Case: C.E.O., Revolution

Groundbreaker Topic: Reviving the American Dream Beyond Silicon Valley

Why do you believe the innovation gap poses a threat to the future of the American economy?

In the recent election, states that voted for President-elect Donald J. Trump received 16 percent of 2023 venture capital dollars while blue states received a whopping 84 percent. Venture-backed companies are significant drivers of economic growth and among the country’s biggest job creators. It’s hard to pitch the promise of technology as a good thing to the half of the U.S. population that has been systematically shut out from the innovation economy. And it’s hard to bring together a country when some people see almost limitless potential and others feel the American dream slipping away. We must create more opportunity in more places by building a more inclusive tech and venture ecosystem. America’s unity and future as the reigning global tech leader depends on it.

Ron Conway: Founder, SV Angel

Groundbreaker Topic: Silicon Valley and the Importance of Civic Engagement With a New Administration in Washington

What should Trump’s team’s posture toward the tech industry be? And what should the industry do?

It is critical that federal policies and regulations allow our entrepreneurs to innovate and lead the world in industries like A.I., digital currencies and biotech. I’m committed to helping founders navigate the policy and regulatory landscape as they build products that have a positive effect on society.

Katie Couric: Co-founder, Katie Couric Media

Groundbreaker Topic: The Changing Landscape in Journalism and Media

What is the best tool a person has to combat misinformation today?

There are many remedies for combating misinformation, but sadly getting rid of Section 230 and requiring more transparency by technology companies may not happen. As a result, it’s mostly up to the individual to be vigilant about identifying misinformation and not sharing it. This will require intensive media literacy, which will help people understand the steps required to consider the source. That means investigating websites that may be disseminating inaccurate information and understanding their agendas, second-sourcing information, and if it’s an individual, learning more about that person’s background and expertise. Of course, this is all time-consuming and a lot to ask of consumers, but for now, I ascribe to the Sy Syms adage: “An educated consumer is our best customer.”

Lynn Forester de Rothschild: Chairwoman, E.L. Rothschild, and founder and co-chair, the Council for Inclusive Capitalism

Groundbreaker Topic: Re-leveling the Playing Field Between Work and Capital

What is an achievable step to reduce the income gap between chief executive and worker pay?

The president, whose election was powered by the ***working class***, cannot leave working Americans behind in favor of his rich friends. The best policies for employees are those that promote direct employee ownership. While existing structures, like employee stock 0wnership plans, provide tax benefits to public companies, these laws should be expanded to provide greater deductions for deeper employee ownership and worker voice opportunities. In the private equity sector, employee ownership has been shown to improve financial returns as well. The business community should champion these changes on the grounds that lower levels of inequality will lead to greater overall economic growth and stability.

Karla Gallardo: Founder and C.E.O., Cuyana

Groundbreaker Topic: The Delicate Balance Between Growth and Profit

What are you seeing as the biggest drivers of growth in Cuyana?

Since launch, we’ve been hyperfocused on establishing a deep understanding of our customer and have maintained an unwavering commitment to creating products that serve a purpose for our community. Providing a curated assortment of thoughtfully designed items is not only integral to our brand ethos of fewer, better, but has also proven to be a key driver of Cuyana’s consistent growth by fostering consumer trust and loyalty. In today’s rapidly changing landscape where brands are often driven by trends, building an authentic, values-driven brand that constantly exceeds customer expectations is critical to withstanding the test of time.

Ryan Gellert: C.E.O., Patagonia

Groundbreaker Topic: Purpose-Driven Leadership in a Shifting Landscape

What are the new ways you are working to address climate change today at Patagonia?

Even if the government never mandates doing what’s necessary to address the climate and nature crisis, companies can play an outsized role in finding solutions or minimizing environmental impacts. Our future depends on it. We simply cannot run a business in a world in constant climate chaos where customers are fleeing from rising seas or fires, supply lines fail, and infrastructure collapses. At Patagonia, roughly 95 percent of our carbon emissions come from our supply chain. We’re investing in scalable programs to reduce our carbon footprint and supporting environmental nonprofits on the front lines of this crisis.

Adam Grant: Organizational psychologist, the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, and author and host of “WorkLife”

Groundbreaker Topic: Rethinking Effective Leadership in the Workplace

What’s the change you recommend to leaders that offers the most dramatic impact in the workplace?

Recognize that many of your best practices were designed for a world that no longer exists. In the face of rapid change, past patterns don’t predict the future. A key to adapting is to think like a scientist: Treat strategies as hypotheses and decisions as experiments. Research reveals that when entrepreneurs learn to think like scientists, compared to a control group a year later, their revenue is 40 times higher. Instead of searching for reasons why they must be right, they consider reasons why they might be wrong. That accelerates their ability to abandon bad ideas in favor of better ones.

Jonathan Greenblatt: C.E.O. and national director, the Anti-Defamation League

Groundbreaker Topic: The Rise (and Hopefully Fall) of Antisemitism in the 2020s

How can corporations be a more effective partner in combating antisemitism?

Corporate leadership is crucial in combating hate and antisemitism across society. Many corporations have signed ADL’s Workplace Pledge, but amid an unprecedented increase in antisemitism after Oct. 7, many more need to step up. With antisemitism surging, all companies must take meaningful action to protect Jewish employees and customers. This includes using their bully pulpits to strongly and forcefully condemn antisemitism. And to ensure workplaces remain safe and welcoming for Jewish employees, employers should also offer educational programs, update religious accommodations and support Jewish employee resource groups. Anything less is unacceptable.

Chris Hadfield: Astronaut, commander of the International Space Station, combat fighter/test pilot and author

Groundbreaker Topic: The Global Space Race, the Mission to the Moon and Beyond to Mars

How is returning to the moon consequential in attaining the exploration of Mars?

In real estate, the three main things to consider are location, location and location. And often, on Earth, people want sunny waterfront. As we now transition from exploration to settlement on the moon, it’s the same. There is eternal solar power and local water available only in select locations near the poles. China has clearly stated its goal to have people there by 2030, and the smooth landing spots are rare. If we want access to the moon’s vast untapped resources and strategic location, with international rules we support, we have to be there, too. It’s the historic moment.

Jonathan Haidt: Author and the Thomas Cooley Professor of Ethical Leadership at New York University’s Stern School of Business

Groundbreaker Topic: The Impacts and Implications of a Phone-Based Childhood on Society, Democracy and the Economy

What is the best motivation parents can use to get children off their phones?

Teens and preteens are intensely focused on what their peers think of them. They are very afraid of being cut off, being “the only one” without a phone or an Instagram account. So make sure they are not the only one. Coordinate with the parents of your child’s friends. They probably share your concerns. If you have not given your child a smartphone yet, delaying that fateful day until the start of high school is the best single thing you can do. If you already have given a smartphone, set clear boundaries, such as all screens out of the bedroom by 9:30 p.m., no phones at the table and, ideally, no smartphone use at home at all. (Almost everything can be done on a laptop, which is less addictive.)

Sarah Harden: C.E.O., Hello Sunshine and Candle Studios

Groundbreaker Topic: Content Is King, but Creativity Is Queen

Where do you see the industry’s appetite for content in 2025? Better, worse, the same?

We are anticipating a market in 2025 that’s largely flat to 2024 appetite — so, more of the same. An improved interest rate environment feels like it should add wind to everyone’s backs but I don’t feel optimistic that this will translate quickly to an uptick in content spending versus what we are seeing in 2024. I think late 2025 and into 2026 we will see more robust growth.

Sherrilyn Ifill: President and director-counsel emeritus, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund

Groundbreaker Topic: Corporate Citizens as Critical Institutions of a Healthy Democracy

What are the obligations you believe a company owes to the democracy in which it exists?

Democracy is not the same as partisan politics. Far too many corporate leaders confuse the two. Whatever the partisan interests of individual corporate leaders, clients or consumers, corporations have an obligation to support the infrastructure that maintains the health of our democracy. This means support for core values: the rule of law, free and fair elections, the peaceful transfer of power, equal justice, and protection against state-sanctioned seizures and violence against citizens.

Walter Isaacson: Author

Groundbreaker Topic: A.I. and the Data

How can one best protect their intellectual property being used against their wishes for A.I. systems?

In order to be accurate and reliable, A.I. systems will depend on training data that are accurate and reliable. Much of this information is produced by reporters, writers, publishing houses and publications that create this content. These media producers got cut out of a lot of the revenue that flowed to search engines beginning in the 1990s. In order to encourage the creation of high-quality content in the future, media companies and writers need to find ways — both legal and technological — to require a revenue share when their content is used as A.I. training data. That is why I have become involved with two companies working on this issue: Created By Humans and ProRata.AI.

Neal Katyal: Former U.S. acting solicitor general

Groundbreaker Topic: The Future of the Supreme Court, the Rule of Law and the War on “Woke”

Is it realistic to expect the legislative branch to take a more muscular role in the absence of the federal courts? Is this a fair expectation?

At the time of writing, it looks like all the political branches — the House and Senate along with the presidency — are going to be under one-party control. History teaches that one-party government is often destructive to the nation’s interests, so let us hope that elected officials vote for good policy, not for the good of any particular political party.

Karlie Kloss: Entrepreneur and founder, Kode With Klossy

Groundbreaker Topic: Gender Equity in STEM: Progress, Setbacks and the Road Ahead

As there are currently more women in college than men, is there the same sense of urgency as there once was? Where are you directing your efforts today?

While we’ve made incredible progress in total college enrollment, we have to look at what fields and demographics are not captured by these figures. Despite greater gender equity across majors, women constitute just 35 percent of the STEM work force. And although the tech industry has ballooned in the past 10 years, the percentage of women in computer science roles has remained at just 25 percent. These numbers are much lower for Black, Latina and Indigenous women. Kode With Klossy continues to feel a sense of urgency in our mission as we work toward true gender equity in STEM.

David Miliband: President and C.E.O., the International Rescue Committee

Groundbreaker Topic: Previewing the International Rescue Committee’s 2025 Emergency Watchlist and How Tech Is Innovating to Help the World’s Most Vulnerable

What are the most promising areas of humanitarian response where A.I. innovations can make a substantial difference? Are there barriers to those in poverty being able to utilize these advances?

As global risks mount and geopolitics fragments, the worst off are left further behind. Many say we live in a flammable world — and in the I.R.C.’s 2025 Emergency Watchlist, which has guided the I.R.C.’s emergency preparedness efforts for over a decade, we have the proof. While the challenges in Watchlist countries are complex, I.R.C.’s experience shows that there are ways to reach those most in need. Properly and safely leveraged, A.I. can open new frontiers in humanitarian action — in scale, speed and reach. In 2025, the benefits of the A.I. revolution must accrue to the poorest in the world.

Sara Moonves: Editor in chief, W Magazine

Groundbreaker Topic: Print Is Not Dead

What is the new argument for print editions, when convention is pushing toward digital-only products? Why do think W is finding success this way?

After years of consuming virtually everything on our screens, a magazine feels like a luxury product. W has always celebrated fashion, art, film and photography on glossy oversized pages; by focusing on long, meaningful stories and photo portfolios, we stand apart from the disjointed, blink-and-you-missed-it content of the digital world. We approach each of our six volumes as a keepsake for our readers, curated to stand the test of time. This approach resonates with our business partners, who still want to see their advertisements in print; in fact, we often hear from them that print feels more special than ever.

Hartmut Neven: Founder and lead, Google Quantum AI

Groundbreaker Topic: Quantum Leaps

What do you think are the first few practically useful things we will see as a result of quantum computing? And when will we see them?

We expect the first game-changing applications of quantum computing to be in chemistry, pharmacology and materials science. Quantum computers excel at simulating molecules and their interactions, and will provide computing power for problems that are even beyond supercomputers. Today’s early quantum processors are already used for scientific discovery. As quantum computing systems are developed toward fully error-corrected quantum computers, which could take five-plus years to realize, they will be capable of running increasingly complex algorithms for breakthroughs in areas such as medical imaging, battery design or nuclear fusion.

Michael Oren: Former Israeli ambassador to the United States and author

Groundbreaker Topic: The Future of the Middle East

What do you believe America’s fundamental policies toward Iran should be? How should they shift?

Since the advent of the Obama administration in 2009 — with the exception of the first Trump administration — America has sought rapprochement with Iran. The policy was based on the belief that, if treated with respect and sufficiently incentivized, Iran would become a responsible regional power. The opposite happened. Iran expanded its regional influence, enhanced its support for terror and enabled the current Middle East war. The United States must recognize this reality and move from a policy of reconciliation with Iran to one of confrontation and deterrence. Full backing must be given to America’s allies in the region and a credible American military option returned to the table.

Ai-jen Poo: President, the National Domestic Workers Alliance

Groundbreaker Topic: Take Good Care

What are the keys to unlocking affordable care while also providing living wages to caregivers?

The key to unlocking affordable care and living wages for caregivers is to treat it like other essential infrastructure. Some of us need a bridge to get to work, others need care. The government should build care infrastructure by extending Medicare to cover home care, investing in Medicaid home and community based services, and tying funding to wage standards for care workers. As boomers age and we all live longer, the United States must catch up to our shared need for care. Rather than leaving individual families to shoulder the rising costs alone, it should be a shared, national priority.

Steve Rattner: Chairman and C.E.O., Willett Advisors

Groundbreaker Topic: The Big Economic Policy Issues Facing the New Administration

What’s your assessment of the health of the economy as we head into 2025?

The state of the economy is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, unemployment is steady at a modest 4.1 percent. Growth remains brisk and steady. Inflation has subsided, almost to the Federal Reserve’s 2 percent target. Yet 75 percent of Americans rate the economy as “fair” or “poor.” What gives? Income inequality continues to rage and for the first time in memory, the American dream — the notion that each generation will do better than the previous one — is in jeopardy. Adjusted for inflation, just half of Americans born in 1980 earned more at age 30 than their parents did.

Eric Ripert: Chef and co-owner, Le Bernardin

Groundbreaker Topic: The Relevance, the Challenges and the Future of Fine Dining

What does a restaurant do for you that makes it feel like a truly special experience? Is there a recent example you can share that surprised you?

There is nothing like feeling a genuine warmth and welcome when you first enter a restaurant. For me, this is always the first step that makes the experience memorable. Of course, the quality of the food, the energy and décor is very important too. The other day I went to a new restaurant. They did not have my reservation in the books, though I did have one. A gentleman came over and introduced himself as the owner. He was incredibly warm and very personable and I felt welcomed. But I knew his demeanor was not just because of who I am as a chef; I could tell he would be like that for any guest. He kept checking in on us throughout the night and it felt very authentic. Even though we had a very simple meal, he was able to create a certain magic.

Liev Schreiber: Co-founder, BlueCheck Ukraine, and actor

Groundbreaker Topic: The People of Ukraine (Still) Need You

What do you say to those who think Ukraine should “just make a deal” with Russia, give up some land and end the war?

Completely separate of the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine is the geopolitical issue of democracy and the rising trend toward autocracy, dictatorships and authoritarianism generally. For me the war in Ukraine has always been a vivid reminder of just how precarious and vulnerable our own democracy is. Does anyone really believe that after acquiring Crimea, Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson, Mykolaiv and Zaporizhzhia, Putin is actually going to stop? Is Ukraine enough? If Putin succeeds in Eastern Europe, what are the implications for Western Europe, Asia, Africa, and perhaps more importantly to us in the United States, what are the implications on our own democracy?

Rajiv Shah: President, the Rockefeller Foundation

Groundbreaker Topic: Energy Transitions as the Common Denominator in Solving Global Crises

How do energy transitions affect poverty?

Research shows that 99 percent of people considered energy poor also experience at least one additional poverty indicator. Especially in the modern digital economy, electricity access determines a person’s ability to get a job, start a business, or access education, health care and more. When we change energy, we change lives. We can also change the trajectory of climate change. Because the countries where energy access is lowest could produce as much as 75 percent of emissions by 2050, connecting people in those countries to clean energy is the only way to end poverty and end climate change.

Priscilla Sims Brown: President and C.E.O., Amalgamated Bank

Groundbreaker Topic: Closing the Wealth Gap in our Financial Institutions

What is Amalgamated Bank doing that’s different to allow people access to credit that wasn’t previously available to them?

Small businesses are the backbone of the American economy and fostering entrepreneurship is key to wealth creation and reducing income inequality. While small businesses play a crucial role in local economies, access to capital remains a challenge, especially for minority-owned businesses (approximately 47 percent report unmet financing needs). Amalgamated Bank, founded in 1923 to make a positive impact through banking, believes a key component of bridging the financing gap is re-evaluating credit scoring. By including nontraditional data (rent and utility payments), business owners’ credit scores can benefit from the inclusion of additional key indicators of credit worthiness.

Tim Wu: The Julius Silver Professor of Law, Science and Technology, Columbia Law School, and former special assistant to the president for technology and competition policy

Groundbreaker Topic: What to Expect in the Next Administration’s Tech Policies

Are you concerned about the wealth-creating capabilities of the A.I. revolution? Why? Should anything be done to address this?

Over history some big inventions — like the farmer’s plow — created a broad wealth. Others, like the cotton gin, created new wealth but concentrated it — in that case, in the southern plantation. The benefits of technological growth depend on economic structure. A.I. could go either way. It could spread wealth by empowering startups, small and medium-sized businesses. But it might also reinforce extractive business models by marginalizing actual humans or by giving the tech platforms the power to extract from the rest of the economy. We should try for broader creation of wealth — for reasons of political stability, if nothing else.

Esther Manheimer: Mayor, Asheville, N.C.

Groundbreaker Topic: Real-Time Assessment of Asheville and Western North Carolina’s Recovery from Hurricane Helene

What are the best ways people can support Hurricane Helene’s recovery efforts?

The best way to support Asheville and western North Carolina’s recovery from Hurricane Helene is through direct contributions. You can make a vital difference by donating to relief funds supporting small businesses and households, such as those listed at [*WNC Strong*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section). Support our online and e-commerce retailers, buy gift cards for future use, and directly donate to businesses, artists, and nonprofit organizations through the [*Love Asheville From Afar*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section) initiative. Finally, jump-start our economy by visiting W.N.C. We welcome millions of visitors annually, so your patronage of local restaurants and creative venues keeps our work force thriving as we recover.

Suzanne P. Clark: President, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Groundbreaker Topic: Business Implications of the New Administration

What are the drivers of economic growth you want to see in the next presidential administration?

We released our Growth and Opportunity Imperative this summer, outlining key policies to achieve 3 percent growth annually. Our plan includes: preventing the expiration of 2017 tax cuts to avoid the largest tax hike in U.S. history; rolling back Biden-era regulations and reducing government overreach; defending trade as a principal driver of growth; harnessing A.I. to drive innovation; adopting an all-of-the-above energy strategy; expanding and upskilling the work force.

These are some of the most important steps we can take to achieve the growth that will help improve people’s lives.

Michael C. Bush: C.E.O., Great Place to Work

Groundbreaker Topic: Leadership, Ethics and A.I. Integration in the Modern Workplace

What are the key elements companies can do to build trust with their employees today?

Companies need people leaders who create a high-trust experience for all employees, full stop. The problem is, 62 percent of all people leaders don’t want to lead people but they like the perks that come with it. Employees tell us about this every day across all industries, all around the world. If leaders don’t want to work on their humility, curiosity, compassion, no problem, but they should be highly paid individual contributors. Benefits and flexibility matter, but people will trade these things for an experience where they feel their people leader has high expectations for them and wants them to succeed at work and in life.

PHOTOS: PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUERIN BLASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ERIK TANNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; REUTERS) (F13); PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUERIN BLASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ERIK TANNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ALEX WELSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; GETTY IMAGES) (F14); PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUERIN BLASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ERIK TANNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JUSTIN J. WEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ASSOCIATED PRESS; EPA; GETTY IMAGES; REUTERS) (F15) This article appeared in print on page F13, F14, F15.

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[***In Vance's Unabashed Approach, Trump Sees Fiery Kindred Spirit***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D37-N2B1-JBG3-63GS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 1, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1286 words

**Byline:** By Michael C. Bender

**Body**

The former president views JD Vance as a kindred political spirit, while Mr. Vance has spoken of Mr. Trump as a kind of father figure.

Senator JD Vance has driven some of the most attention-grabbing story lines of the 2024 presidential election, encroaching on the precious spotlight that his running mate, Donald J. Trump, has long kept for himself.

But instead of admonishing Mr. Vance, the former president has cheered him on.

When Mr. Vance botched a detail of one of the central issues of the 2024 election -- incorrectly asserting that Mr. Trump would veto a national abortion ban -- the former president calmly corrected the record and quickly moved on.

Mr. Vance eagerly welcomed the idea of a potential second debate with his Democratic counterpart, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, telling a rally crowd in Pennsylvania that debates showed which candidates were willing to work to earn the job. Mr. Trump, speaking at his rally in North Carolina about an hour earlier, flatly rejected an invitation for a rematch with Vice President Kamala Harris, unspooling a series of excuses including the time, the place and his unresolved grievances from their first meeting.

Again, no public shaming. No punishment. Not a hint of anxiety over the dichotomy.

Mr. Trump's unusual willingness to overlook his apprentice's missteps is an early indication of a unique partnership developing with Mr. Vance. The former president seems to be enjoying a more collaborative role with someone he views as a kindred political spirit to help lead his MAGA movement back into the White House -- even as the number of Americans who say they dislike Mr. Vance continues to climb.

This account of their relationship is based on interviews with aides for both men, their allies and other Republicans who have witnessed recent interactions between the party's presidential and vice-presidential nominees.

Mr. Vance's role in this relationship will be on display Tuesday when he meets Mr. Walz for the only scheduled vice-presidential debate of the year -- and the stakes couldn't be higher. It will likely be the largest single audience Mr. Vance will address this campaign, and yet, for him, only one spectator will truly matter.

Mr. Vance, 40, has spoken of Mr. Trump, 78, as a kind of father figure, albeit one who can call multiple times in a day and at any hour.

Some of those calls from Mr. Trump were check-ins and encouragement during the onslaught of criticism over Mr. Vance's complaints of too many ''childless cat ladies'' among American leaders, including Ms. Harris. Mr. Trump urged Mr. Vance to hold his ground and fight through the attacks. Democrats have seized on Mr. Vance's socially conservative views to paint the Republican ticket as weirdly out of touch, while Mr. Trump and his team view him as an ideal messenger to motivate the ***working-class*** base of voters they need to win in November.

Mr. Vance has spoken publicly about another call in which Mr. Trump heard him trying to quiet his 7-year-old son, Ewan, and asked to speak with the boy. When Mr. Vance put his eldest child on the phone, the former president asked the youngster for feedback on a campaign statement he was preparing.

Mr. Vance has also hinted, albeit jokingly, at what would be an understandable fear of Mr. Trump's demanding style and hair-trigger wrath, while recounting how he initially missed the call when the former president phoned to offer him the V.P. slot.

''I call him back, he answers the phone and says, 'JD, you missed a very important phone call -- and now I might have to pick somebody else,''' Mr. Vance recalled last week in North Carolina. ''So I almost have a heart attack right there.''

The Trump-Vance partnership remains, undoubtedly, a fledgling one. The two men first met only a few years ago, when Mr. Vance commenced a political career and needed to make amends for his venomous past as a Never Trumper.

Long-term security is more of a bug than a feature in any Trump relationship. The former president has treated his closest family and friends mercurially and has a history of dispassionately abandoning longtime allies -- including his previous running mate, former Vice President Mike Pence -- when it suits his political purpose.

Lee Zeldin, a Republican and former congressman from New York who is close with both men, said Mr. Trump easily jelled with his running mate thanks in part to personal testimonials from family and longtime advisers who attested to Mr. Vance's political conversion and reliability.

Their trust quickly deepened, Mr. Zeldin said, over a mutual affection for economic populism, staunch anti-immigration policy and a restrained approach to international affairs -- plus a similar instinct for the jugular on the campaign trail.

''They're friends, and they have a very strong relationship,'' Mr. Zeldin said. ''They're more like buddies or confidants who can be frank with each other and enjoy the time they spend together.''

But while Mr. Trump has not publicly crowned Mr. Vance as the heir apparent to his red-capped conservative movement, he has never stopped his campaign from describing his running mate that way since joining the ticket two months ago.

''Senator Vance reinforces President Trump's worldview and shows there is a strong carrier of this movement to fight for American workers and take away the power from the entrenched elites,'' said Jason Miller, a senior adviser for the Trump campaign. Mr. Trump also has a deep respect for Mr. Vance's willingness to fight for the ticket on television, Mr. Miller added.

Mr. Trump has let Mr. Vance freelance in ways he has rarely entrusted to other allies. The two men talk frequently, but Mr. Vance does not check each decision with Mr. Trump -- the former president values that as a sign that Mr. Vance has confidence and that he's not ''needy and high maintenance,'' according to one Trump aide.

But the latitude Mr. Trump has afforded his running mate has led to some potentially uncomfortable moments, most recently over the Vance-led offensive against Haitian migrants.

The attacks drove headlines for days and threatened to make a Trump campaign that has promised to prioritize mass deportations from the White House appear even more radical and extreme. The Haitian migrants who suddenly found themselves the target of baseless claims that they were eating their neighbors' pets are not an example of illegal border crossings. They are lawfully living in the United States with Temporary Protected Status, a federal designation to protect people from a country in crisis.

But Mr. Trump was never remotely upset. Instead, he joined in. In front of a televised audience of 67 million people who tuned in two weeks ago for his debate with Ms. Harris, he pushed the attacks even further than Mr. Vance.

''They're eating the dogs, the people that came in -- they're eating the cats, they're eating the pets of the people that live there,'' Mr. Trump said.

After the debate, Mr. Vance left the media filing center in Philadelphia and inadvertently encountered Mr. Trump. Standing amid lighting fixtures and boxes of unused equipment stacked on the back side of a blue curtain, the two men briefly huddled, as if they were a pair of everyday buddies.

Mr. Trump noted that he was going to talk to reporters. Awesome, Mr. Vance told him, adding that he was heading to a cable news interview. Awesome, Mr. Trump responded. They compared notes on the debate and incoming questions from the media. When they parted ways, Mr. Trump gave his running mate an encouraging pat on the shoulder.

''Go get 'em,'' Mr. Trump told Mr. Vance.

Chris Cameron contributed reporting.Chris Cameron contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/29/us/politics/trump-vance-relationship.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/29/us/politics/trump-vance-relationship.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

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[***A Legal Fight Over an Icon Of the Skyline***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D67-BK11-JBG3-63M5-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Philip Kaleta

**Body**

Legal maneuvers and an empire in tatters leave the ownership of the once grand Manhattan skyscraper up in the air.

The owners of the Chrysler Building in Manhattan are at risk of eviction after the real estate empire of one of its owners imploded amid allegations of financial impropriety.

Signa Holding -- led by RenÃ© Benko, an Austrian investor whose company assembled a worldwide portfolio worth more than $20 billion before it fell apart late last year -- teamed up with RFR Holding, a New York company led by Aby Rosen and Michael Fuchs to buy the Chrysler in 2019 for $151 million. The partners promised to return the aging dowager of the New York skyline to its glory days.

But the partners didn't acquire the land below the building. Rather, they entered into a ground lease, which gave them control over the skyscraper itself for decades but required them to pay rent to the owners of the land beneath it. This arrangement, while not unusual in New York City real estate, can make for a complicated relationship between landlord and tenant.

The landowner, the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, a private college which uses the rent from the building to subsidize student tuition, recently announced it was terminating the ground lease and taking control of the building, claiming the partners were months in arrears, according to documents reviewed by The New York Times.

''You have a contractual obligation to pay your rent,'' wrote Steven Klein, a lawyer representing Cooper Union wrote to the owners in a letter dated Sept. 27 and obtained by The Times.

The owners filed suit in New York State Court to try to halt the eviction by Cooper Union. Signa referred all questions to RFR, which declined to comment.

Legal disputes and ruthless maneuvers are commonplace in the cutthroat world of commercial real estate in New York, particularly when the market is struggling, as it has been since the pandemic when many workers still have not fully returned to the office. But the fate of the once-grand Chrysler, in particular, has grown murkier in light of Mr. Benko's troubles.

In late November, Mr. Benko's empire crumbled under the weight of over $20 billion in debts owed to a consortium of global investors, including the royal families of Qatar and Abu Dhabi. Public prosecutors from Austria and Liechtenstein are investigating the former billionaire. The downfall of Signa, which used to be one of Europe's largest real estate players, left creditors scrambling to recoup their investments.

Mr. Benko's defense lawyer, Norbert Wess, rejected claims of financial impropriety, saying the accusations were unfounded.

''Mr. Benko is working with his lawyers to assist the prosecuting authorities and is presenting his position and point of view to them,'' Mr. Wess said. ''We are confident that this will dispel all accusations against our client.''

Mr. Benko, 46, was raised in Innsbruck, Austria. His mother was a kindergarten teacher; his father, a civil servant. At 17, Mr. Benko dropped out of high school and began converting attics of ***working-class*** houses into expensive lofts. After receiving an initial investment from the heir to a gas station fortune, Mr. Benko was able to quickly expand his business throughout the 2000s.

Mr. Benko faced legal trouble in 2012. Prosecutors in Austria said he paid a former Croatian prime minister to push Italian officials to help contest a tax bill on Signa-owned properties in Italy. Mr. Benko was sentenced to a year in prison but ended up serving the equivalent of probation. Despite this hiccup, Mr. Benko continued to receive investments from wealthy European investors, including Robert Peugeot, the heir of the French car dynasty.

In 2019, Signa and RFR purchased the Chrysler Building, at what looked to be a bargain. The $151 million purchase price was a pittance compared to the $800 million paid by its former owner, Abu Dhabi Investment, in 2008 for a 90 percent stake.

The building has long symbolized New York's romance with sleek design and height. The Art Deco skyscraper, located at the intersection of 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue, was the world's tallest skyscraper when it was finished in 1930, until it was surpassed soon after by the Empire State Building.

Despite its noble past, the Chrysler is facing a dim future. The building's fortunes have been buffeted by neglected repairs, a lack of modern amenities and vacancies after numerous tenants decamped during the Covid-19 pandemic.

A recent survey by Trepp, a commercial real-estate analytics firm, found that commercial properties built before the 1950s experience an average valuation loss per year of about 11 percent, Thomas Taylor, the senior manager for research at the firm, told the Times.

Still, the low price paid by Signa and RFR surprised many who work in real estate. The owners were pleased with the terms, however, according to someone involved with the negotiations who asked for anonymity because he was not authorized to speak publicly.

One reason: The rents demanded by Cooper Union made it nearly impossible for the Chrysler Building to be profitable, the person involved said. Tishman Speyer, the development company which owned 10 percent of the building, thought Cooper Union would never cut a deal on the land lease.

Cooper Union's land ownership, which it holds through the year 2147, immediately became a problem for Signa and RFR. The annual ground lease payments soared from $7.75 million in 2018, just before the partners took over, to $32.5 million, a cost expected to rise to $41 million by 2028, The Times reported in July.

A confidential letter from Cooper Union's lawyers to RFR management, obtained by The Times, shows that the college was willing to negotiate a restructuring of the lease, though it did not spell out the details. Twice, in 2021 and in 2023, Cooper Union and the building owners agreed on terms only to have them fall apart, according to a person involved in the discussions who was not authorized to speak publicly.

In its recent lawsuit, Signa and RFR said the terms of the restructuring were unnecessarily onerous. They also found the building in a greater state of disrepair than they were led to believe before their purchase of it, the lawsuit said.

The wheeling and dealing took a toll on the Chrysler Building. RFR and Signa had planned only minor renovations until the land lease issue with Cooper Union was settled. After that, they had hoped to revamp the building and fill it with tenants, such as law firms, until new buyers were found, a person involved in those plans told The Times.

None of it materialized.

By last November, far bigger problems were emerging for Mr. Benko.

Despite repeated requests from shareholders, Signa delayed audited financial statements, and the European Central Bank warned commercial lenders of the elevated risks of dealing with Signa. Mr. Benko was frantically seeking fresh capital to keep his company afloat.

In the midst of this financial turbulence, RFR Holding offered to buy out its partner's 50 percent stake for $1, plus the assumption of the building's debt and a possible small share in future profits, according to a person involved in the negotiations who was not authorized to speak publicly.

Before that offer could be addressed, the partner, Signa Holding, filed for insolvency in Austrian court. That ended the partnership between RFR and Signa. Signa Holding's share of the Chrysler Building is now up for sale, as part of the liquidation process of the company's assets.

Shareholders and lenders are determined to better understand Mr. Benko's transactions, including whether any of their funds were used in the Chrysler Building purchase.

At the forefront of this pursuit is the Al Nahyan family of Abu Dhabi, which controls Mubadala Investment Company, one of the world's largest sovereign wealth funds. The Al Nahyans claim, in lawsuits filed in France, that Mr. Benko defrauded them of at least $834 million in today's exchange rate.

Another of Mr. Benko's lawyers, Till Dunckel, denied Mubadala was defrauded. The wealth fund invested only $650 million while receiving interest payments over the years, he said.

Cooper Union, in its letter, accused Signa and RFR of misrepresenting their financial position during their lease negotiations. Over the past few months, the letter said, the partners failed to pay the rent, claiming the college is owed $21 million since May.

On Sept. 27, Cooper Union, in its termination letter, said it was assuming control of the building and engaging the real estate firm Cushman & Wakefield to manage it.

RFR had filed its lawsuit against Cooper Union the day before.

''Cooper Union's misguided decision to share its inaccurate and self-serving letter with the media is a transparent and desperate attempt to deflect attention from, and create a false narrative around RFR's commencement of a lawsuit against it mere hours earlier,'' RFR's lawyers, Terrence Oved and Darren Oved, said in a statement to The Times.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/11/us/chrysler-building-owners.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/11/us/chrysler-building-owners.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The fate of the once-grand Chrysler Building, the world's tallest skyscraper when it was finished in 1930, has grown murky. Signa Holding -- led by RenÃ© Benko, left -- and RFR Holding promised to return the aging icon to its glory days, but they've run into difficulty. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JOHANN GRODER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, VIA APA/EXPA/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES) (B4) This article appeared in print on page B1, B4.

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2024

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[***Kareem Rahma’s American Dream***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBH-5M11-JBG3-61X3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2024 Monday 00:03 EST

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 2057 words

**Byline:** Reggie UgwuReggie Ugwu is a Times culture reporter.

**Highlight:** The creator and host of “Subway Takes” and “Keep the Meter Running” makes New Yorkers — and the Democratic presidential ticket — explain themselves.

**Body**

Earlier this year, the comedian and media personality Kareem Rahma decided to double the output of his internet talk show, “[*Subway Takes*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en),” from two episodes per week to four. What he couldn’t remember was why.

“Ummm, I kind of was like …” Rahma said, trailing off during an interview at his home in Brooklyn this summer. “I don’t know,” he concluded with a laugh.

In his defense, it was a busy time. Including “Subway Takes,” a series of train-car conversations about people’s peculiar personal beliefs, Rahma, 38, is the creator and host of three web series, fronts [*a rock band*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en) and [*stars in, co-wrote and co-produced a feature film*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en) that premiered last month. In March, he welcomed his first child — a daughter — which, now that he thinks of it, had been the motivation for doubling down on “Subway Takes.”

“I thought, ‘I need to turn this into something that might actually benefit me,” he said. “Both financially and in terms of, like, a proper career.”

The gambit paid off. In May, “Subway Takes” was a moderately successful but niche production, with about 300,000 followers across [*TikTok*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en). Now that following has more than tripled — over 928,000 — and both the show and Rahma have entered a new stratum of viral fame.

New Yorkers can be heard on the street and in bars auditioning their own “Subway Takes.” Brands including H &amp; M, Urban Outfitters, KOTN and J. Crew have paid to outfit Rahma and his guests. And the status symbol of the season came in August — an invitation to interview both Vice President Kamala Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota.

As he has gained access to famous names, Rahma has also faced new challenges, including how to preserve the populist spirit of his creation while building a successful business and tangling with more powerful partners. A “proper career” is a noble goal. Surviving in the content industry is a grind.

The Allure of the Take

The premise of “Subway Takes” is simple. Rahma, wearing a signature, oversized suit and sporty sunglasses, rides the train with a guest who offers, and then must defend, an unusual or provocative viewpoint. The ‘takes’ are generally entertaining and often absurd (“abolish shorts”), eccentric (“America has gotten soft since we stopped drinking whole milk”) or incendiary (“‘Ghosting’ is fine”).

But the essence of the show is the defense. In 90 seconds or less, “Subway Takes” (and, to an even greater degree, its half-hour YouTube spinoff, “The Last Stop”) routinely captures something that the average cry for attention on the internet never does — an actual human being mapping the nonsensical course of a train of thought.

On the day that I first met Rahma, he was preparing to fly to Pittsburgh to interview the vice president and her running mate. Although Rahma felt gratified to have the attention of a potential future president, he also had reservations.

Excepting the occasional celebrity ([*Olivia Wilde*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en), [*Charli XCX*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en)), the majority of guests on “Subway Takes” had been relative unknowns by design. The engine of the show, Rahma pointed out, is the take, not the take artist.

Rahma also had policy concerns. As a Muslim and an Arab, he objected to the Biden administration’s support for [*Israel’s war in Gaza*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en), which has killed more than 41,000 Palestinians — including many women and children — since Hamas’s attack on Israel last October, in which 1,200 people were killed and over 200 were kidnapped. In three phone calls with Harris’s staff and the Democratic National Committee, he said, he had proposed raising the conflict with the vice president — perhaps at the end of the episode — but was rejected.

Because he is not a professional journalist, Rahma, like other content creators who have interviewed presidential candidates, isn’t beholden to common editorial standards enforced by traditional news media outlets, including rules against the exclusion of topics as a precondition for an interview. He ultimately agreed to the campaign’s terms, reasoning that he could choose not to publish the video if it made him feel uneasy.

Rahma is 6 feet tall, with a head of buoyant black curls, and in near-constant motion — either walking, talking, using his hands, or some combination of the three. “Subway Takes” is the second series he has created with transportation at its center. The first, “[*Keep the Meter Running*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en),” in which he hails a cab and asks the driver to take him to his or her favorite place in the city, has nearly 500,000 followers.

Rahma considers that show — a compendium of life-affirming conversations with ***working-class*** and immigrant New Yorkers — to be his true calling. (The comedian and actor [*Ramy Youssef*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en) has signed on to produce a television adaptation.)

He started “Subway Takes” almost as a whim, after a conversation in the spring of last year with his friend Andrew Kuo — the show’s co-creator. Rahma wanted a platform for his comedian friends, and Kuo suggested setting it on the subway.

“It makes the subway and New York seem as interesting as you hope they would be,” Kuo said.

“Subway Takes” shares some DNA with a genre of “man-on-the-street” video that has proliferated on social media. A person with a microphone interrogates passers-by about their outfits, or their jobs, or their favorite place to buy a bagel. Often, the ultimate beneficiary of these videos is consumerism — viewers learn new and more exquisite ways to spend their money. But the revelations on “Subway Takes” are internal. In some ways, it is a closer relative of the “home tour” genre. In lieu of granting a peek at a stranger’s quirky bedroom, it shines a light on the dark corridors of their mind.

Rahma employs an assistant producer and typically hires two cameramen and an editor for his shows. He has been making “Keep the Meter Running” at a loss, he said. But, this year, sponsorships for “Subway Takes” have earned enough to support his family.

The Striver’s Inheritance

Rahma was born in Cairo to Egyptian parents and raised in a suburb outside St. Paul, Minn. His mother ran a day care out of his childhood home and his father was a serial entrepreneur. In Rahma’s memory, his father — who worked at various times as a gas station owner, a truck driver, an exporter and a vegetable farmer — was always one step away from his big break.

“I remember going to Egypt with him and carrying duffel bags full of Levi’s jeans or stacks of oil paintings that he wanted to sell,” he said. “He was trying to achieve the American dream and it never really panned out.”

Youssef, who was born in New York to Egyptian immigrants, said he recognized the Rahmas’ blend of optimism and hustle.

“It’s called being Egyptian,” he said. “In Cairo, there’s so much happening around you that it always kind of feels like you’re on this surfboard of life, just trying to grab whatever wave is coming your way.”

In high school, Rahma worked as a telemarketer for a furnace and duct cleaning company, at McDonald’s and as a busboy at the Pool and Yacht Club in St. Paul. While in college at the University of Minnesota (he studied journalism and advertising), he started a side business flipping motorcycles that he bought with student loan money.

After his father died, in 2007, Rahma stayed home to help his mother and two younger siblings. He left for New York in 2012 and pursued a corporate life in social media marketing at Vice and The New York Times. (In an April [*post on Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en), Rahma accused a Times Cooking video of mimicking “Keep the Meter Running.” The Times said in a statement that the video had not been based on Rahma’s concept or work.) He later ran his own business — a video content company with 20 employees called the Nameless Network — but wound it down after a pandemic-inspired epiphany.

“I was depressed and I realized that I had been searching for a way to express myself,” he said. “In high school, I worked. In college, I worked. I never went to Europe for five months and meandered around or did any of the things that people do when they’re trying to figure out what they want to do.”

Effectively unemployed at 33, Rahma rolled the dice on a long-suppressed passion — stand-up comedy. One early supporter was Nicolas Heller, the film director and social media personality known as [*New York Nico*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en), whose Instagram chronicles of the city’s colorful characters inspired Rahma to create a signature franchise of his own.

“I had had all of these ideas in my notes app,” he recalled. “One was, ‘A show where you hang out with cabdrivers.’”

Dreams Versus Reality

Two-and-a-half weeks after our initial meeting, I visited Rahma again. He seemed harried and wore a faded T-shirt and relaxed-fit jeans. The interview with Harris hadn’t gone as planned.

What happened was a dispute over Harris’s take. Rahma said he had been told that the vice president would be taking a stand against removing one’s shoes on airplanes. When they sat down, however, Harris had surprised him with a different take: “Bacon is a spice.” (Two senior campaign officials said this topic had been raised in advance. Rahma and his manager dispute this.)

Rahma, who doesn’t eat pork for religious reasons, was taken aback. “I don’t know,” he says, in an unpublished video recording of the interview, his voice rising to an unusually high pitch. Harris elaborates that bits of cooked bacon can be used to enhance a meal like any other seasoning. “Think about it, it’s pure flavor,” she says.

Rahma asks Harris if he can use beef or turkey and what kinds of dishes would benefit from bacon. He then pauses the interview and tells her that he doesn’t eat it. He asks if they can do the airplanes take instead. But, on the advice of a staffer, Harris decides to declare her love of anchovies on pizza — an alternative the campaign had floated earlier in an email. Rahma wraps the discussion one minute later.

“Well,” he says, with an awkward laugh. “I’m 100 percent unsure on both of those.”

The Walz interview, in which the governor [*deplored the national decline of home gutter maintenance*](https://www.instagram.com/subwaytakes/?hl=en), went more smoothly. Afterward, Rahma said, he felt unsure of what to make of the sit-down with Harris. He had been apprehensive about potential criticism from other Muslims, and the bacon talk had thrown him off.

“It was so complicated because I’m Muslim and there’s something going on in the world that 100 percent of Muslims care about,” he said. “And then they made it worse by talking about anchovies. Boring!”

The campaign apologized for the bacon take and proposed a reshoot. But, after publishing the Walz interview, Rahma ultimately decided not to move forward with it.

“I never wanted to be a politics person,” he said. “The more I think about it, the more I feel like I got lucky.”

On the afternoon of our second meeting, Rahma was returning to his comfort zone by filming an episode of “Keep the Meter Running.” He and two cameramen piled into the yellow Nissan minivan of a cabdriver named Afo, who planned to take them to his favorite Ghanaian restaurant in the Bronx.

Afo said he had emigrated from Accra in 1987. His first years in the city were rough — two men robbed and assaulted him with a tire iron at his job as a gas station attendant — but he found better employment as a carpet installer. Now 60, Afo had raised two children and worked as a taxi driver seven days a week for the past 17 years. He dreams of returning to Ghana and retiring on a small farm.

“I just want to live a simple life,” he said. “No more rushing, no stress, just relax.”

Noise from a dump truck in the next lane began seeping through the windows. Rahma, nervous about the audio recording, paused the conversation and asked Afo to pull away. His own simple life was still a distant fantasy. The cameraman next to him shifted his weight, stretching a leg that had fallen asleep. After nearly an hour, Afo exited the freeway in the South Bronx near Yankee Stadium. Rahma relaxed into his seat and looked at his watch.

“All right,” he sighed. “Let’s cut.”

PHOTOS: Kareem Rahma, a comedian and media personality. He is the creator and host of three online talk shows, including “Subway Takes” and “Keep the Meter Running.” (AR11); By expanding the output of his internet talk shows in the past few months, Kareem Rahma has significantly increased his following on TikTok and Instagram. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIAN KARLSSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR18) This article appeared in print on page AR10.

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Visits a Construction Site in Manhattan Before His Trial Resumes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BWC-B6P1-DXY4-X00W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 25, 2024 Thursday 12:17 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 655 words

**Byline:** Michael GoldMichael Gold is a political correspondent for The Times covering the campaigns of Donald J. Trump and other candidates in the 2024 presidential elections.

**Highlight:** The early morning campaign stop exemplifies the balancing act required for a candidate who is also a criminal defendant.

**Body**

The early morning campaign stop exemplifies the balancing act required for a candidate who is also a criminal defendant.

Hours before he was set to return to the courthouse for his [*criminal trial in Manhattan*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/04/26/nyregion/trump-hush-money-trial), former President Donald J. Trump started Thursday morning by visiting a construction site in a campaign stop that exemplified the balancing act required for a candidate who is also a criminal defendant.

In the shadow of what will eventually be the 70-story headquarters of one of the nation’s biggest banks, Mr. Trump shook hands with union workers in a visit meant to highlight his support from ***working-class*** voters and draw attention to his criticism of President Biden’s economic policies.

His warm reception — a cheering crowd of roughly 100 people gathered behind him, chanting “we want Trump” — marked a stark contrast from the sober environment of the courthouse where Mr. Trump has spent most weekdays since his trial began last week, and where his comments have largely been limited to addressing reporters in the hallway during breaks.

Mr. Trump has not held a rally since just before the trial began, in part because a planned event in North Carolina last weekend was canceled because of weather. But his visit to the construction site typifies how his campaign is using retail stops in New York, a left-leaning state not expected to be in play in November, to help broadcast his national message.

“I have a lot of support here,” Mr. Trump said, as roughly two dozen workers clambered up scaffolding and equipment to catch a glimpse of him. Among those in the crowd were members of the Teamsters union, whose endorsement Mr. Trump has been courting.

The trip to the construction site kicks off what will be a significant day in Mr. Trump’s legal battles. In Manhattan, where Mr. Trump is accused of falsifying business records, David Pecker, the former publisher of The National Enquirer, is expected to return to the stand and detail the hush-money payment at the center of his case. Asked by reporters, Mr. Trump said that Mr. Pecker had been “very nice” and called him a “nice guy.”

In Washington, the [*Supreme Court will consider*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/04/26/nyregion/trump-hush-money-trial) Mr. Trump’s argument that he is immune from prosecution on federal charges that he plotted to subvert the 2020 election. Mr. Trump, who will likely be in the Manhattan courtroom during the oral arguments before the Supreme Court, repeated an argument he has been making for months that “a president has to have immunity, otherwise you just have a ceremonial president.”

Mr. Trump’s appeal to ***working-class*** voters was key to his victory in 2016, and as he tries to return to the White House, he has been eager to win the support of rank-and-file union members and to drive a wedge between them and labor leaders who have long favored Democrats.

In January, Mr. Trump met with the Teamsters union’s executive board and said he believed he had a “good shot” at securing the influential union’s endorsement. The union endorsed Mr. Biden in 2020, and its leaders met with the president last month.

Mr. Biden has for years touted his allegiance to unions. On Wednesday he received the endorsement of the North America’s Building Trades Unions, an umbrella group whose leaders pointed to Mr. Biden’s bipartisan infrastructure package.

Jason Miller, a senior Trump campaign adviser, said that Thursday’s visit had been “on the books for some time” and was part of the campaign’s larger strategy to contend with the scheduling challenges posed by the Manhattan trial.

“Since the Biden Trials are an attempt to keep us off the campaign trail, we’ll bring the campaign trail to us,” he said. Mr. Trump has said [*without citing evidence*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/04/26/nyregion/trump-hush-money-trial) that the charges are part of an “election interference” scheme orchestrated by Mr. Biden.

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump shook hands with union workers before going to court on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hiroko Masuike/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Donald Trump and His Real-Life Apprentice***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2V-2BK1-JBG3-61XV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 29, 2024 Sunday 22:19 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1280 words

**Highlight:** The former president views JD Vance as a kindred political spirit, while Mr. Vance has spoken of Mr. Trump as a kind of father figure.

**Body**

The former president views JD Vance as a kindred political spirit, while Mr. Vance has spoken of Mr. Trump as a kind of father figure.

Senator JD Vance has driven some of the most attention-grabbing story lines of the 2024 presidential election, encroaching on the precious spotlight that his running mate, Donald J. Trump, has long kept for himself.

But instead of admonishing Mr. Vance, the former president has cheered him on.

When Mr. Vance botched a detail of one of the central issues of the 2024 election — incorrectly asserting that Mr. Trump would veto a national abortion ban — the former president calmly corrected the record and quickly moved on.

Mr. Vance eagerly welcomed the idea of a potential second debate with his Democratic counterpart, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, telling a rally crowd in Pennsylvania that debates showed which candidates were willing to work to earn the job. Mr. Trump, speaking at his rally in North Carolina about an hour earlier, flatly rejected an invitation for a rematch with Vice President Kamala Harris, unspooling a series of excuses including the [*time*](https://www.rev.com/transcript-editor/shared/pl4stRTbM2KlanTQvZyWHq_8IDv8ivp2LKJOU8u9uZql5K_CH9ciqnp_B9JG-zdsphKEhYPEuiB2EDQUtVqQqY83Aag?loadFrom=SharedClip&amp;ts=639.69&amp;te=644.85), the [*place*](https://www.rev.com/transcript-editor/shared/pl4stRTbM2KlanTQvZyWHq_8IDv8ivp2LKJOU8u9uZql5K_CH9ciqnp_B9JG-zdsphKEhYPEuiB2EDQUtVqQqY83Aag?loadFrom=SharedClip&amp;ts=639.69&amp;te=644.85) and his unresolved [*grievances*](https://www.rev.com/transcript-editor/shared/pl4stRTbM2KlanTQvZyWHq_8IDv8ivp2LKJOU8u9uZql5K_CH9ciqnp_B9JG-zdsphKEhYPEuiB2EDQUtVqQqY83Aag?loadFrom=SharedClip&amp;ts=639.69&amp;te=644.85) from their first meeting.

Again, no public shaming. No punishment. Not a hint of anxiety over the dichotomy.

Mr. Trump’s unusual willingness to overlook his apprentice’s missteps is an early indication of a unique partnership developing with Mr. Vance. The former president seems to be enjoying a more collaborative role with someone he views as a kindred political spirit to help lead his MAGA movement back into the White House — even as the number of Americans [*who say they dislike Mr. Vance*](https://www.rev.com/transcript-editor/shared/pl4stRTbM2KlanTQvZyWHq_8IDv8ivp2LKJOU8u9uZql5K_CH9ciqnp_B9JG-zdsphKEhYPEuiB2EDQUtVqQqY83Aag?loadFrom=SharedClip&amp;ts=639.69&amp;te=644.85) continues to climb.

This account of their relationship is based on interviews with aides for both men, their allies and other Republicans who have witnessed recent interactions between the party’s presidential and vice-presidential nominees.

Mr. Vance’s role in this relationship will be on display Tuesday when he meets Mr. Walz for the only scheduled vice-presidential debate of the year — and the stakes couldn’t be higher. It will likely be the largest single audience Mr. Vance will address this campaign, and yet, for him, only one spectator will truly matter.

Mr. Vance, 40, has spoken of Mr. Trump, 78, as a kind of father figure, albeit one who can call multiple times in a day and at any hour.

Some of those calls from Mr. Trump were check-ins and encouragement during the onslaught of criticism over Mr. Vance’s complaints of too many “childless cat ladies” among American leaders, including Ms. Harris. Mr. Trump urged Mr. Vance to hold his ground and fight through the attacks. Democrats have seized on Mr. Vance’s socially conservative views to paint the Republican ticket as weirdly out of touch, while Mr. Trump and his team view him as an ideal messenger to motivate the ***working-class*** base of voters they need to win in November.

Mr. Vance has spoken publicly about another call in which Mr. Trump heard him trying to quiet his 7-year-old son, Ewan, and asked to speak with the boy. When Mr. Vance put his eldest child on the phone, the former president asked the youngster for feedback on a campaign statement he was preparing.

Mr. Vance has also hinted, albeit jokingly, at what would be an understandable fear of Mr. Trump’s demanding style and hair-trigger wrath, while recounting how he initially missed the call when the former president phoned to offer him the V.P. slot.

“I call him back, he answers the phone and says, ‘JD, you missed a very important phone call — and now I might have to pick somebody else,’” Mr. Vance recalled last week in North Carolina. “So I almost have a heart attack right there.”

The Trump-Vance partnership remains, undoubtedly, a fledgling one. The two men first met only a few years ago, when Mr. Vance commenced a political career and needed to make amends for his venomous past as a Never Trumper.

Long-term security is more of a bug than a feature in any Trump relationship. The former president has treated his closest family and friends mercurially and has a history of dispassionately abandoning longtime allies — including his previous running mate, former Vice President Mike Pence — when it suits his political purpose.

Lee Zeldin, a Republican and former congressman from New York who is close with both men, said Mr. Trump easily jelled with his running mate thanks in part to personal testimonials from family and longtime advisers who attested to Mr. Vance’s political conversion and reliability.

Their trust quickly deepened, Mr. Zeldin said, over a mutual affection for economic populism, staunch anti-immigration policy and a restrained approach to international affairs — plus a similar instinct for the jugular on the campaign trail.

“They’re friends, and they have a very strong relationship,” Mr. Zeldin said. “They’re more like buddies or confidants who can be frank with each other and enjoy the time they spend together.”

But while Mr. Trump has not publicly crowned Mr. Vance as the heir apparent to his red-capped conservative movement, he has never stopped his campaign from describing his running mate that way since joining the ticket two months ago.

“Senator Vance reinforces President Trump’s worldview and shows there is a strong carrier of this movement to fight for American workers and take away the power from the entrenched elites,” said Jason Miller, a senior adviser for the Trump campaign. Mr. Trump also has a deep respect for Mr. Vance’s willingness to fight for the ticket on television, Mr. Miller added.

Mr. Trump has let Mr. Vance freelance in ways he has rarely entrusted to other allies. The two men talk frequently, but Mr. Vance does not check each decision with Mr. Trump — the former president values that as a sign that Mr. Vance has confidence and that he’s not “needy and high maintenance,” according to one Trump aide.

But the latitude Mr. Trump has afforded his running mate has led to some potentially uncomfortable moments, most recently over the Vance-led offensive against Haitian migrants.

The attacks drove headlines for days and threatened to make a Trump campaign that has promised to prioritize mass deportations from the White House appear even more radical and extreme. The Haitian migrants who suddenly found themselves the target of baseless claims that they were eating their neighbors’ pets are not an example of illegal border crossings. They are lawfully living in the United States with Temporary Protected Status, [*a federal designation*](https://www.rev.com/transcript-editor/shared/pl4stRTbM2KlanTQvZyWHq_8IDv8ivp2LKJOU8u9uZql5K_CH9ciqnp_B9JG-zdsphKEhYPEuiB2EDQUtVqQqY83Aag?loadFrom=SharedClip&amp;ts=639.69&amp;te=644.85) to protect people from a country in crisis.

But Mr. Trump was never remotely upset. Instead, he joined in. In front of a televised audience of [*67 million people*](https://www.rev.com/transcript-editor/shared/pl4stRTbM2KlanTQvZyWHq_8IDv8ivp2LKJOU8u9uZql5K_CH9ciqnp_B9JG-zdsphKEhYPEuiB2EDQUtVqQqY83Aag?loadFrom=SharedClip&amp;ts=639.69&amp;te=644.85) who tuned in two weeks ago for his debate with Ms. Harris, he pushed the attacks even further than Mr. Vance.

“They’re eating the dogs, the people that came in — they’re eating the cats, they’re eating the pets of the people that live there,” Mr. Trump [*said*](https://www.rev.com/transcript-editor/shared/pl4stRTbM2KlanTQvZyWHq_8IDv8ivp2LKJOU8u9uZql5K_CH9ciqnp_B9JG-zdsphKEhYPEuiB2EDQUtVqQqY83Aag?loadFrom=SharedClip&amp;ts=639.69&amp;te=644.85).

After the debate, Mr. Vance left the media filing center in Philadelphia and inadvertently encountered Mr. Trump. Standing amid lighting fixtures and boxes of unused equipment stacked on the back side of a blue curtain, the two men briefly huddled, as if they were a pair of everyday buddies.

Mr. Trump noted that he was going to talk to reporters. Awesome, Mr. Vance told him, adding that he was heading to a cable news interview. Awesome, Mr. Trump responded. They compared notes on the debate and incoming questions from the media. When they parted ways, Mr. Trump gave his running mate an encouraging pat on the shoulder.

“Go get ‘em,” Mr. Trump told Mr. Vance.

Chris Cameron contributed reporting.

Chris Cameron contributed reporting.

This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** September 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Governor Passed Over by Harris Pours His Soul Into Her Campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-4111-JBG3-6392-00000-00&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. 12

**Length:** 1712 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

Pennsylvania's governor may not be on the verge of the vice presidency, but he says he has everything -- including his ''heart and soul'' -- riding on a Kamala Harris victory.

Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania bounded off a big blue bus on Saturday afternoon with the other two governors of the critical ''blue wall'' states -- Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan and Tony Evers of Wisconsin -- and headed down a steep hill to greet a gathering of Democratic canvassers in a park outside Pittsburgh.

It was the third of four stops that unseasonably warm, clear day for their Blue Wall bus tour. Though all three governors lead political battlegrounds critical to Vice President Kamala Harris's chance at winning the presidency, only Mr. Shapiro came within a whisper of being on the ticket that they are now trying to elect.

But if there were any lingering resentments, or even disappointment, it was not obvious that day, nor is it evident in his punishing schedule of campaign appearances, interviews, advertising shoots, fund-raisers and behind-the-scenes outreach efforts for Ms. Harris and fellow Democrats.

Mr. Shapiro, his voice straining for emphasis, stressed what he sees as at stake in the election, for the nation, for his state and for him personally.

''I want to be really clear about something: This is not just about the politics of winning a race,'' Mr. Shapiro said in an interview in Baldwin Township, a suburb nestled in the wooded hills just south of Pittsburgh.

Speaking of his own experience repeatedly suing the Trump administration as the commonwealth's attorney general and then battling the Trump campaign as it tried to overturn the 2020 election, Mr. Shapiro called former President Donald J. Trump ''a dangerous guy.''

''This is not about some temporary moment of politics,'' he said. ''It's the future of this country.''

For a man of Mr. Shapiro's ambitions, there are always some politics involved. If Ms. Harris wins in two weeks, the governor will be a hero to the cause, a 51-year-old politician from the leafy suburbs of Philadelphia who somehow became the Democratic Party's unlikely outreach director to rural and ***working-class*** white voters -- and who is young enough to look toward 2032 and the end of a Harris second term.

If Ms. Harris wins Pennsylvania but loses the presidency, Mr. Shapiro could well be the most obvious front-runner for the Democratic nomination for president in 2028.

Politically and personally, and for Mr. Shapiro's own legislative agenda, much is riding on Democratic success on Election Day, Pennsylvania's lieutenant governor, Austin Davis, said.

''Every Democratic governor wants to deliver their state,'' Mr. Davis said after a joint appearance with the governor in rural Slippery Rock on Saturday morning. ''I can't really say what the fallout would be'' for failure, he added, ''but I can tell you it would be high.''

As Pennsylvania's attorney general, Mr. Shapiro went to court to try to stop Mr. Trump's ban on travelers from predominantly Muslim countries. He sued over the Trump administration's effort to thwart mandatory coverage of contraceptives under the Affordable Care Act. And he was in court 43 times in late 2020 and early 2021 to preserve Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s narrow victory in the commonwealth.

Aides now point to the 1.2 million Pennsylvanians who may lose their health insurance in a second Trump term if the Affordable Care Act is again threatened, and they warn of federal efforts to infringe on abortion rights.

Mr. Shapiro is also helping to defend his party's one-seat majority in the State House of Representatives and to try to cut into the Republicans' six-seat majority in the State Senate. Success on those fronts, he likes to say, would help him get stuff done -- though he uses a different word than ''stuff.''

Pennsylvania, with its 19 electoral votes, is no doubt the biggest prize of the seven swing states. Same as the others, polling averages suggest a dead heat. The importance of Mr. Shapiro in delivering it for Ms. Harris is self-evident: He won the governor's race two years ago against Doug Mastriano, a Republican, by nearly 15 percentage points, flipping some counties that had voted for Mr. Trump in 2020 and cutting into Republican dominance in others.

That dominant showing fueled the push by many Democrats to get Mr. Shapiro on the ticket -- and the open glee of some Republicans when Ms. Harris chose Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota instead.

''I love Shapiro so much,'' said Heidi Priest, 43, who came to Slippery Rock from nearby Butler, where Mr. Trump was nearly assassinated over the summer, to see her governor stump with Senator Bob Casey, a Democrat locked in his own tough re-election fight. ''I had been really hoping he would be the vice president.''

Around noon that day, as they waited for the blue-wall governors in a small field behind the Stop-N-Glo Car Wash in Moon Township, Pa., a clutch of Democratic women was debating whether the governor had even wanted to be vice president.

''I don't think he was really disappointed,'' Marianne Mnich, a retiree in the township, said of the governor.

Valeris Klauscher of Crescent Township agreed: ''I think he's a bigger man than that.''

''I think he's a smarter man than that,'' said Joyce Reinoso of Robinson Township. ''He wants to be the top dog.''

(Asked whether he had any lingering hurt feelings, Mr. Shapiro answered curtly: ''I think Kamala Harris made a great choice in Tim Walz.'')

In fact, any suggestion that Mr. Shapiro could have easily delivered Pennsylvania if he had been Ms. Harris's running mate misses some political fundamentals -- about 2022 and 2024, said former Representative Conor Lamb, a Democrat from Western Pennsylvania, as he mingled with canvassers on Saturday afternoon in Baldwin Township.

''No offense to Josh,'' Mr. Lamb said, ''but he was running against the worst candidate of the cycle'' in 2022.

Mr. Mastriano, a far-right state senator who has embraced Mr. Trump's stolen-election lies, might have been a close ally of the former president's, but he never had his appeal.

Mr. Shapiro's name on the ticket most likely would have made little difference for Ms. Harris against a former president whose supporters are as dug in now as they were in 2016, when Mr. Trump won the state, Mr. Lamb said.

''It's this close because the voters are entrenched,'' he said.

Just up the road, a man in a T-shirt proclaiming ''I'm a Trump Deplorable'' groused at the gathering of Harris supporters and scoffed at the notion of Mr. Shapiro as a bipartisan bridge builder.

''I hate him,'' the man said, declining to give his name.

Mr. Shapiro is using what leverage he has. The governor's aides tallied almost 60 events for the ticket since President Biden bowed out of the race, in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Georgia and North Carolina. At least 20 appearances in Pennsylvania have come since he was passed over for Mr. Walz.

Some have been high profile: He appeared before a huge crowd in Philadelphia with Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz on Aug. 6, the same day she announced the Minnesota governor as her choice for vice president, and worked the spin room after the one and only debate between the vice president and the former president.

Other efforts have been more targeted. Mr. Shapiro has become a fixture on La Mega, a Spanish-language radio show out of Allentown, Pa., as well as on the conservative talk shows on WSBA radio out of York, Pa.

After a day of fasting for Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish year, Mr. Shapiro hopped a plane to Atlanta on Oct. 13 to stump with Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia in the suburban counties of Clayton and Fayette before flying back to Philadelphia that night to headline a major fund-raising dinner for Ms. Harris's national finance committee.

''Listen,'' Mr. Shapiro said in the interview, ''I'm pouring my heart and soul into electing Kamala Harris and Tim Walz.''

Although he said he was in close communication with the vice president and her campaign, he declined to divulge any specific advice he had given or recommendations he'd made for key campaign stops.

But the governor's fingerprints appear on the granular details of Ms. Harris's travels, like the choice of holding a Labor Day rally featuring Ms. Harris, Mr. Biden and the governor at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 5's union hall. The union isn't well known outside Western Pennsylvania, but it has a powerful presence in this key swing region. The governor has been particularly aggressive in calling in favors from unions.

Mr. Shapiro is also trying to shore up Democratic vulnerabilities elsewhere. He stumped for the vice president in Wisconsin in the largely rural Richland, Lafayette and Iowa Counties alongside Senator Tammy Baldwin, a Democrat facing a tough re-election battle in that state. Over the remaining days, his spokesman, Manuel Bonder, said he would spend time securing the votes of Jewish Pennsylvanians concerned over rising antisemitism and the wavering support of some Democrats for Israel -- a worry exacerbated by Ms. Harris's decision not to pick Mr. Shapiro as her running mate.

It is a balancing act, selling Ms Harris to skeptical voters by emphasizing his own reputation for bipartisanship and moderation. In Slippery Rock on Saturday morning, the governor spoke about how he and Mr. Casey had gone up against the Biden administration to beat back an Energy Department proposal that could have shut down a steel mill in Butler County and cost 1,200 jobs. Without explicitly mentioning Ms. Harris's past support for banning fracking, he talked up natural gas as part of his ''all of the above'' energy policies.

Then he commiserated with the Democratic faithful in a county where Trump signs come in bold clusters and Harris signs hardly exist.

''I know sometimes it can feel a little bit lonely here in Butler County when you're a Democrat,'' Mr. Shapiro told the crowd of about 100 that had gathered at the Twisted Oak Tavern at the edge of a golf course.

The governor advised attendees to take two yard signs, ''one to send a message to all your neighbors -- they've got company here in Butler County -- and the second for when they steal the first.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/josh-shapiro-kamala-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/josh-shapiro-kamala-harris.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania has taken on a punishing schedule of appearances, events and outreach in support of Vice President Kamala Harris's campaign and that of fellow Democrats.

JOSH SHAPIRO, the governor of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Shapiro has emphasized his own reputation for moderation as a way of selling Ms. Harris to skeptical constituents. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL SWENSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Assumed a Nebraska Senate Seat Was Safe. Then This Candidate Came Along.; Michelle Goldberg***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-9771-JBG3-640C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday 16:33 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1723 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:** Nebraska’s Senate race is far closer than anyone predicted.

**Body**

The first person I met at a Monday night meet-and-greet for Dan Osborn, the independent Nebraska Senate candidate, was a Donald Trump-voting Republican named Joe Hallett. He’d worked, alongside his wife, Sherri, with Osborn at Omaha’s Kellogg plant. Explaining Osborn’s appeal, Joe said, “He’s not a millionaire or anything like that.” Sherri added: “He works hard. We did the same thing.”

Neither was a fan of Osborn’s opponent, the Republican senator Deb Fischer. “We were never impressed with her because she was never personable,” said Sherri. “She was never around.”

Osborn, by contrast, has been around a lot. The Monday event, at a cider house in Ashland, a town about 30 miles from Omaha, was one of more than 170 he’s done all over the state. It drew a few dozen people — more Democrats and independents than Republicans — and Osborn stayed to talk and shake hands until the place closed. Afterward, I went with him to a nearby bar to talk about his surprisingly competitive race against Fischer, which has become an unexpected problem for Republicans as they seek to retake the Senate.

As we walked, a young opposition researcher who tracks Osborn at most of his events shouted questions about which presidential candidate he’d voted for in 2020, hoping to catch him on camera saying something damaging. Osborn refused to answer, just as he won’t say whom he’ll vote for in November, insisting that the heat of partisan politics makes substantive discussion of the issues impossible. When I asked him to name a politician in Washington he hoped to work with, he said he hadn’t given the matter much thought.

The bar, with its brown walls, dropped ceiling and fluorescent overhead lights, was the apotheosis of Midwestern drab. Osborn, a tattooed Navy veteran and former union leader with a short gray beard, declared it his kind of place. As he nursed a Busch Light, I sensed he was eager to finish our interview and join Joe Hallett, who was waiting to catch up with him. But when I mentioned a book I’d heard Osborn talk about, “Goliath: The 100-Year War Between Monopoly Power and Democracy,” by the progressive writer Matt Stoller, he seemed to perk up.

“What that book taught me was this is not a new idea what we’re doing here,” he said of his campaign, which is focused on the predations of concentrated wealth. Ever since the Industrial Revolution, he said, corporations have sought to buy more and more political power, and though they succeed for a time, people eventually revolt. “I think that’s where we’re at right now,” said Osborn. “We’re at the apex of a corporate-run government.”

At such moments, he said, people’s frustrations inevitably reach a boiling point. “So they start electing a different government, a more populist message, because they know that their lives are getting harder and their government is not working for them.”

The word “populist,” as it happens, is tied up with Nebraska political history. It was coined to describe members of the People’s Party, which held its first convention in Omaha in 1892, seeking to represent farmers and laborers against what it [*called*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/populist-party-platform-1892) the “power and plunder” of the two major parties. “I have read about the prairie populism, and I hope we can emulate that,” said Osborn.

Osborn is still an underdog, but his mix of leftish economics and deep anti-elitism has already shaken up politics in bright-red Nebraska, making the Senate race far closer than almost anyone predicted. The Cook Political Report initially considered the seat “Solid Republican,” but in late September it changed its forecast to “Likely Republican.” The day I met Osborn, Cook shifted its rating another tick in Osborn’s direction, to “Lean” Republican.

Though both the Fischer and Osborn camps have released internal surveys with their candidates leading, there have been only a couple of nonpartisan polls, the most [*recent*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/populist-party-platform-1892) of which showed Osborn up by 5 points. That was in early October, and it’s entirely possible that it doesn’t capture the current state of the race. But the G.O.P. is clearly concerned; as Semafor [*reported*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/populist-party-platform-1892) this week, the Senate Republicans’ top super PAC is pouring $3 million into Nebraska to bolster Fischer in the race’s final weeks.

If Osborn wins — and maybe even if he doesn’t — his campaign will likely be seen as a model for running pro-worker candidates in places where majorities have drifted away from the Democratic Party. Democrats, like traditionally left-leaning parties across much of the developed world, have been losing ***working-class*** voters to the right, even as they attract more support from educated, cosmopolitan urbanites. Though Joe Biden has been the most pro-labor president in recent history, he’s been unable to reverse this trend.

Now Osborn’s campaign is testing a new approach to class politics. Can a message based on workers’ rights and corporate greed win over red-state voters when it’s decoupled from the cultural baggage that adheres, however unfairly, to the Democratic Party? “Ultimately I want people to see what we’ve done here, and to be able to do it in their states too,” Osborn told me.

Osborn, who spent 20 years as an industrial mechanic at Kellogg, insists he was never particularly political until 2021, when, as president of his Omaha union, he started negotiating with management over a new contract. As essential workers during the Covid pandemic, he told the crowd at the cidery, he and his members had worked 12-hour shifts, seven days a week, at least when they weren’t sick or stuck in quarantine. In 2020, Kellogg’s sales and profits had risen, and its chief executive’s compensation increased 20 percent to more than $11.6 million.

Osborn went into talks with management sure he and his fellow workers would “share a little sliver of the pie.” Instead, he said, Kellogg tried to cut their health benefits and cost-of-living raises, and to expand a two-tier wage system in which new employees could be paid significantly less than existing ones. “That was my ‘oh, crap’ moment,” he said.

When talks failed in October, Osborn led workers at his Omaha plant out on strike. “One of the hardest things I’ve ever had to do, leading 500 of my friends and their families out into the great unknown, not knowing if we were going to have a job at the end of it,” he said. It lasted 77 days and ended with most of the strikers’ demands being met.

Osborn no longer works at the plant; Kellogg [*fired*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/populist-party-platform-1892) him in 2023. The company accused him of watching Netflix on the job, but he believes it was retaliation. He retrained as a steamfitter, which was what he was doing last year when a union official named Jeff Cooley approached him about mounting an independent challenge to Fischer.

The senator, now running for her third term, had repeatedly enraged railroad workers, including by voting to thwart their ability to strike in 2022. The best way to oust her, union leaders believed, was to run an independent who could avoid getting bogged down in what Cooley called “wedge issues” that alienate social conservatives. If neither political party could come up with a viable pro-labor candidate, Cooley recalled thinking, “we’ll find our own.”

Nebraska’s Democratic Party is not pleased about the way Osborn has bypassed it. Initially, he’d sought Democratic support, hoping to build a coalition that included Libertarians and some Republicans. Then the campaign’s strategy changed, and he announced he wouldn’t accept partisan endorsements. At that point, it was too late for Democrats to field their own candidate. Partly as a result, the Nebraska Democratic Party chair, Jane Kleeb — a woman who has worked hard to rebuild the party’s neglected rural infrastructure — regards Osborn with deep distrust.

“Do I think the vast majority of Democrats are going to vote for him because they don’t like Deb Fischer?” she asked. “Yes. Do I think he has a shot? Absolutely. Do I think he’s being inauthentic? Yes. Do I worry that if he gets elected, that he’s going to be Kyrsten Sinema, the person that destroys really good bills for their own ego? Absolutely.”

But Osborn has different politics than Sinema, who regularly put the interests of her rich donors over those of her constituents. Though he insists he doesn’t plan to caucus with either the Democrats or the Republicans, he shares many key Democratic priorities. Osborn wants to raise both corporate taxes and the minimum wage. Like Biden, he champions the PRO Act, which would make it easier to organize a union. On the stump, he attacks price gouging, an issue Kamala Harris has highlighted.

Nor is he entirely at odds with the Democratic Party on social issues. He’s personally opposed to abortion, but he believes it should be legal. He’s protective of Second Amendment rights but backs the sort of regulation often supported by urban police forces.

His differences with the party often seem less about policy than about vibes. Osborn said he felt “talked down to by the Democrats,” a sentiment he believes many others share. While Republicans promise to protect people’s paychecks, “the Democrats come in and say that you need to respect people’s pronouns,” he said. “People who are working 80 hours a week in meatpacking plants or on farms or anything else — they’re not too concerned about that.”

This seems like a caricature — I can’t think of a single influential Democrat who talks about pronouns more than wages — and I can see why it would infuriate Kleeb. But ultimately, a candidate who rejects Democratic branding seems infinitely preferable to one who rejects democratic principles.

“Imagine the ramifications on American politics if Nebraska elects an independent mechanic to the halls of power,” Osborn said at the cidery. “It’s going to tell people all around the country that you don’t have to be a self-funding crypto billionaire to run for office. So nurses, teachers, plumbers, carpenters, mechanics, they can all now know that they can do the same thing.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/populist-party-platform-1892) 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/populist-party-platform-1892). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/populist-party-platform-1892).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID ROBERT ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***Hunting For A Favorite Before It Street Food Disappears***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2V-K351-DXY4-X3PT-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 871 words

**Byline:** By Alex Lau

**Body**

Photographs, text and video by Alex Lau

My mom grew up with the rare flavors of Hong Kong.

She has always wanted to taste them again.

Text, photographs and video by Alex Lau

Illustrations by Matt Huynh

Wok hei, ''the breath of the wok,'' is one of the most rare and elusive flavors on Earth.

There's only one place where you can get the real, original thing: Hong Kong's open-air dai pai dongs (literally: ''big license stalls'' in Cantonese).

Traditional ones cook with kerosene, which produces an incredibly hot flame and a distinct, smoke-heavy charred flavor.

Decades ago, the city had hundreds of them, but because of new government regulations, there are only around 20 left -- and very few still use kerosene.

My mother, Pamela, grew up eating at dai pai dongs. She misses that wok hei flavor more than anything.

She was born in Guangzhou, China, and moved to Hong Kong as a teenager in the late 1960s.

She lived in a small apartment in the ***working-class*** neighborhood Kowloon, where she worked in sweatshops and factories. The hours were long and difficult.

She would often get off work late and go straight to a dai pai dong for a cheap dinner. When I was a kid, she would wax poetic about the impeccable sear and char of the dishes.

In 1974, she moved with my father to New York.

As she told me: ''Wok hei is so difficult to find in America. If you want the perfect texture and taste of the char, it lives only in Hong Kong.''

So this year, my mother and I traveled back to Hong Kong in search of the exquisite flavor she hadn't been able to taste for 50 years.

Upon landing in Hong Kong, we could immediately feel the city's special energy.

We spent the next four days searching for all my mother's old haunts, many of which no longer existed.

But thankfully, some of the places she loved were still around. Like Ap Lei Chau Market, a wet market with seafood straight from the nearby ocean.

And Australian Dairy Company -- a cha chaan teng, essentially a Cantonese diner. It is notoriously the rudest, fastest restaurant in the city.

My mother used to eat here all the time. Breakfast was as heavenly as she remembered.

For lunch, we went to Mak's Noodle Soup. My mother used to love its wonton lo mein.

Wonton noodle soup is the spaghetti and meatballs of Cantonese culture.

The bounce of the pork and shrimp goes incredibly well with the thin dumpling skins.

But we had not traveled all the way across the world for noodles or milk tea. We were looking for wok hei.

I wasn't sure we'd find it at our first dai pai dong, a Michelin-recommended ''modern'' iteration called Glorious Cuisine.

It's one of the rare restaurants carrying on the old tradition, but because it's indoors, kerosene is forbidden.

My mom took charge of the menu and ordered for us. Soon we had a table brimming with treasures.

One of her favorite dishes was the crispy fish skin covered in salted egg yolk.

''Perfect! I don't even like eating fried food that much, but it's very Hong Kong style,'' my mom told me. ''The flavor of salted egg yolk reminds me so much of my childhood.''

As good as this meal was, it still didn't taste like true wok hei. For that, we had to go to one of the oldest dai pai dongs -- and perhaps the only kerosene one left in Hong Kong -- a place called Oi Man Sang.

Open since 1956, Oi Man Sang is nestled in a dense district known as Sham Shui Po. My mother frequently found herself here at this very spot after long factory shifts.

It was monsoon season when the two of us were there. But even so, with the streets pounded by heavy rain, the restaurant was packed.

The seating of Oi Man Sang takes up almost the entire block. And the kitchen sits open in the middle of the street.

A dai pai dong during dinner service can feel less like a restaurant and more like a well-choreographed Chinese opera.

At the center of it all, surrounded by roaring flames, we saw the head chef --

a rugged guy dressed more like a professional soccer player than a cook in a Chinese diner.

Over the hot fire, he tossed dish after dish during the hourslong dinner service, with no respite from the flame of the tire-size wok.

When our food arrived, my mother stared at it with wonder. She's usually quite a talker, but we ate in silence, with the rain pouring down around us, relishing the flavors and the moment.

We could tell the high quality of the cooking from the way the ingredients in the fried rice didn't stick to one another.

Each bouncy bite of salted pork was tinged with just the right amount of char.

We devoured everything in minutes. The textures, the seasoning, the spice -- it was a culinary trifecta in which you could taste hundreds of years of refinement. It was like nothing I've had in America.

I asked my mom: Did this live up to your memories?

''I'm just happy to be here and share this experience with my son,'' she told me. ''So it's even better than my memories.''

Finally, we had found true wok hei. But as we walked through the streets on the way back to our hotel, I couldn't help wondering: How much longer would it be here?

Alex Lau is a food and travel photographer from San Francisco. Matt Huynh is a Vietnamese Australian artist working in New York City.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/magazine/wok-hei-text-for-interactive.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/magazine/wok-hei-text-for-interactive.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTOS (MM12

MM13)

Upon landing in Hong Kong, we could immediately feel the city's special energy. We spent the next four days searching for all my mother's old haunts, many of which no longer existed. Sometimes we walked for miles, only to be met with a 7-Eleven or an empty lot.

My mother as a young woman in Kowloon. (MM14)

A Cantonese Breakfast: Thankfully, some places she loved still existed. We started the day at the notoriously rude and fast Australian Dairy Company -- a cha chaan teng, essentially a Cantonese diner. The EGG CUSTARD, TOAST AND EGGS, MACARONI AND HAM SOUP and MILK TEA were all heavenly.

Comfort Food: For lunch, we went to Mak's Noodle Soup. My mother used to love its WONTON LO MEIN, which is the spaghetti and meatballs of Cantonese culture. The bounce of the pork and shrimp goes incredibly well with the thin dumpling skins. (MM16)

Sea to Table: We also visited the decades-old Ap Lei Chau Market, where patrons pick out live crustaceans and take them to the upstairs restaurant to be cooked into a sumptuous meal. But we had not traveled all the way across the world for noodles or lobster (MM19)

Searching for Wok Hei: I wasn't sure we'd find it at Glorious Cuisine, a modern iteration of a dai pai dong. This Michelin-recommended restaurant is one of the rare restaurants carrying on the tradition, but because it's indoors, kerosene is forbidden. My mom took charge of the menu and ordered for us. One of her favorite dishes was CRISPY FISH SKIN covered in salted egg yolk. ''Perfect! It's very Hong Kong style,'' she told me. ''The flavor of salted egg yolk reminds me so much of my childhood.'' But good as it was, it was still missing something. (MM20)

PHOTOS (MM21

MM22

MM23)

Oi Man Sang is the only dai pai dong in Hong Kong that professes to still cook with kerosene. Open since 1956, the open-air stall is nestled in a dense district known as Sham Shui Po. My mother frequently found herself here at this very spot after long factory shifts. (MM24)

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALEX LAU) (MM25) This article appeared in print on page MM12, MM13, MM14, MM15, MM16, MM17, MM18, MM19, MM20, MM21, MM22, MM23, MM24, MM25.

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[***Inspired by Ghosts and Absences***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2V-K351-DXY4-X3NR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 29, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1273 words

**Byline:** By Salamishah Tillet

**Body**

The Tower Records on Broad Street, the Borders bookstore on Chestnut, and the Kitchen Kapers boutique at the corner of Walnut and 17th Streets in Philadelphia: The playwright James Ijames shopped at all of them in the early 2000s while pursuing his M.F.A. at Temple University.

I frequented them as well, in the late 1990s, as a student at the University of Pennsylvania. During a walk around downtown Philadelphia on a sweltering August afternoon, we noticed that those businesses were long gone. Passing by the buildings that once housed them, we reflected on how those old haunts endure, in some way, because they stay in our memories, paralleling many of the ideas of that lingering generational history Ijames gets at in his work.

Our small talk -- about our fondness for the city, receiving Pulitzer Prizes the same year (in 2022) and being college professors -- gave way to weightier issues: gentrification, ghosts and intergenerational trauma. Those subjects are all explored in ''Good Bones,'' his much-anticipated follow-up to his Tony-nominated ''Fat Ham,'' a Pulitzer winner about a Hamlet-inspired character's struggles to overcome his family's cycles of trauma and violence.

Ijames (pronounced ''imes'') still lives in Philadelphia, with his husband, and teaches at Villanova University. (He is also a former co-artistic director of that city's Wilma Theater, which produced a film version of ''Fat Ham'' in 2021, before the Public Theater in Manhattan staged the play's in-person premiere in 2022.) As we stood on the corner of 15th and Locust Streets, he pointed out that his favorite video store is now a plastic surgery center.

''I loved TLA Video because they carried queer independent films, like 'The Watermelon Woman.' It was the only place I could find that stuff,'' Ijames said. ''I'm sad that there isn't a place for a little queer boy to go.''

Those video finds also nurtured something else.

''TLA had these filmed theater productions you could buy or rent. I have a DVD of Blythe Danner and Frank Langella in 'The Seagull' at Williamstown Theater Festival [in 1974] at my house right now that I bought right here,'' Ijames recalled. ''I learned how to write dramatic literature that way.''

It was during another walking tour, in Washington, in 2017, that Ijames conceived ''Good Bones,'' which is now in previews at the Public. It was commissioned by the Studio Theater in Washington, where it had a world premiere run last spring. (The New York Times critic Jesse Green, who saw that earlier version, remarked on its geographic specificity: ''Anyone who spends even a little time observing Washington's glassy new high-rises squeezed up against its squat Federal piles, many built by enslaved people, will recognize Ijames's spiritual geography: a place where history is both erased and inescapable.'')

Taking place in what Ijames describes as ''big city USA,'' the story revolves around Aisha; her husband, Travis; and their renovation of a historic townhouse that they purchased in the blighted neighborhood where Aisha was raised. Earl is the contractor helping them; he and his sister, Carmen, a student at the University of Pennsylvania, grew up in the same public housing development as Aisha.

Unlike Travis (played by Mamoudou Athie), a transplant who hails from a wealthy Black family, and Aisha (Susan Kelechi Watson), an advocate for the new sports arena coming to the area, Earl (Khris Davis) and Carmen (TÃ©a Guarino) identify with the local Black ***working-class*** community that nurtured them, believe that it has many aspects worth preserving and are against gentrification. The central conflict stems from their different aspirations, socio-economic status, and notions about how best to save their city from ruin or rapid change.

Instead of a more traditional story of white people displacing their Black neighbors, ''Good Bones'' focuses on the class tensions among African Americans. Doing so complicates our understanding of gentrification, who is complicit in its proliferation and what are the potential solutions.

Watson, a Brooklyn native who played Beth Pearson on the TV show ''This Is Us,'' learned of the play when the director Saheem Ali gave her the script after they worked together, in 2021, on the Shakespeare in the Park production of ''Merry Wives.''

The actress recalled being immediately attracted to the cadence of Ijames's writing. ''He just hears the real rhythm of the way people speak, so it doesn't feel effortful to say his words,'' she said in a recent interview. ''If you just speak the words, the scene just builds itself. And when you give actors that kind of playfulness, that freedom of expression, because you've created such a strong structure, I think those are the strongest playwrights, and James is definitely one of those people.''

''Good Bones'' provides another opportunity for the audience as well.

''We don't often see her side,'' she said of her character, who welcomes the stadium, ''in an argument between two people from the same culture and background.''

Ali, who directed Ijames's ''Fat Ham'' at the Public and on Broadway, was similarly drawn to Ijames's unique depiction of this hot-button issue within the context of a Black family. ''There's a realness to James's language,'' Ali said. ''It's never posturing or trying to capture the way that Black America speaks that we've seen onstage before. There's something so contemporary, truthful, funny, and piercing about it. And each of his plays has those elements, and they morph depending on what world it is in.''

As much as he relishes collaborating with Ijames (they've worked together on three plays), Ali was especially attracted to how ''Good Bones'' frames gentrification as a fundamentally American crisis.

''The first time I learned about eminent domain was when I moved to New York to attend graduate school at Columbia, and it was trying to buy up lots of places in Harlem so it could expand,'' said Ali, who was born in Nairobi, Kenya. ''I was just in awe that the government could take people's property. And then, it is America. This country was built on displacing people.''

Of course, the challenge is conveying these complicated debates in a relatable and accessible way to an audience.

That's where the ghosts come in.

At a recent rehearsal, white plastic bags were strewn everywhere, hanging as partitions and draperies. Onstage, doors suddenly opened, balls abruptly rolled, and a woman's hearty laugh blaring through the speakers jolted me.

''Someone told me once, 'You always have dead people and ghosts in your plays,'' Ijames said. ''I'm like, 'Because those are the two things we always confront in life.'''

Unlike ''Fat Ham,'' in which his protagonist is tormented by his murdered dad, the ''Good Bones'' ghosts take on a more speculative and ethereal quality.

''What James has done so beautifully is have the ghost laughing,'' Ali said. ''Aisha then has to decide: 'Is it laughing at me? Am I the subject of this joke? Am I the butt of it? Or is there something I'm missing that will remind me how to be in the present moment?''

''It ties her to a past,'' he added. ''What is the mythical past that reminds us about how to behave in the present to create a better future?''

When Ijames and I were in Philadelphia, passing empty storefronts, Ijames reflected, ''The ghost in 'Fat Ham' is a little bit more 'Scooby-Doo.' It's like a jump-out-of-something sort of ghost. In 'Good Bones,' it's more spooky. It is the ghost of absence and of not having these places of community. It's almost like the absence of those things almost haunts the cities.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/23/theater/ijames-good-bones-public-theater.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/23/theater/ijames-good-bones-public-theater.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: James Ijames at home in Philadelphia. Ijames won a Pulitzer Prize for his play ''Fat Ham''

his follow-up, ''Good Bones,'' is now in previews. He frames gentrification as an American crisis. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HANNAH BEIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR4.

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2024

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[***A Breakout Spanish Novel About Class and Trans Identity Comes to the U.S.; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BW6-DPY1-DXY4-X086-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 657 words

**Byline:** Aaron Shulman

**Highlight:** Alana S. Portero’s debut, “Bad Habit,” follows one woman’s coming-of-age in a blue-collar Madrid neighborhood.

**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

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR14.

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[***What Alice Munro Knew***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKS-5T91-JBG3-62HD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 8064 words

**Byline:** Giles Harvey

**Highlight:** The Nobel-winning author’s husband was a pedophile who targeted her daughter and other children. Why did she stay silent?

**Body**

“My life has gone rosy, again,” Alice Munro told a friend in a buoyant letter of March 1975. For Munro, who was then emerging as one of her generation’s leading writers, the previous few years were blighted by heartbreak and upheaval: a painful separation from her husband of two decades; a retreat from British Columbia back to her native Ontario; a series of brief but bruising love affairs, in which, it seems, Munro could never quite make out the writing on the wall. “This time it’s real,” she wrote, speaking of a new romantic partner, the emphasis acknowledging that her friend had heard these words before. “He’s 50, free, a good man if I ever saw one, tough and gentle like in the old tire ads, and this is the big thing — grown-up.”

The man was Gerald Fremlin, a retired civil servant and geographer, who hailed from the same corner of Ontario as Munro. They would be together for nearly 40 years, until Fremlin’s death in 2013. His knowledge of Huron County, where most of Munro’s fiction is set, became a vital resource for her work. Munro amassed a thicket of honors, including the Nobel Prize in Literature, in 2013, by turning this parochial backwater, with its “falling-down barns” and “burdensome old churches,” into a stage for the whole human comedy, like Joyce’s Dublin or Faulkner’s Mississippi. Never one to take herself too seriously, she housed her many awards in a revolving spice rack at her second home, a condo on Vancouver Island.

“Luck exists, so does love, and I was right to go after it,” Munro concluded in her letter about Fremlin. The judgment would prove premature. This July, two months after Munro’s death at the age of 92, Andrea Skinner, the youngest of her three daughters, revealed in an [*essay in The Toronto Star*](https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/my-stepfather-sexually-abused-me-when-i-was-a-child-my-mother-alice-munro-chose/article_8415ba7c-3ae0-11ef-83f5-2369a808ea37.html) that Fremlin had sexually abused her. In the summer of 1976, Andrea wrote, she went to visit Munro and Fremlin at their home in Ontario. (According to her parents’ custody agreement, she spent the rest of the year in Victoria, British Columbia, with her father, Jim Munro, and his new wife.) One night, while Munro was away, Andrea awoke to discover that Fremlin had climbed into bed next to her. He was rubbing her genitals and pressing her hand over his penis. She was 9 years old.

Fremlin warned Andrea not to tell her mother: The news would kill her, he said. Andrea obeyed, but when she returned to Victoria that fall, she confided in her stepbrother, Andrew. Andrew told his mother, who then told Jim Munro. Rather than alert his ex-wife, Jim instructed the family to stay quiet. He worried that the disclosure would wreck Munro’s new relationship and that he would then be blamed. The next summer, Andrea returned to Ontario accompanied by her older sister Sheila, whom Jim charged with keeping Andrea safe.

For years, Andrea did her best to make sure that she was never alone with Fremlin, she told me recently, but she had to balance her fear against a competing imperative: to shield her mother from the truth. Munro knew that Andrea loved to swim, so on the occasions when Fremlin offered to drive her to a nearby river, it felt impossible to refuse without arousing suspicion. During one such outing, he propositioned her for sex. Andrea turned bright red as she managed to walk away. On the drive home, Fremlin complained to her about how unsatisfying he found his sex life with Munro. The harassment ended only when Andrea reached puberty.

For Andrea, the silence was internally corrosive. She developed a suite of ailments (bulimia, insomnia, debilitating migraines), which later forced her to drop out of college. It wasn’t until 1992, when she was 25, that she finally confided in Munro about what had happened. One day when Andrea was visiting, Munro told her about a short story from a recently published book, “Marine Life,” by Linda Svendsen, in which a girl commits suicide after being abused by her father. “Why didn’t she tell her mother?” asked Munro, who wrote in a blurb for the book that the story left her “shaking.” A month later, Andrea sent her a letter. “When you told me about that story,” she wrote, “I wanted to cry and hold you and thank you and TELL YOU. I have been afraid all my life that you would blame me for what happened.”

Munro’s response made it clear that she was right to be afraid. It was “as if she had learned of an infidelity,” Andrea recalled in her essay for The Star. Munro left Fremlin and fled to their condo on Vancouver Island. When Andrea visited her there, she was amazed by Munro’s self-pity. “She believed my father had made us keep the secret in order to humiliate her,” Andrea wrote. “She then told me about other children Fremlin had ‘friendships’ with, emphasizing her own sense that she, personally, had been betrayed.” Fremlin, meanwhile, sent a series of unhinged letters to the family, in which he acknowledged the abuse but claimed that it was Andrea who seduced him.

The family did what families often do after an episode of abuse: They carried on as if nothing happened. Munro took Fremlin back after just a few weeks, and for years Andrea continued to visit them. It was the arrival of her own children, twins born in 2002, that brought clarity to her emotional haze. Andrea told her mother she didn’t want Fremlin anywhere near them. Munro objected that visiting without Fremlin would be inconvenient, because she couldn’t drive. “I blew my top,” Andrea told a reporter for The Star. “I started to scream into the phone about having to squeeze and squeeze and squeeze that penis, and at some point I asked her how she could have sex with someone who’d done that to her daughter.” The next day, Munro called her back — not to apologize but to forgive Andrea for how she had spoken to her. It was the end of their relationship.

In 2004, this magazine ran a [*profile of Munro*](https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/my-stepfather-sexually-abused-me-when-i-was-a-child-my-mother-alice-munro-chose/article_8415ba7c-3ae0-11ef-83f5-2369a808ea37.html), who was about to publish her 11th book, the widely celebrated “Runaway.” Throughout the article, Munro speaks lovingly of Fremlin, whom she says she was “enormously lucky” to have met. She is also described as being “close today to her three daughters.” Floored by her mother’s dishonesty, Andrea felt as if she was being erased. She gathered the letters that Fremlin sent in 1992 and took them to the police. When an officer arrived at their house to arrest him, he reported that Munro was apoplectic, denouncing her daughter as a liar. In March 2005, Fremlin, then 80, quietly pleaded guilty to indecent assault and was sentenced to two years’ probation.

For years, Andrea tried to make her story public, with no success. In 2005, she approached the Canadian academic Robert Thacker, who was putting the final touches on a biography of Munro, and asked him to include the abuse in his book. After stewing on it for a day or two, he declined. “I’m an archival scholar,” he told me, explaining his decision. “That’s not the kind of book I was writing.” What he was writing, he said, was a “biography of Alice Munro’s texts.” The distinction is hard to sustain: Munro’s stories — particularly those from the years after she learned of the abuse — are full of violated children, negligent mothers and marriages founded on secrets and lies. That Munro apparently derived these themes from a real-life episode has made her work feel suddenly transparent, as though it has been injected with a contrast dye, revealing zones of private meaning.

Munro seems to have spent much of her career absorbed by the same questions that readers have asked since Andrea published her essay. Why did she not protect her daughter? What led her to take Fremlin back? How could a writer who was capable of such power on the page prove so feeble in real life? In the months since the revelations, I revisited Munro’s stories, spoke with members of her family and tracked down a number of her unpublished letters. Munro’s appalling failures as a mother seem to have been an imaginative incitement, instrumental to her artistic project — something that Andrea may have grasped before anyone else. When Thacker wrote back to Andrea in 2005, he offered to remove from his book any passages that mentioned her and Fremlin together. “No, you do not understand,” Andrea said to me last month, describing her response. “This is intimately linked to the work my mother does.”

In Canada, Munro was known as “Saint Alice,” a paragon of virtue and compassion. Now she has come to symbolize something else: maternal dereliction. In the days after [*news of the abuse broke*](https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/my-stepfather-sexually-abused-me-when-i-was-a-child-my-mother-alice-munro-chose/article_8415ba7c-3ae0-11ef-83f5-2369a808ea37.html), social media filled up with photos of Munro’s books discarded in recycling bins. The University of Western Ontario, her alma mater, announced that it was “pausing” its Alice Munro Chair in Creativity so as to “carefully consider Munro’s legacy and her ties to Western.” Writers who once celebrated her work and openly acknowledged its influence on their own began to reconsider their allegiance. “These revelations not only crush Munro’s legacy as a person, but they make the stories that were, in retrospect, so clearly about those unfathomable betrayals basically unreadable as anything but half-realized confessions,” the author Rebecca Makkai, who is herself a survivor of childhood sexual abuse, reacted in The Times. “To me, that makes them unreadable at all.”

Before the recent news emerged, my own opinion of Munro’s fiction could hardly have been higher. She seemed to have a more direct access to reality than any of her contemporaries, whose work, by comparison, could feel contrived and paper thin. It had been several years since I last picked up her books, but my memory was of paragraphs as thick with life — with fleeting earthly data — as the background of a Bruegel. In one story, set in the 1930s, a poor family has a bathroom installed in the corner of their kitchen, the only place it will fit. The walls are made of beaverboard, so that “even the tearing of a piece of toilet paper, the shifting of a haunch, was audible to those working or talking or eating in the kitchen.” This leads to an unspoken agreement, whereby “no one ever seemed to hear, or be listening, and no reference was made. The person creating the noises in the bathroom was not connected with the person who walked out.” It’s a short aside, but it contains, in miniature, so many of Munro’s great themes: family, shame, strategic silences, the open secret of the body and its needs.

When I went back to the stories this summer, full of the same anger I saw coursing around the internet, I was afraid I would find them, as Makkai described, “like half-realized confessions” — misshapen, off-balance, chaotic with grief. Instead, I was struck by their utter composure. In the work Munro produced after learning what happened to her daughter, she seems to bear down on her horror and disgust with an implacable resolve. The struggle is made clear in an unpublished letter to her agent and close friend, Virginia Barber, dated May 1993, which was among her papers at the University of Calgary:

“I thought I’d write and tell you the fate of the latest story, because it’s usually hard to talk frankly on the phone. I’ve been working on it — the story — since March, and it’s about The Subject, though thoroughly disguised and all pretty effectively constructed. I could do all the parts but the central thing, and when I approached that — and I tried from various angles — I got sick (I mean really throwing up) and felt very bleak. This has happened three or four times, and I realized finally I might sort of break apart. So I burned it (not to be tempted to go on). That’s where matters stand now, and I’m just gingerly (no pun) trying to start something else and regain my equilibrium. Which I can do.”

But Munro, it appears, did go on with the story about “The Subject”: “Vandals,” which appeared in The New Yorker five months later, is a cleareyed meditation on willful blindness and the tragedies it can precipitate. Bea Doud, an aging divorcée, has fallen for a man named Ladner, an Army veteran with a milewide misanthropic streak. There is something in Bea, some hidden primal wound, that responds to Ladner’s harshness. Certain women, she muses, thinking of herself, “might be always on the lookout for an insanity that could contain them.”

Ladner lives in gothic isolation on a remote tract of land, which he has transformed into a nature preserve full of taxidermied animals. Most people are shooed away, but he makes an exception for two young children, Liza and Kenny, a neglected sister and brother, who live across the road and often come to play on his property. The pair have lost their mother, and when Bea, who is childless, starts to live there, she becomes a highly welcome stand-in. At moments, the four of them seem almost like a family.

The reality is otherwise. With tremendous subtlety, Munro reveals to us that Ladner has been sexually abusing Liza for years. Bea, whose perspective we inhabit for the first part of the story, seems not to notice what is happening. It is only when we shift to Liza’s point of view that the truth starts coming into focus, though even then Munro inhabits the child’s defenseless confusion. In a crucial scene, Ladner makes fun of Bea behind her back, imitating the clumsy way she plods into a lake. It is a performance intended for Liza’s eyes only, a way of signaling that it is her, not Bea, with whom he shares the greater intimacy. When Bea looks around and sees what he is doing, Liza is distraught. “It seemed to her that Bea would have to go away. How could she stay after such an insult — how could she put up with any of them?”

But Bea goes nowhere. Her obsessive dependency keeps her tethered to Ladner. It also thwarts Liza’s unvoiced hope that Bea will somehow rescue her, or at least find a way to keep Ladner in check. “She could spread safety if she wanted to,” the child desperately thinks. “Surely she could do it. If only she could turn herself into somebody firm and serious, a hard-and-fast, clean-sweeping sort of woman, whose love was deep and sensible.” It doesn’t happen. Years later, in an act of vengeance, Liza comes by Bea and Ladner’s house when the couple aren’t at home and trashes the place. She goes about it methodically, pouring out liquor on the floor and trampling Ladner’s taxidermied birds, as though composing her masterpiece. Liza’s poise is emblematic of the story as a whole, which unflappably narrates a more intangible destruction — that of her childhood self.

What makes “Vandals” so unbearably poignant — Liza’s need and Bea’s failure to protect her — is the same thing that now makes it so enraging. The empathy Munro showers on her fictional child was apparently withheld from her real one, an operation that she seems to have considered fundamental to her work as a writer. In an early story, Munro describes a fiction writer, ambivalently, as someone who has figured out “what to do about everything they run across in this world, what attitude to take, how to ignore or use things.” It’s clear from her letter to Barber that Munro was just such a person, going quickly to work on a personal tragedy and extracting what was usable. Whatever else “Vandals” may reveal or conceal, it is clearly a product of authority and control, qualities Munro spent her whole life chasing.

Munro grew up as a hostage to circumstance in Wingham, Ontario, where the Victorian age, she once remarked, ended only with World War II. Her mother was a puritanical control freak, full of voguish ideas about child-rearing. One of them involved administering enemas to regulate her daughter’s bowel movements. Munro resented all forms of coercion and often acted out. In the early 1940s, when her mother started showing the first signs of Parkinson’s disease (fatigue, tremors and a tripwire temper), their frequent quarrels grew explosive. Munro’s father, who raised foxes for their fur, would be summoned to adjudicate. Sheila Munro, in her poignant and illuminating memoir, “Lives of Mothers and Daughters” (2001), describes these parental courts-martial: “What my mother found most painful was her perception that ‘a story was being told on me that wasn’t true’ and that she was never allowed to tell her side of the story.” Munro was sometimes violently beaten — an early lesson in the power of narrative and the danger of losing control of it.

“Writer” was hardly a plausible career for someone raised in rural poverty in Depression-era Wingham, especially a girl. “People never asked, ‘Am I happy?’” Munro later said of the place where she grew up. “Self-fulfillment wasn’t a concept.” She began writing anyway, cannibalizing her indecorous origins. Her early work, published while she was raising a family in Vancouver, was assured but undistinguished. The deaths of her parents, her mother in 1959 and her father in 1976, cleared the way for a new candor and artistic leaps forward.

In “Royal Beatings,” from 1977, her first story to appear in The New Yorker, she evokes the thrashings she received as a child and the wounded reveries that followed. “She will never speak to them, she will never look at them with anything but loathing, she will never forgive them,” Rose, the protagonist, thinks of her parents. “She will punish them; she will finish them. Encased in these finalities, and in her bodily pain, she floats in curious comfort, beyond herself, beyond responsibility.” This fantasy of total retribution, Munro suggests with typical shrewdness, is how Rose consoles herself for what she has just been through. The story is more compassionate than Rose’s fantasy, but still it carries a retributive sting. Munro was finally telling her side.

Many of her characters struggle to tell theirs. In “Wild Swans,” published the following year, a teenage Rose is on a train alone to Toronto when a minister climbs aboard and sits down beside her. Feigning sleep, he puts a hand on her leg. Rose is paralyzed, feeling both arousal and disgust, as the man proceeds to sexually molest her. “She was careful of her breathing,” Munro writes. “She could not believe this. Victim and accomplice she was borne past Glassco’s Jams and Marmalades, past the big pulsating pipes of oil refineries.” The story is acute about Rose’s psychology. In the prudish atmosphere of her family home, she has learned to be ashamed of her desire, a subject that is taboo. It is this that has conditioned her to see herself, like Liza in “Vandals,” as partly to blame for what is happening, both “victim and accomplice.” Her susceptibility to abuse is also a susceptibility to other people’s narratives.

This wasn’t the first time Munro wrote about unwanted sexual contact. One of her first works of fiction, “Story for Sunday,” published in her college literary magazine, features a girl who is kissed on the lips by the superintendent of her Sunday school. She, too, is unexpectedly aroused. In the title story from Munro’s second book, “Lives of Girls and Women” (1971), the sexually curious teenage heroine is groomed by the boyfriend of her family’s boarder. Whether these episodes are based on real-life experience, like the physical abuse at the heart of “Royal Beatings,” has become a subject of intense speculation.

When an interviewer once asked Munro if her work was autobiographical, she replied: “I guess I have a standard answer to this … in incident — no … in emotion — completely. In incident up to a point too.” The Canadian novelist Margaret Atwood, who was one of Munro’s friends, told me she thought it “very, very likely” that Munro was sexually abused as a girl, if only because sexual abuse is so common. “Peeping Toms” and “gropers on trains,” Atwood wrote to me, were a “dime a dozen” in what she called “the Dark Ages.” In small towns like Wingham, there was a social imperative to keep such things private. “Everybody knew stuff about other people,” Atwood said. “What you most feared was being shamed and ridiculed.” Nowhere is this more apparent than in Munro’s stories themselves: Her abused young women invariably keep quiet.

Munro married her first husband, Jim, a classmate at the University of Western Ontario, in 1951, when she was 20. Jim was from a well-off family in Oakville, near Toronto, and he promised his bride an escape from the social world she grew up in. They shared a passion for art and literature, but his undisguised disdain for her ***working-class*** origins (he was always correcting her Huron County accent) was an ongoing source of tension. Munro chafed against the conventions of their suburban existence in Vancouver. “Life was very tightly managed as a series of permitted recreations, permitted opinions and permitted ways of being a woman,” she said in an interview decades after they were divorced. “The only outlet, I thought, was flirting with other people’s husbands at parties.” Munro and Jim were both energetically unfaithful. When Andrea was born in 1967, the marriage was already on the rocks. “Not enough jelly on the diaphragm” was how Munro explained the timing to her two elder daughters.

Writing was Munro’s vocation; mothering was not. “I’m terribly grateful that I had them,” she once said of her daughters. “Yet I have to realize, I probably wouldn’t have had them if I had the choice.” Sheila Munro’s memoir would appear to bear this out. The book is a portrait of unbending dedication to literature, a child’s-eye view of a stubbornly turned back. Munro, we learn, often wrote in the laundry room, surrounded by domestic impedimenta: washer, dryer, ironing board. She snatched time for her fiction between household chores or while Sheila and her sisters were napping or at school. “She had to write — not only to write, but to write a masterpiece — and how could she possibly write a masterpiece with me dragging her fingers off the typewriter keys or pulling the pencil out of her hand,” reads a starkly symbolic passage. “‘Come and see,’ I would command, ‘come and see,’ and she would fend me off with one hand while keeping her other hand on the keys.”

Munro had made a conscious decision to be the opposite kind of mother from her own (whom she saw, according to Sheila, as “moralistic, demanding, smothering and emotionally manipulative”), and almost nothing was off limits for discussion: haircuts and face lifts, friendships and love affairs. With her mother, Sheila felt, “I could get places — of insight, and awareness, and wonder — that I could reach with no one else.” But as she said to me recently, she has come to feel she misread the intimacy they shared. Though her mother was deeply interested in the stories Sheila told her as she entered adulthood, she seemed to relate to them more as narratives than as events in the life of her eldest child. “The point was to talk about everything and reveal everything, not to come up with a solution,” Sheila said to me, describing her mother’s attitude.

“You use up your childhood,” Munro told The Paris Review in 1994. “The deep, personal material of the latter half of your life is your children.” What it’s like to be used by your mother in this way is something we learn from Sheila’s memoir, in which she says she has trouble distinguishing personal memories from her mother’s fiction: “Sometimes I even feel as though I’m living inside an Alice Munro story.”

In the mid-1970s, around the time Munro was starting her relationship with Fremlin, she offered Sheila some candid advice about a boy she was dating, a brash undergraduate who had taken a creative-writing class with Munro. “The point is you have to withdraw attention — either as a tactic or to save yourself,” Munro wrote in a letter.

“As long as you’re there, suffering and bitching, but there, hung up on him, the situation is not going to change. Being in love that way just isn’t good, there must be a better, self-sufficient way to love. (I am preaching to myself as well as you.) Get so you don’t need him. Work at it. Then of course he may come back all humbled and interested … Women like us have got to get away from emotional dependency or life is just one dreary man-made seesaw.”

For Munro, at least, emotional dependency was not so easily shrugged off.

Munro and Fremlin first crossed paths in the late 1940s, when they knew each other, slightly, at the University of Western Ontario — enough, at least, for Munro to develop a crush. Fremlin, an Air Force veteran who flew bombing missions over Germany, was a few years older than the other students. With his outspoken atheism and moody good looks, Fremlin struck Munro as a Byronic figure, full of danger and allure. After graduating, he sent her a fan letter about a story she published in the campus literary magazine, though to Munro’s disappointment, the message carried zero trace of romantic intent. By then, she was already engaged to Jim. More than 20 years went by before she saw Fremlin again.

By that point, in the aftermath of her marriage, Munro had taken a short-term job as a writer in residence at her alma mater and was living near campus with Andrea, who was 7, and her middle daughter, Jenny, who was 16. (Sheila, then 21, was working at the bookstore that Munro and Jim had opened in Victoria.) After a national radio interview, in which Munro mentioned that she was back in Western Ontario, she received a call from Fremlin, who asked her if she wanted to meet up. During a three-martini lunch, Munro learned that Fremlin had recently moved back to Clinton, his hometown, a half-hour drive from Wingham. He had never married or lived with a woman. “We rapidly became very well acquainted,” she later recalled — probably a euphemism. “I think we were talking about living together by the end of the afternoon.” Before long, she moved into Fremlin’s childhood home, a white Victorian gingerbread cottage with a garden full of maple trees, where he was caring for his elderly mother.

Like Munro, Fremlin was from modest circumstances, a deep source of connection for the couple. He seems to have been something like the opposite of his precursor: brusque and eccentric where Jim was staid and genteel. “It was this stick-it-up your-ass, let’s-cut-through-the-bullshit kind of attitude,” Sheila said of Fremlin, whom she compared to Ladner from “Vandals.”

When Bea first meets Ladner, she is in a relationship with a well-meaning high school teacher named Peter Parr, whose idea it is to drive out and take a look at Ladner’s nature preserve. They are told to go away in no uncertain terms. Peter, with “his geniality” and “good intentions,” is instantly eclipsed. Trying to explain the phenomenon in a letter to a friend, Bea writes that “she would hate to think she had gone after Ladner because he was rude and testy and slightly savage … because wasn’t that the way in all the dreary romances — some brute gets the woman tingling and then it’s goodbye to Mr. Fine and Decent?” A few days later, she is driving back to see Ladner on her own. “She had to feel sorry for herself, in her silk underwear. Her teeth chattered. She pitied herself for being a victim of such wants.”

Munro referred to Fremlin as her second husband, but in fact they were never legally married. Instead the couple staged what Sheila called a “mock wedding” in their backyard, at which Munro wore denim overalls and a white veil. (It’s unclear if anyone attended.) The sardonic gesture seems typical of their relationship, which might better be described as a cult of two. Munro suffered from a deep shame at having grown up in poverty. The plaudits she received from the outside world did little to alleviate it, Andrea believes, because they were all conditioned on her talent as a writer. Only Fremlin, Munro felt, accepted her untransfigured self, the ***working-class*** girl with a country accent.

The reverse side of acceptance was dependency. Sheila detected a power imbalance in her mother’s relationship with Fremlin. Though the couple shared a passion for literature and a caustic sense of humor, they were also prone to vicious arguments. “She would be wearing sunglasses, just quietly weeping at things he had said to her,” Sheila recalled. She got the sense that Fremlin often criticized Munro’s appearance. “Sometimes I wondered if he harbored an aversion to the mature woman’s body, that he couldn’t always conceal,” Sheila told me. Once, in the late ’70s, she arrived for a visit only to be told by her mother that the two of them — Alice and Sheila — were going to stay at a hotel. That night, in their shared room, Sheila could hear her mother crying in bed.

Jenny, who wrote [*her own essay for The Star*](https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/my-stepfather-sexually-abused-me-when-i-was-a-child-my-mother-alice-munro-chose/article_8415ba7c-3ae0-11ef-83f5-2369a808ea37.html), remembers that there was “lots of banter and jokes, often sexual or scatological jokes,” between Fremlin and his youngest stepdaughter. “Mom would feign shock,” she wrote. “I could feel the tension and darkness there, how Mom seemed helpless to ever draw the line.” In a letter to Jenny in 1992, Fremlin gave his own account of the triangle. “We had a sort of a pedagogical theory to the effect that Andrea was a person, not a child i.e. not a child as we were children in a very repressive adult world. The general idea was that no subjects, questions or language were barred.”

Fremlin’s rhetoric echoes that of a countercultural movement in the 1970s that called for the sexual liberation of children and is now regarded as a bad-faith effort to mainstream pedophilia. “In front of my mother,” Andrea wrote in The Star, “he told me that many cultures in the past weren’t as ‘prudish’ as ours, and it used to be considered normal for children to learn about sex by engaging in sex with adults.” Fremlin acknowledged that his sexual preferences were “not in accordance with the canons of public respectability,” as he put it in one of the letters he sent to Munro’s family in 1992. “It is my contention that Andrea invaded my bedroom for sexual adventure,” he wrote. “If she were in fact afraid, she could have left at any time. She was sexually receptive and mildly aggressive. While the scene is degenerate, this is indeed Lolita and Humbert. For Andrea to say she was ‘scared’ is simply a lie or a latter-day invention.”

Andrea was not the only child Fremlin targeted. This August, an Ontario woman named Jane Morrey, whose parents were friends with Fremlin, told The Toronto Star that he exposed himself to her in 1969, when she was 9. The incident followed years of grooming, she said. Andrea believes there may have been others. Fremlin owned a cabin in the Ottawa Valley, and he and Munro would sometimes take Andrea to stay there in the summers. One year she got to know a group of siblings who lived nearby, the youngest of whom, a girl, was around her age. Andrea suspects that these were the children with whom Fremlin had “friendships,” as Munro put it in 1992.

How much did Munro know? Andrea remembers another couple who were friends of Fremlin’s contacting Munro around 1978 to inform her that he had exposed himself to their 14-year-old daughter. Fremlin denied it, but it’s unclear how reassured Munro really was. In 2008, a few years after Thacker’s biography appeared, Munro confessed to him that she had sometimes entertained dark thoughts about her partner. According to Andrea, Munro came to suspect that Fremlin was responsible for the rape and murder of Lynne Harper, a 12-year-old girl whose body was discovered in a woodlot near Clinton in 1959. Though Munro later learned that Fremlin had been elsewhere, the fact remains: She thought he had it in him.

Whatever thoughts she entertained, Munro never acted on them. Instead, they were sublimated in her fiction. Like Bea in “Vandals,” she was unable to become someone “firm and serious, a hard-and-fast, clean-sweeping sort of woman.” When Andrea first read the story, around the time that it came out, and later saw the title of the book it was collected in — “Open Secrets” (1994) — she felt briefly hopeful that her mother had begun to reckon with what happened. “I thought it was perhaps a route to more truth-telling, a step,” she told me. When this proved not to be the case, she came to feel her mother’s fiction was something like the reverse, a way of sustaining a life built on lies.

In a Substack essay this summer, the novelist and critic Mary Gaitskill, who has written of her own experience of sexual abuse, posited that Munro composed “Vandals” as a “kind of alternate-reality healing, and not just for herself. Sometimes the inability to deal with a real situation turbocharges the need to deal with it in some other way, which can drive the making of art that is gloriously transpersonal.”

Like so many of Munro’s stories, “Vandals” seems to give us back our lives more abundantly by naming the world and resensitizing our perceptions of it. Fiction is autonomous and irreducible; you can’t judge it by how faithfully it sticks to “what really happened.” In fact, by granting us access to other minds, the best fiction tends to show that “what really happened” is always an unstable compound of perspectives. This summer, when I began talking to Sheila Munro, she cautioned me that trying to understand her mother’s experience through her work was a dubious project. “Honestly,” she wrote to me, “I feel the only person who could answer those questions is my mother herself, and perhaps she couldn’t have, either. For me the importance of the stories is in what they say about human experience in general, specifically women’s experience, rather than for what they say about my mother herself.”

“The complexity of things — the things within things — just seems to be endless,” Munro once said. It is a fine artistic credo. In the context of the recent revelations, it also has the feeling of an alibi. By “disguising” herself as Bea, who is not Liza’s real mother and therefore bears a lesser duty to protect her, Munro seems to perform what Gaitskill calls “a genteel elision of reality.” That’s not to say the story would necessarily have been better, or even more “truthful,” had Munro stuck more closely to the facts, but it does sharpen our awareness of how often in her work she seems to massage or euphemize an intolerable reality.

“Labor Day Dinner,” from 1981, is a vivid case in point. Roberta, another of Munro’s embattled divorcées, has recently moved in with George, a retired high school teacher who is busily renovating an old farmhouse. Roberta’s two daughters — Angela, 17, and Eva, 12 — are visiting for the summer; they spend the rest of the year with their father up north. This domestic setup is tense and provisional. George makes barbed remarks about Roberta’s appearance, which leave her weeping behind sunglasses. She senses that he sees her daughters as spoiled freeloaders, refusing to help out around the house and garden. The girls, meanwhile, are wary of George, who is trigger-happy with belittling jokes. They are also grieved by his effect on their mother. “I have seen her change,” Angela confides to her diary (which Roberta has read), “from a person I deeply respected into a person on the verge of being a nervous wreck. If this is love I want no part of it. He wants to enslave her and us all and she walks a tightrope trying to keep him from getting mad.”

The story, you sense, walks its own tightrope between blindness and insight. It was written at a time when Munro must have known she was married to a pedophile but apparently still clung to the belief that he hadn’t harmed her own daughters. It is remarkable to witness her at once planting and defusing this incendiary possibility. “She has been afraid, sometimes, that George would hurt her children, not physically but by some turnabout, some revelation of dislike, that they could never forget,” Roberta thinks. Angela, the teenager, who is “tall and fair-haired, and embarrassed by her recently acquired beauty,” spars with George flirtatiously, but Roberta feels she is not the one in most danger. It is 12-year-old Eva, “with her claims of understanding, her hopes of all-round conciliation, who could be smashed and stranded.”

Understanding and conciliation are what the story ultimately deliver. When the narrative moves into George’s consciousness, he is forgivingly humanized. We see that his frustration with Angela and Eva is really a frustration with their mother. He dislikes what he sees as her parental absenteeism, the way that she permits them to laze around the house all day. His critique of Roberta’s mothering is rooted in a kind of fatherly concern. For all their quarreling, they are essentially aligned. “He wants to go and find Roberta and envelop her, assure her — assure himself — that no real damage has been done.” The story ends with the couple reconciled, at least for the time being, and Roberta’s daughters unharmed.

Like “Vandals,” “Labor Day Dinner” is an autonomous work of art. Yet it also feels like a desperate piece of wish fulfillment. How badly Munro must have wanted to believe that her partner was basically normal and decent. “No, it wasn’t a mistake,” Roberta tells herself, musing on her divorce, in a passage that echoes Munro’s words about Fremlin in 1975: “Luck exists, so does love, and I was right to go after it.” In her fictional world, where she exercised total authority, it was possible to construct a version of events that supported this conviction.

But Munro, it seems, was wise to her escapist tendencies. The uses and abuses of narrative come in for special scrutiny in her work. In “Material,” from 1974, the middle-aged narrator discovers a short story by her ex-husband, Hugo, a well-known writer. It describes an episode from the early years of their marriage when Hugo vindictively flooded the apartment of their downstairs neighbor, a low-rent prostitute named Dotty. The narrator has every reason to dislike the story, and yet she can’t help acknowledging its brilliance. “There is Dotty, lifted out of life and held in light, suspended in the marvelous clear jelly that Hugo has spent all his life learning how to make. It is an act of magic, there is no getting around it; it is an act, you might say, of a special, unsparing, unsentimental love.” She thinks about sending him an admiring letter, but when she sits down to write it, she suddenly sees the story differently, as somehow beside the point.

“Material,” in other words, concerns an exquisite work of art that nonetheless feels hopelessly inadequate to the lived reality behind it. The story doesn’t just expose how someone who makes beautiful things may also be capable of unfathomable cruelty — a platitude at this point. More subtly, it shows how an artistic sensibility, a disposition to see other people as grist for transformation, can give rise to a frigid disengagement. The narrator, who isn’t herself an artist, displays something of the artist’s coldness when she uses Dotty, who has lost her husband and is just barely scraping by, as anecdote fodder, a way of getting laughs from her sophisticated friends. (When she gets to know Dotty better, the narrator tellingly finds that she becomes “less likely to store up and repeat what she said.”) The difference between this sort of storytelling and the more elaborate, socially valorized sort that her ex-husband goes in for, Munro delicately implies, is not as profound as it seems. However finely wrought, Hugo’s story has done nothing to atone for his hurtful deed. “This isn’t enough, Hugo,” the narrator finds herself writing in a fit of anger. “You think it is, but it isn’t.”

Perhaps the truly shocking thing about Munro’s decision to remain with Fremlin is that it wasn’t shocking at all. In her pioneering study, “Father-Daughter Incest” (1981), the American psychiatrist Judith Lewis Herman spoke to 40 women who were sexually abused by their fathers or stepfathers. “Those daughters who did confide in their mothers were uniformly disappointed in their mother’s responses,” Herman writes.

“Most of the mothers, even when made aware of the situation, were unwilling or unable to defend their daughters. They were too frightened or too dependent upon their husbands to risk a confrontation. Either they refused to believe their daughters, or they believed them but took no action. They made it clear to their daughters that their fathers came first and that, if necessary, the daughters would have to be sacrificed.”

Only three of the mothers decided to leave their abusive husbands, though in each case the women soon returned. They found life without them “too hard to bear.”

Margaret Atwood sees Munro’s decision to return to Fremlin as a matter of dependency. She had a “general inability to function on a practical level” without him, Atwood said. Sheila Munro disagrees. “It wasn’t because she couldn’t look after herself,” she told me. “It was because she was so deeply entwined in this very volatile relationship.” Stressing that she had no desire to make excuses for her mother, Sheila said she believes that Fremlin groomed Munro along with Andrea, citing the way Munro came to see her as a sexual rival. “That’s straight out of the abuser’s playbook,” Herman said recently when I described Sheila’s theory to her. “Seeing how even someone as gifted as Munro was vulnerable to this kind of coercive control is instructive.”

In a letter to Virginia Barber from June 1992, Munro reports that, after she fled their home in Clinton, Fremlin joined her at their Vancouver Island condo. The two of them were in couples therapy, she said, “and progress (as they call it) is being made.” At the time of writing, Munro was laid up with laryngitis. “I’ve almost welcomed being sick because it dulls things … but the dips aren’t so bad or so deep now,” she wrote, expanding on her fragile state of mind.

“The very bad and surprising thing was how things you’d expect to be eternally comforting — I mean the beauty of the world and poetry and stuff — hurt worst — and what a great boon tabloids turned out to be. Coffee held its own but booze is another fair-weather friend […]

Gerry is doing really well when you consider what a reversal and loss this had to be. Andrea’s okay, but doesn’t want to be in touch with me now G. is here. We’ll see — it’s still so raw. You never come out with the mended teapot looking like new and I guess you’re lucky if it holds the tea. (See how Ms. M. clings to the comfy domestic images.) […]

I feel very weirdly free in a way. For so long I’ve felt oddly apologetic or strange with people, and now I feel I know what the trouble was. Do I? Odd.”

What kind of “loss” Munro is referring to is hard to discern (a loss of dignity or status?), but the letter makes her priorities plain: Fremlin came first, Andrea second. Munro said as much to Andrea. “She said that she had been ‘told too late,’” Andrea wrote in The Star. “She loved him too much and that our misogynistic culture was to blame if I expected her to deny her own needs, sacrifice for her children and make up for the failings of men.”

Six months later, Munro and Fremlin made another trip to their condo, where, she wrote to Barber, they had “lots of practical problems to take our mind off large griefs.” One day, she visited Victoria, a two-and-a-half-hour drive, “knowing I would not see Andrea — I cannot request this, though we are in touch by letter; it’s up to her — and hoping I wouldn’t do something awful and pathetic, like hanging around on her street. I didn’t.” By that point, she and Fremlin had abandoned therapy, which Sheila recalls they struggled to take seriously. “They made a joke out of it,” she told me. “Gerry could be so captivating and amusing that the therapist was brought into the joke as well.” They remained a cult of two. “She was not interested in therapy or self-improvement, in making amends,” Sheila said. “She just used her experience in her art.”

This was as true at the end of her career as it was at the start. The stories Munro wrote after Andrea cut off contact, in 2002, are rife with the pain of estrangement. In “Runaway,” published in The New Yorker in 2003, the young protagonist, Carla, has broken all ties to her haute bourgeois family after marrying an older man named Clark, whose rough charisma it had once seemed “both proper and exquisite” to submit to. Three years in, his charisma has evaporated, and he stands revealed as a sour domestic tyrant, who rules her with his moods. To sustain their fraying sexual bond, she becomes a kind of Scheherazade, inventing stories about an elderly neighbor who she claims molested her in the months before his death. The stories, which Clark takes to be true, do the trick of arousing them both, and their marriage is extended one evening at a time.

The problem comes when Clark insists that she blackmail the man’s widow with this fabricated dirt. Afraid to defy him but unwilling to go through with it, Carla ends up confiding in the widow how unhappy she is with Clark. The older woman talks her into leaving him. The same day, Carla boards a bus to Toronto, within touching distance of a new life, when she realizes that it would have no meaning without Clark “infecting her with misery.” She goes back to him, only to discover, a short while later, that he has killed her pet goat, a kind of surrogate child, in an apparent act of vengeance. Unable to accept this reality and what it means for their marriage, Carla wills herself into a state of denial, which is where the story leaves her.

You wonder what Fremlin made of “Runaway” and of the other stories about trapped women that Munro produced in her final years of creativity. Were her efforts to portray him as a kind of savior figure in the interviews she gave around this time a form of compensation for the less flattering picture she was painting in her fiction? Or was this double bookkeeping an expression of the same denial that the character Carla — a portrait of the artist as a desperate mythomaniac — embraces at the end of the story? Whatever the answer, Munro’s relationship with Fremlin enabled her to do her greatest work — indeed, some of the greatest work ever done in the short story form. That so much of that work now reads like an indictment of the relationship is a bitter paradox. Nabokov said he felt the “initial shiver” of “Lolita” after reading a newspaper story about an ape “who, after months of coaxing by a scientist, produced the first drawing ever charcoaled by an animal: this sketch showed the bars of the poor creature’s cage.” It appears that this was Munro’s subject, too.

Andrea has not read “Runaway,” but when I described the story to her and its depiction of a woman who fears that she would “not exist” without her stifling husband, she confessed to feeling a tremor of sympathy. “I think she was so scared that she actually wouldn’t exist without him,” she said of her mother’s relationship with Fremlin. At the same time, Andrea stressed that she does not forgive her mother and is indifferent to her legacy.

For years after Fremlin’s conviction, Andrea was estranged from her siblings. They were ultimately reunited with the help of the Gatehouse, a Toronto-based organization that supports survivors of childhood sexual abuse. In 2014, Jenny, Sheila and Andrew, their stepbrother, went there seeking guidance on how to reconcile with Andrea. “So ingrained was the silence around the story of her abuse that this was the first time the three of us had spoken about it,” Andrew wrote in [*his own essay for The Star*](https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/my-stepfather-sexually-abused-me-when-i-was-a-child-my-mother-alice-munro-chose/article_8415ba7c-3ae0-11ef-83f5-2369a808ea37.html), also published this summer. Each of the siblings wrote Andrea a letter, and their relationships were slowly rekindled.

Today Andrea is a regular volunteer at the Gatehouse, where she leads self-care groups. Her essay has been widely celebrated for raising awareness about childhood sexual abuse, which she now sees as [*her guiding mission*](https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/my-stepfather-sexually-abused-me-when-i-was-a-child-my-mother-alice-munro-chose/article_8415ba7c-3ae0-11ef-83f5-2369a808ea37.html). Many people have compared the episode to an Alice Munro story, but unlike the characters in her mother’s work, Andrea spoke up.

Giles Harvey is a contributing writer for the magazine who often profiles novelists and film directors. Vanessa Saba is a Brooklyn-based artist known for her evocative collages, which distill complex cultural narratives into minimal visual statements.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARION ETTLINGER/GETTY IMAGES; CARL MYDANS/GETTY IMAGES) (MM18, MM19); The Canadian author Alice Munro at her home in Clinton, Ontario, on June 23, 2013.; Andrea Skinner, the youngest of Alice Munro’s daughters, photographed in Port Hope, Ontario, in July of this year. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEVE RUSSELL/TORONTO STAR, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM21, MM22) This article appeared in print on page MM18, MM19, MM20, MM21, MM22, MM23, MM38, MM41.

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[***Review: In ‘To Leslie,’ an Unflinching Working-Class Elegy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66JF-GK41-JBG3-611N-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 392 words

**Byline:** Beandrea July

**Highlight:** The small-budget indie is a complex portrait of the ways that trauma and addiction haunt an alcoholic mother, and her family, in the South.

**Body**

The small-budget indie is a complex portrait of the ways that trauma and addiction haunt an alcoholic mother, and her family, in the South.

In gritty detail, “To Leslie” traces the fall of a one-time lottery winner who, years later, has lost everything she holds dear. The British actress Andrea Riseborough (“[*Nancy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/07/movies/nancy-review.html?searchResultPosition=6)”) gives a deft performance as Leslie, an alcoholic mother in West Texas barreling toward rock bottom in this deceptively simple yet heart-wrenching character study.

Allison Janney, Marc Maron, Owen Teague and Andre Royo fill out the solid ensemble cast in this small-budget indie, which accomplishes what its bigger-budget peer “[*Hillbilly Elegy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/movies/hillbilly-elegy-review.html?searchResultPosition=6)” wanted to, but couldn’t pull off: a complex portrait of the ways in which trauma and addiction haunt a ***working-class*** white family in the South.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/D_k63vvm3mU)]

The director, Michael Morris, knows from the start what movie he’s making: one that robs us of our easy assumptions about who Leslie is. She’s unbearably flawed, and the screenwriter Ryan Binaco explains why without forcing long beats of exposition upon the viewer. And he does so while still leaving room for surprise. Leslie doesn’t tank her sobriety when we think she will, yet her recovery is free of narrative subterfuge.

The cinematography by Larkin Seiple (“[*Everything Everywhere All At Once*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/24/movies/everything-everywhere-all-at-once-review.html?searchResultPosition=1)”) is a real feat of visual character development: The camera movement is both protective of Leslie and unflinching in its raw portrayal of her vulnerability. Some of the most affecting shots take place at the bar, like one close-up where Leslie spars with the guy who wants to bed her — “Tell me I’m good.” It’s shot with a depth of field that keeps Leslie’s face in focus, while the rest of the frame is blurred.

“To Leslie” probably could have left 15 more minutes on the cutting room floor. But its intermittent lags don’t diminish the overall satisfaction one feels in the film’s final act, when Leslie’s rocky road settles into something believably triumphant.

To Leslie

Rated R for explicit language and violence. Running time: 1 hour 59 minutes. Rent or buy on [*Apple TV,*](https://tv.apple.com/) [*Google Play*](https://play.google.com/store/movies?hl=en_US&amp;gl=US) and other streaming platforms and pay TV operators.

PHOTO: Andrea Riseborough as the title character, an alcoholic mother in West Texas, in “To Leslie.” Michael Morris’s direction leaves room for surprise. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MOMENTUM PICTURES)

**Load-Date:** October 6, 2022

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[***Inside an Emotional Washing Machine***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-C9N1-DXY4-X2P0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Brian Seibert

**Body**

Botis Seva, a rising British choreographer who mixes hip-hop and contemporary dance, brings his Olivier Award-winning ''BLKDOG'' to New York.

''Daddy, can you read me a story?''

The voice is a child's, but instead of a comforting father, we see squatting figures wearing padded hoods. In near darkness, they shake and convulse. All of a sudden, they topple like ducks in a shooting gallery and huddle over the fallen as at a crime scene. Sometimes, they scuttle across the floor like insects on the move.

These unsettling images appear in ''BLKDOG,'' a dance performance by the rising British choreographer Botis Seva. The winner of an Olivier Award, it is the breakout work of Far From the Norm, Seva's London hip-hop dance theater company. On Wednesday, it arrives in New York, as Far From the Norm makes its United States debut at the Joyce Theater.

On a recent video call from The Hague, where he was making a piece for Nederlands Dans Theater, Seva, 33, traced the origins of ''BLKDOG'' to the birth of his son in 2017.

''I started thinking about how I was raised and how I was going to raise a child in this world,'' he said. ''When I've gone through so much craziness, how can I do this?''

''The work is about the frustration of that,'' he continued, ''and of being a child trying to deal with your emotions. I'm still trying to find my healing through forgiving and letting go.''

Seva's childhood began in South London, where he was born to Congolese parents. He was raised, mostly by his mother, in Dagenham, an East London ***working-class*** town where many Africans have settled in recent decades. He fell into hip-hop dance in secondary school, rehearsing for talent shows ''because it got you out of trouble,'' he said. The music drew him in. The audience response kept him coming back.

A youth club near his home offered free space. ''I spent pretty much every day there,'' he said -- making up dances and filming himself. With friends he met at the club and in a youth company, he formed a crew and started entering street dance competitions. Then he attended Breakin' Convention, an annual hip-hop theater festival at Sadler's Wells, London's leading theater devoted to dance.

''I thought, 'Wow, this is what I want to make,''' Seva said. ''It wasn't just the moves. It was people telling stories and evoking emotion through theater.''

He began applying to choreography development workshops. In Back to the Lab, a workshop run by Breakin' Convention, he was mentored by the contemporary choreographer Jasmin Vardimon.

''I think that helped bridge the language and help me find different ways of telling stories,'' Seva said. ''I was influenced by contemporary stuff and all kinds of street dance. I was watching and copying and taking as much as I could.''

His crew coalesced into a company. One of the first to join was Victoria Shulungu, a street dancer with competition experience. Early on, she recalled, Seva showed her a photo and asked her how it made her feel. She told him that it disturbed her, that it made her itch. He asked her to express that feeling through movement.

''I had never done something like that,'' Shulungu said, ''but the moment I tried it, it opened up a new world of communication. That's when I realized that this world of movement is far bigger than I expected.''

Alistair Spalding, the artistic director of Sadler's Wells, which recently added Seva to its starry group of associate artists, said that he saw Seva in Breakin' Convention performances, but that he really started paying attention when Seva participated in Wild Card, a series that allows young artists to curate an evening in the theater's studio space.

''It was hip-hop, but he was taking it to a more theatrical place,'' Spalding said. ''It's more interior. It's not pandering to us, but you can't miss the power of what's going on.''

In 2018, Seva was one of three choreographers commissioned for a Sadler's Wells anniversary program on its main stage. His contribution -- a 30-minute first draft of ''BLKDOG'' -- won Best New Dance Production at the prestigious Olivier Awards, beating out a work by the illustrious choreographer William Forsythe. Among those most surprised was Seva, who had not heard of the awards before learning that he was nominated.

All this sounds like a happy tale of talent finding support and a path. But about the darker parts of his past, Seva was more circumspect, alluding only vaguely to childhood trauma, which informs ''BLKDOG.''

''Not growing up with my father was troubling,'' he said. ''That child voice that says 'Daddy, can you read me a story?,' that's me thinking, 'Man, I wish I was my son, who has me.'''

The full 65-minute work is fragmentary and atmospherically cinematic, image after image flashing in the darkness. Seva, who doesn't perform in the work anymore, said that the title isn't, as many people assume, a reference to the ''black dog'' of depression, a phrase commonly associated with Winston Churchill. Seva was thinking more of underdogs, dark horses, black sheep.

The dancers make gun shapes with their fingers and wield a baseball bat. They simulate sex and sexual abuse. This violence and sex, expressed through the muscle isolations of popping and locking and the explosive aggression of krump, is continually mixed with suggestions of childhood. The dancers' costumes acquire the floppy dragon scales and crown of Max in ''Where the Wild Things Are.'' In their creepy insect walk, there's something tender, or comic, about the way their knees piston -- like those of adults riding tricycles, or mini-BMX bikes, as the dancers eventually do.

Performing the work, Shulungu said, is like being inside a physical and emotional washing machine. ''You're tackling very dark subjects that maybe you haven't even shared with close family members,'' she said. ''It's like you're bleeding.''

For audience members, she continued, ''it's almost like a scary movie, where you're on the edge of your seat waiting for something to happen, but that moment never lands.''

Titillation, though, isn't Seva's aim, he said: ''If there's one person in the theater that goes, 'Oh, man, I need to go to therapy' or 'I need to talk to my dad or someone I haven't seen in a long time,' that's the goal.'' A voice at the end of ''BLKDOG'' says, ''It's OK.''

Making the work, he said, was itself a form of therapy -- as audiences might infer from a therapist's voice in the show that says: ''Maybe we should start with how you're feeling,'' and, later, ''What happened that day wasn't your fault.''

Partly because of the pandemic, it took a while for Far From the Norm to make a follow-up. ''Until We Sleep'' debuted early this year and will tour Europe just after the group's North American tour of ''BLKDOG.'' Between productions, the company has been making short films. The language of film, Seva said, is a big part of how he tells stories onstage.

In those films, parenthood and childhood are also fraught themes. ''Can't Kill Us All,'' which he made during the lockdown period of the pandemic, juxtaposes images of him playing with his infant son against solo moments in which he looks as though he's trying to break out of the straitjacket of his own body. An earlier film, ''Reach,'' cuts between his son in a crib and himself running away, his dancing expressing his turmoil.

''Children are the heart of my work and the heart of my life,'' he said. In addition to their 7-year-old son, he and his partner, Lee Griffiths, who is Far From the Norm's executive producer, now have twins.

''Sometimes I have to explain to people without children that I have to take the kids to school and make their lunches,'' he said. ''Even if I'm rehearsing, if I get a call from the nursery, I have to go and pick them up.''

Not all artists who are parents put that experience into their work, but Seva says he feels compelled to. ''I also like to put it in,'' he said, ''because it shows people that my life isn't just dance.''

Still, dance is a lot of his life. And he hasn't given up performing just yet. His next project is a solo show.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/30/arts/dance/botis-seva-blckdog-joyce-theater.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/30/arts/dance/botis-seva-blckdog-joyce-theater.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The choreographer Botis Seva, in The Hague, where he is making a piece for Nederlands Dans Theater. His dance ''BLKDOG,'' informed by childhood trauma, will have its American debut at the Joyce Theater, performed by his London dance theater company, Far From the Norm. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSSI PUIKKONEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR7.

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[***The Angry Old Play and the Nice Young Man***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0P-87G1-DXY4-X2DY-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 1140 words

**Byline:** Roslyn Sulcas

**Highlight:** Atri Banerjee has channeled his own experiences into a new production of John Osborne’s groundbreaking 1956 work “Look Back in Anger.”

**Body**

Atri Banerjee has channeled his own experiences into a new production of John Osborne’s groundbreaking 1956 work “Look Back in Anger.”

The night before the theater director Atri Banerjee was due to leave London for Manchester to start rehearsals for a new show, burglars broke into his house. First he was assailed with racist abuse, then physically assaulted.

It was May 2019, and the Manchester job, directing an adaptation of “Hobson’s Choice,” at the prestigious Royal Exchange Theater, was a big break for Banerjee, who was stepping up after another director withdrew.

“It was a landmark moment for me,” said Banerjee, 30, whose parents are Indian and who grew up in Italy and the Britain. “I had never felt victimized or oppressed because of my brownness,” he said. “Suddenly you realize it’s very easy to be put into a box. It sharpened my political awareness about why theater, so good at celebrating the multiplicity of identity, is important.”

Banerjee was speaking in an interview at the Almeida Theater, in London, where he was rehearsing John Osborne’s groundbreaking 1956 play, “Look Back in Anger,” which opens [*at the playhouse on Friday*](https://almeida.co.uk/whats-on/look-back-in-anger/). Part of a repertory season called “Angry and Young,” it will run in tandem with Arnold Wesker’s 1958 “Roots,” directed by Diyan Zora.

“Look Back in Anger,” teeming with fury and frustration at the hidebound British class system, sparked the Angry Young Men movement in literature and theater in the 1950s. (The writers Kingsley Amis, John Wain and Alan Sillitoe were also associated with it.) “A watershed in the history of modern drama,” [*Martin Esslin wrote in The New York Times*](https://almeida.co.uk/whats-on/look-back-in-anger/) on the tenth anniversary of the play’s West End premiere, which was followed the next year by a Broadway run.

The play hasn’t had a major British revival in over 20 years, perhaps because of what Rupert Goold, the Almeida’s artistic director, described in an interview as “slightly challenging gender politics,” alluding to the misogynistic abuse that the ***working class*** protagonist Jimmy inflicts upon his more genteel wife, Alison.

For Banerjee, it spoke directly to his own experience. “I thought about the attack, what it might mean to be an angry young man who feels disenfranchised, and how that can turn to violence,” he said.

He added that he was interested in theater as a “liminal space” and in “the threshold between characters and audience.” Naturalism, he said, “hasn’t always been my comfort zone.”

Banerjee, who is tall and handsome, speaks thoughtfully and deliberately, pausing often to select the right word. He was born in Oxford, where his father, an economics professor, was teaching, and the family spent time in Canada, New Zealand and the United States before moving to Florence when Banerjee was seven. He went to an international school, but did all his classes in Italian and spent much of his free time watching DVDs of old movies. By the age of 12, he had decided he wanted to be a film director.

The family moved back to Oxford when he was 14 (“Gray England was a shock,” he said), and after finishing high school, he did an English literature degree at Trinity College, Cambridge. There, he began directing at the university’s two student-run theaters, hotbeds for emerging British talent that count Ian McKellen, Emma Thompson, Stephen Fry and Rachel Weisz among their alumni.

Those student shows included the musical “The Last Five Years,” Pirandello’s “Six Characters in Search of an Author” and Shakespeare’s “Comedy of Errors.” Looking back, he said, there was a through line between his work then and now. “A lot of my work has been about memory and the slippage of time,” he said. “Looking back at what I did at 19 or 20, I realize somehow, with a play, you are always telling your own story.”

After Cambridge, still uncertain about what direction to take, Banerjee started working in the press department at the National Theater, in London. That led to encounters with the directors [*Rufus Norris*](https://almeida.co.uk/whats-on/look-back-in-anger/), Simon Godwin and Lyndsey Turner, and, encouraged by Turner, he successfully applied for postgraduate study in directing at Birkbeck College, University of London.

His second year placement was in Manchester at the Royal Exchange, where Sarah Frankcom, then the artistic director, was immediately struck by Banerjee’s “complete engagement with what a piece of theater can do” she said in a phone interview. “There is a heightened theatricality in what he does; he can take you lots of places, but you are never not in a theater,” she added.

It was Frankcom who asked Banerjee to take over “Hobson’s Choice” when a director had to withdraw. An adaptation by Tanika Gupta of Harold Brighouse’s 1915 play, relocated to a Ugandan Asian household in 1980s Manchester, it won Banerjee [*critical plaudits*](https://almeida.co.uk/whats-on/look-back-in-anger/) and the 2019 Stage Debut Award for best director. Then, just as his career was beginning to take off, Covid intervened, and Banerjee spent the lockdowns teaching and directing a film of “Harm,” a new play by Phoebe Eclair-Powell, for the BBC.

When he directed a theater production of “Harm”— one of the first live shows to be staged in London after theaters reopened in 2021 — he [*put a nine-foot stuffed bunny onstage*](https://almeida.co.uk/whats-on/look-back-in-anger/), which a lone actor eviscerated over the course of the show.

“His work, as with a lot of directors of his generation, is very European influenced,” Goold, the Almeida’s artistic director, said. “I think he starts visually, but he is sensitive and nuanced without forcing an agenda, and he has a calmness and grace about him which is reassuring.”

A slew of productions followed, including [*a much-admired, neon-lit “Glass Menagerie,”*](https://almeida.co.uk/whats-on/look-back-in-anger/) in Manchester; “Britannicus” at the Lyric Hammersmith Theater, in London; and “Julius Caesar” for the Royal Shakespeare Company, which [*divided audiences and critics*](https://almeida.co.uk/whats-on/look-back-in-anger/) with its female actors in the roles of Cassius and Brutus, and Caesar bleeding oil rather than blood.

“Atri has a keen eye for the aesthetic and exploring the world of storytelling through metaphor,” said Ellora Torchia, who is playing Alison in “Look Back in Anger.” She added that Banerjee didn’t avoid “letting us explore the hard, difficult things, and the fact that some of this will be problematic for an audience.” Torchia added that she hoped the production would nonetheless offer a nuanced view of Jimmy’s abusive behavior. “What we are trying to do is tell a story of flaws, people who are struggling,” she said.

For a while, Banerjee said, he was “quite scared” of “Look Back in Anger.” But theater, he said, “is a space to explore things that are dark and shocking. And a place to ask how we love each other in a world that feels broken.”

PHOTO: Atri Banerjee said he had been thinking about “what it might mean to be an angry young man who feels disenfranchised, and how that can turn to violence.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Sam Bush for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 23, 2024

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[***The Ground Is Shifting Under Biden and Trump; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBJ-V2X1-JBG3-600Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3006 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:** Both parties are changing shape. What should they do about it?

**Body**

Have Democrats and Republicans traded places?

How has the ascendance of well-educated, relatively affluent liberals among Democrats, alongside the dominance of non-college voters in the Republican coalition, altered the agendas of the two parties?

Are low-turnout elections and laws designed to suppress voting now beneficial to Democrats and detrimental to Republicans? Would the Democratic Party be better off if limits on campaign contributions were scrapped?

[*Nicholas Stephanopoulos*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), a law professor at Harvard, contended that the answer to these last two questions is changing from no to yes.

In a paper posted last week, “[*Election Law for the New Electorate*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/),” Stephanopoulos argued that “the parties’ longstanding positions on numerous electoral issues have become obsolete. These stances reflect how voters used to — not how they now — act and thus no longer serve the parties’ interests.”

Stephanopoulos described the consequences of the reversal of the traditional class bases of the two parties like this:

One of the old rules of elections that no longer holds is that poorer voters lean Democratic while richer voters tilt Republican. Strikingly, the dominant traditional cleavage in capitalist societies — material well-being — doesn’t currently divide the American electorate. If anything, more affluent voters now modestly prefer the party of the left.

This switch reflects what Stephanopoulos described as “a post-Marxist electorate.”

Data cited by Stephanopoulos demonstrates how Donald Trump’s entry into presidential politics has accelerated these trends, pulling more voters without college degrees into the Republican Party while repelling Republican-leaning, well-educated suburban voters.

At the same time, Stephanopoulos continued,

the partisan divide between minority and white voters has narrowed somewhat. Cities have also become modestly less Democratic, exurban and rural areas have grown far more Republican, and suburbs have shifted from a reddish to a bluish shade of purple. And wealthier individuals’ campaign contributions have followed their votes by flowing increasingly to Democratic candidates.

A fundamental reason for the erosion of the traditional lines of cleavage, Stephanopoulos contended, is the emergence of education “as a potent new axis of electoral segmentation. Among white voters, in particular, individuals with at least a college degree are now a much more Democratic constituency than people with less schooling.”

Stephanopoulos also described the slow process of “racial depolarization” as Republicans make gains among minorities and white voters become more Democratic. He cited data collected by [*Catalist*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), a liberal voter analysis firm, that shows that “the share of African American voters backing the Democratic presidential candidate declined from 97 percent in 2012 to 91 percent in 2020. The share of Hispanic voters backing the Democratic candidate fell from 70 percent in 2012 to 62 percent in 2020.”

Simultaneously, “the fraction of white voters preferring the Democratic presidential candidate increased from 41 percent in 2016 to 44 percent in 2020,” according to Stephanopoulos.

He continued:

The transformation of the American electorate is only my starting point. My central aim is to analyze what voters’ changing behavior means for election policy and law. It means quite a lot, I argue, little of which has yet been grasped by strategists or scholars.

I’ll come back to look more deeply into Stephanopoulos’s thesis, but it has already provoked widespread interest among scholars of voting rights, election law and campaign finance.

I asked [*Samuel Issacharoff*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), a professor of constitutional law at N.Y.U., about the “New Electorate” paper, and he emailed back, “Quite simply, this is the most provocative and important article in voting rights scholarship in quite some time.”

Issacharoff argued that Stephanopoulos’s analysis is based on the recognition that

we are in the process of a partisan realignment that could prove as significant as the post-1960s consolidation of the ideological political parties that we have now. The Republican Party is clearly becoming the party of the working classes while paradoxically retaining its hold on certain business elites.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party is becoming the party of the educated classes and their cultural agenda. Paradoxically, the Democrats have retained their foothold in minority communities, despite the cultural conservatism of many of these groups.

Other scholars with an interest in campaign law offered a mix of praise for and criticism of the Stephanopoulos paper.

[*Jonathan Rodden*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), a political scientist at Stanford and the author of “Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Political Divide,” replied by email to my query: “Nick does a great job summarizing a number of important national trends. However, going forward, it is important to keep an eye on variation across regions and metro areas.”

Rodden agreed that “cities are moving very slightly away from Democrats” and it’s “true that rural areas have become more solidly Republican as they lose population, while some affluent and growing suburban areas have realigned toward the Democrats, at least in presidential elections.”

But, Rodden continued,

in the most recent round of redistricting, anyone who attempted to draw fair districts in Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan or Pennsylvania can attest that ignoring partisanship and focusing only on compactness and respect for county and municipal boundaries would typically result in pro-Republican maps.

In these highly competitive states, it is only possible to achieve partisan fairness by actively trying. One must do things like split Milwaukee into two congressional districts or strategically connect college towns when drawing Ohio Senate districts. Even after such efforts, sometimes the most pro-Democratic maps under consideration still demonstrated slight pro-Republican bias.

“We should be careful not to speak too generally about efforts to restrict voting and ballot counting,” Rodden cautioned. “Some forms might hurt Democrats, while others are a wash or even hurt Republicans. Grand partisan bargains or unilateral disarmament might indeed be possible for some policies, while further hostilities are likely for others.”

[*Tabatha Abu El-Haj*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), a law professor at Drexel University, replied by email to my query, saying that “Stephanopoulos is making an important intervention in the debate. Academics and policymakers should focus on the ways that the American electorate has and is changing and be open to the possibility that this renders certain debates obsolete.”

But, she wrote,

the question, in the end, is whether voter suppression laws impact poor white voters to the same degree and in the same ways that they impact voters of color. There are reasons to doubt the conclusion that they would.

Consider photo identification laws. The disparate impact of those laws on racial minorities stems from (a) lower propensities to have a driver’s license and (b) the difficulty older African American voters who migrated from the South face to obtain their original birth certificates. It is not clear to me that rural non-college-educated white voters are equally less likely to have driver’s licenses or that older non-college-educated white voters struggle to obtain birth certificates and thus the alternative forms of identification required by law.

In addition, Abu El-Haj argued, “to the degree that Democrats rely on younger voters, who tend to be less reliable voters regardless of their educational level, restrictions on early voting, absentee voting or ending automatic registrations would still burden Democrats more than Republicans.”

[*Richard Hasen*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), a law professor at U.C.L.A., questioned whether the changing demographic and cultural patterns Stephanopoulos described will endure after Trump leaves politics: “Will others be able to build on the Republican Party appeal to ***working-class*** voters after he’s gone?”

Hasen contended that “rather than seeing these issues as creating an opening for Democratic Party voter suppression — though that is certainly possible — I see this rather as an opportunity to strengthen voting rights.”

“There could well be a window of time in which both parties see it in their self-interest to expand voting rights in the hopes of increasing their voting share,” Hasen added. “That’s the time to lock in more voting protections to help all voters.”

Stephanopoulos made similar suggestions in his paper.

[*Spencer Overton*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), a law professor at George Washington University, argued in an email that Stephanopoulos’s paper

may add value by: 1) chilling voter suppression efforts by reminding Republican politicians that they may inadvertently suppress their own base and 2) highlighting a path for Republicans to win elections by engaging voters of color (rather than by suppressing votes of color and playing on cultural anxiety to stimulate white voter turnout).

That said, Overton argued, “racially polarized voting persists,” and “a slight fluctuation of racial preferences in polling data in the current election or even exit polls in a couple of election cycles does not necessarily indicate the beginning of the end of racially polarized voting.”

In addition to racial polarization between the political parties, Overton continued,

white solidarity is growing as a political identity. Political scientist Ashley Jardina found that 30 to 40 percent of the white population in the United States identify heavily with their in-group as “white.”

Jardina found that white identity is “becoming a more salient force in American politics” because many people feel as though they are losing power and status due to demographic changes of the past 30 years stemming from immigration and birthrate differences across racial groups, as well as from symbolic changes like the election of Barack Obama.

More broadly, Overton argued,

Our primary challenge is to create systems that both respect identity while allowing people to work together and build new coalitions across cultural and political lines. Our current system was not established to facilitate a multiracial, pluralistic democracy — and that is our primary work today.

While Stephanopoulos addressed some of the ethical concerns raised by Overton and others, his focus was on the incentives and legal consequences of the upheavals involving income, education and race — his “post-Marxist electorate.”

One of the strengths of Stephanopoulos’s paper is his approach to the interaction of demographic and ideological shifts.

Take the impact of laws either suppressing or enhancing voting rights:

Because income and education are the main elements of socioeconomic status and the electorate has depolarized by income but polarized by education, Democratic voters now tend to be higher in socioeconomic status than Republican voters.

Higher socioeconomic status is strongly correlated with more political participation, including higher turnout. Today’s Democrats are therefore more likely to be high-propensity voters, while today’s Republicans are more apt to be lower-propensity voters.

Modern voting regulations (both restrictions and expansions of the franchise) primarily affect lower-propensity voters. Consequently, most modern voting regulations have negligible partisan impacts: if anything, slightly pro-Democratic when the franchise is restricted and slightly pro-Republican when it’s expanded.

Or take the case of income. Stephanopoulos wrote that polling data from 2008 onward showed “the emergence of a clear ‘U curve’ with Democratic presidential candidates faring best among respondents in the lowest and in the highest income quintiles. By 2020, the richest fifth of voters was the most Democratic income group in the entire electorate, narrowly surpassing the poorest fifth.”

Which wealthy voters became more Democratic?

This movement was concentrated among voters with an annual income of $150,000 to $500,000. The shift toward Democrats was also about the same across most professions: business/finance, human services/arts, professional/scientific and so on.

Geographically, wealthy voters in midsize metropolitan areas and the suburbs of large metro areas grew more Democratic. Wealthy voters in the cores of large metro areas began and ended this period as staunch Democrats, while wealthy voters in small metro areas, small towns and rural areas remained equally or even increasingly Republican.

In an email, Stephanopoulos noted that for low-propensity voters, the perceived costs of voting equal or exceeded the rewards and they “can be nudged more easily into not voting by anything that raises the perceived costs of voting (like a voting restriction).”

Stephanopoulos cited the 2024 paper “[*How Election Rules Affect Who Wins*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/)” by [*Justin Grimmer*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/) and [*Eitan Hersh,*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/) political scientists at Stanford and Tufts.

Grimmer and Hersh defined “individuals as low in socioeconomic status if their family income is less than $80,000 (near the American median) and if they lack a college degree. In the 2020 Cooperative Election Study, respondents in this group supported Donald Trump over Joe Biden by close to six percentage points. In contrast, respondents high in socioeconomic status backed Biden over Trump by more than 20 points.”

Along similar lines, Stephanopoulos cited another paper, “[*The Crucial Role of Race in Twenty-First Century U.S. Political Realignment,*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/)” by [*Michael Barber*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/) and [*Jeremy Pope*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), political scientists at Brigham Young University. Barber and Pope plotted over time “the differences between the shares of more- and less-educated white respondents (those with at least a college degree and those with no more than a high school education) voting for Democratic presidential and congressional candidates.”

In the 1980s and 1990s, Barber and Pope found, “more-educated white voters were up to 15 percentage points more Republican than less-educated white voters.” Starting at the beginning of this century, “educational polarization among white voters exploded. At the presidential level, the partisan gap between more- and less-educated white voters surged from close to zero two decades ago to almost 30 percentage points in Democrats’ favor.”

For the first time in modern history, Stephanopoulos wrote, “more-educated white voters are much more Democratic than their less-educated peers.”

These shifts in income and education have a profound impact on turnout.

In 2020, Stephanopoulos [*reported*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), turnout was 47 percent for the poorest respondents (family income below $10,000), 72 percent for respondents close to the American median (family income from $50,000 to $75,000) and 85 percent for the richest respondents (family income above $150,000).

“Likewise,” he added, “2020 turnout was 38 percent for the least-educated respondents (less than ninth grade), 70 percent for respondents with near-median education (some college) and 83 percent for the most-educated respondents (graduate degree).”

The result?

“Since 2016, Democratic candidates have done better when turnout is low because they’re now preferred by richer and more-educated voters.”

Amid this turmoil, why is the Democratic loyalty of minority voters eroding, albeit by relatively small percentages? And why is it that poorer minority voters and less-educated minority voters are abandoning what was historically the party of the working man and woman?

Stephanopoulos’s answer: ideology.

In a manner reminiscent of the way conservative ***working-class*** white people left the Democratic Party in recent decades, “the relationship between ideology and voting behavior has recently tightened” for Black and Hispanic voters.

In 2016, Stephanopoulos noted, “according to the [*Cooperative Election Study*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), 80 percent of conservative African American voters and 30 percent of conservative Hispanic voters backed the Democratic presidential candidate. In 2020, these proportions plunged to 64 percent and 15 percent.”

Ideological sorting, according to Stephanopoulos, “has thus reached the minority electorate. Conservative minority voters are no longer as glaring an exception to the modern rule that ideology and partisanship go hand in hand.”

What can we infer from the “New Electorate” argument, assuming the trends described by Stephanopoulos continue? Quite a bit.

First, that the Democratic coalition will continue on a path toward becoming increasingly upscale and well educated and that the growing share of minorities in the coalition will be slightly tempered by strengthened white support and by marginal losses among minorities.

This is a wholly different party from the New Deal coalition that operated from the 1930s to the 1960s. Strangely, the banner of progressive economic redistribution, [*according to poll data*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/), will be carried by those whose personal interests lie elsewhere: middle- and upper-middle-class, largely white liberals.

Despite its support for pro-business public policy favoring the wealthy, the Republican Party is moving toward the goal of becoming the party of the ***working class***, including growing numbers of ***working-class*** minorities. The contemporary Republican Party will test the viability of such a conflicted coalition, although it is no more and no less conflicted than the contemporary Democratic coalition.

In this sense, the politics of Stephanopoulos’s “New Electorate” are strikingly symmetrical: Both Democrats and Republicans must deal with a “post-Marxist electorate.” Both face built-in class conflicts and fragile alliances between haves and have-nots, reflecting frustration when the disadvantaged on both sides are unable to share fully in the benefits of what we sometimes forget is our [*$27.36 trillion national economy*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/).

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://hls.harvard.edu/faculty/nicholas-stephanopoulos/).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Shannon Stapleton/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 27, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris and Biden Will Make a Labor Day Pitch to Union Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW2-VN71-DXY4-X24S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 2, 2024 Monday 08:00 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 968 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris. More about Nicholas Nehamas

**Highlight:** The vice president will appear with the president in Pittsburgh at their first joint campaign event since she took over the top of the ticket.

**Body**

The vice president will appear with the president in Pittsburgh at their first joint campaign event since she took over the top of the ticket.

President Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris will appear together on Monday in Pittsburgh to celebrate labor unions, a crucial mobilizing force for Democrats, at their first joint campaign event since Ms. Harris replaced Mr. Biden at the top of the ticket in July.

Mr. Biden has called himself the most pro-union president in history, and last year he [*became the first sitting president*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) to visit a picket line.

Now Ms. Harris is hoping to adopt that pro-worker mantle for herself. As vice president, she led a task force examining the ways that the government could help expand union membership. But business leaders generally see her as friendlier to their interests and [*more flexible on policy*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) than Mr. Biden.

In Pittsburgh, Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden will attend an event at a local union hall alongside Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania and Senator Bob Casey, who is up for re-election. The Harris campaign said local and national leaders of major unions including the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the United Steelworkers will attend.

Earlier in the day, Ms. Harris is set to hold an event in Detroit, another union stronghold in a battleground state. She will be joined by Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan, as well as two of the nation’s most prominent labor leaders, Randi Weingarten of the American Federation of Teachers and Shawn Fain of the United Automobile Workers. Her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, will appear in Milwaukee.

Although Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz will reach voters in three of the top swing states, the events themselves will be smaller than the rallies Ms. Harris has held in recent weeks that have drawn thousands of attendees. She and Mr. Biden are expected to deliver “informal remarks” rather than full speeches, according to the Harris campaign.

Even as union leaders overwhelmingly throw their support behind Democrats, former President Donald J. Trump maintains the loyalty of many of their members. He is also courting the endorsement of the Teamsters, whose leader, Sean O’Brien, [*spoke*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) at the Republican National Convention. Winning over the most committed union members is not easy for Republicans, however, as their policies tend to favor corporations.

On Thursday, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, Mr. Trump’s running mate, was [*heckled*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) at a meeting of the International Association of Fire Fighters after declaring that he was part of “the most pro-worker Republican ticket in history.”

While Ms. Harris is almost certain to receive a warmer welcome on Monday, the war in Gaza continues to alienate some progressives, and unions have been some of the most vocal groups calling for a cease-fire in Gaza and the halting of military aid to Israel. When Ms. Harris [*addressed*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) a convention of the Service Employees International Union in May, roughly three dozen union members protesting the Gaza war chanted and held signs for nearly her entire speech. S.E.I.U. leadership allowed the protest to go on.

And the U.A.W. [*delayed its endorsement of Ms. Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) after Mr. Biden left the race until it could assess her position on Gaza and other issues.

Before dropping out, Mr. Biden had struggled in the polls with union members, along with other core groups of Democratic-leaning voters. In May, 47 percent of union members [*across six of the top battleground states*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) said they supported Mr. Trump, compared with 42 percent for Mr. Biden, a New York Times/Siena College/Philadelphia Inquirer poll found. Other surveys showed Mr. Biden ahead with union households, but not by wide margins.

Since stepping aside after intense pressure from Democrats, Mr. Biden has shown nothing but warmth for his vice president. During [*his speech at the party’s national convention*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) in Chicago last month, he said that picking her as his running mate was the finest decision he had made in his career and promised to be her campaign’s “best volunteer.” For her part, Ms. Harris has led chants of “Thank you, Joe” at her rallies and embraced many of his accomplishments.

In an [*interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) with CNN on Thursday — her first since becoming the new face of the Democratic Party — Ms. Harris said that she did not regret defending Mr. Biden against claims that he had declined mentally.

“He is so smart and loyal to the American people,” she said.

Labor Day is traditionally when presidential campaigns move into high gear. Ms. Harris has visited each of the battleground states at least once since July, and Mr. Biden is now [*set to hit the trail as one of her surrogates*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas).

They are not expected to campaign together frequently however. Ms. Harris is trying to forge her own political identity separate from Mr. Biden, without disrespecting him or his administration’s achievements. Over the next few weeks, Mr. Biden will travel mostly to the key battleground states of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan, where he still holds appeal to the white, ***working-class*** voters who could help decide the election but who have not shown much enthusiasm for Ms. Harris.

This week could provide a preview of how the Harris campaign plans to deploy Mr. Biden.

After meeting Ms. Harris in Pittsburgh on Monday, the president will travel on Thursday to Wisconsin and on Friday to Michigan to highlight his efforts to finance major infrastructure projects and create manufacturing jobs.

Chris Cameron contributed reporting from Boston.

Chris Cameron contributed reporting from Boston.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris and President Biden after his speech in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention. They have sought to demonstrate their continued warmth toward each other. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Just Disillusioned’: How U.K. Conservatives Lost a New Heartland***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C7J-DGY1-DXY4-X3RF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 12, 2024 Wednesday 23:06 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1586 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler Mark Landler is the London bureau chief of The Times, covering the United Kingdom, as well as American foreign policy in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. He has been a journalist for more than three decades.

**Highlight:** At Britain’s last election, the Tories laid claim to a swath of postindustrial England. Now voters there are returning to Labour, and the insurgent Reform U.K. is also rising.

**Body**

At Britain’s last election, the Tories laid claim to a swath of postindustrial England. Now voters there are returning to Labour, and the insurgent Reform U.K. is also rising.

On a hilltop next to a vast limestone quarry in England’s East Midlands, a crowd of about 60 people gathered last Thursday evening to witness the lighting of a beacon to mark the 80th anniversary of the [*D-Day landings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/04/d-day-reunion-ww-ii-veterans.html). Amid the drab parkas and pullovers was a figure in a striking red coat: Natalie Fleet, the Labour Party’s candidate for Parliament, wearing her party’s campaign color.

She turned up late, having hiked up in heels. But she mixed easily, chatting with a 17-year-old high school student, Georgia Haslam, about her desire to get more young women engaged in politics.

“It was reassuring to hear someone like her say, ‘I understand you,’” Ms. Haslam said afterward. “If you’re not from a city, if you’re not wealthy, it’s not clear that these politicians really care about you.”

Ms. Fleet is on track to win back the parliamentary district of Bolsover for Labour, which in 2019 it lost to the Conservatives for the first time in almost 70 years. Her appearance at the D-Day commemoration was a telling contrast to the Conservative prime minister, Rishi Sunak, who skipped out of D-Day ceremonies in France the same day to return to London, drawing a [*torrent of criticism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/04/d-day-reunion-ww-ii-veterans.html).

And the Labour Party isn’t even the only headache for the Tories, three weeks before Britain’s general [*election on July 4*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/04/d-day-reunion-ww-ii-veterans.html). In this hard-bitten region of abandoned coal mines and shuttered steel mills, the [*insurgent party Reform U.K.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/04/d-day-reunion-ww-ii-veterans.html) is mounting an unexpectedly robust challenge. It could siphon off enough votes from the Conservatives here to leapfrog into second place, after Labour.

Until recently, such an outcome would have been unfathomable. The Conservative Party has held power for about two-thirds of its nearly 200-year history, making it one of the world’s oldest, most successful political parties. Yet less than five years after winning a landslide victory on a pledge to “get Brexit done,” the Conservatives find themselves on the cusp of a crushing defeat.

Nowhere is their reversal of fortune more palpable than in the “red wall,” a set of coal and factory towns in the Midlands and north of England that long voted for Labour but [*swung dramatically to the Conservatives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/04/d-day-reunion-ww-ii-veterans.html) in 2019. Now many of these voters, disillusioned after their brief betrothal to the Tories, are flocking back to Labour. Some are even taking a chance on Reform, an anti-immigration populist party that has its roots in the debate over Brexit.

Political analysts have likened these towns to parts of the American Midwest where people once reliably voted for Democrats, before drifting toward the Republicans in recent decades. But while many of those converts now seem locked into their party preferences, the British electorate has become more volatile, with declining party loyalty and an openness to insurgents.

“We’ll overtake the Tories,” predicted Robert Reaney, a vintage motorcycle dealer who is Reform’s candidate in Bolsover. “The real question is: Will people switch back to Labour?”

Mr. Reaney, 56, claimed that voters were not inspired by either Mr. Sunak or Labour’s leader, Keir Starmer. That has left an opening for Nigel Farage, the populist firebrand who leads Reform. Mr. Farage’s surprise announcement that he would run for a seat in Parliament has lifted his party to within a couple of percentage points of the Conservatives in some polls.

Parts of Reform’s platform, particularly its promise to cut taxes, are not unusual for a right-of-center party. “We haven’t been taxed this bad since the sheriff of Nottingham was around,” Mr. Reaney said over fish and chips in Chesterfield, about 25 miles north of the sheriff’s jurisdiction.

But other Reform proposals, like adopting a French-style health system or holding a public inquiry into the supposed harm caused by coronavirus vaccines, put it well to the right of any mainstream British party.

Reform’s pledge to slash immigration to “[*net zero*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/04/d-day-reunion-ww-ii-veterans.html)” is its biggest calling card in ***working-class*** districts like Bolsover — places that voted to leave the European Union in 2016 and have grown frustrated as legal immigration has surged, asylum seekers have continued to cross the English Channel, and Brexit has not delivered the windfall that its evangelists promised.

The party’s website warns of a “population explosion” of immigrants, which it says is threatening “British culture, identity and values.” But Mr. Reaney rejected suggestions that Reform was racist.

“We’re completely colorblind; we’re not culture blind,” he said. “We don’t mind if you’re Black, white, yellow, green, bright pink, or beamed down from Mars. We don’t care where you’re from — just come and respect our culture, which is not a great ask.”

A garrulous autodidact, who peppers his conversation with references to Otto von Bismark, Mr. Reaney is not an obvious choice to spearhead a populist revolt. But he has turned his dealership into a hotbed for Reform supporters, who come in to talk politics and gaze at his lovingly restored 1938 Coventry-Eagle motorcycle.

“This is just the starting point for Reform,” said Ashley Marples, 58, who collects motor scooters and describes himself as a fan of Mr. Farage. “In three or four years, they will gain momentum and be a real contender.”

In its first comprehensive poll of the election, the market research firm YouGov projected that Labour would win 47 percent of the vote in Bolsover, compared with 23 percent for the Conservatives and 18 percent for Reform. But that was before Mr. Farage entered the race and before Mr. Sunak left the D-Day events early.

Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London, said that betting on a second-place Reform finish was “entirely reasonable.”

“Sunak’s premature exfiltration from Normandy has gone down badly everywhere and with almost everyone,” he added. “It certainly won’t play well with voters hovering between Conservative and Reform, most of whom are incredibly patriotic, heavily prone to nostalgia, and very supportive of the U.K.’s armed services.”

That is bad news for the Tory incumbent, Mark Fletcher. In 2019, he turned out the Labour Party’s longest serving member of Parliament, Dennis Skinner. But he faces an uphill struggle to hold on to his seat. Mr. Fletcher points to 15 million pounds, or $19 million, in funds that he secured to spruce up Bolsover, a town of about 12,000 that sits in the shadow of a majestic 17th-century castle.

But he has fallen into a bitter standoff with the Labour-controlled district council over where to spend the money. He said the council was guilty of “cronyism,” while the council’s leader, Stephen Fritchley, said there weren’t enough suitable projects in the town. The two men aren’t on speaking terms.

Neither of the major-party candidates was especially open to reporters either. Mr. Fletcher declined an interview, saying he was too busy campaigning. Party officials did not make Ms. Fleet available for a formal interview, suggesting they are protecting their lead.

Still, Mr. Fritchley, who has canvassed for Labour, said 2024 felt different from 2019, when voters were frustrated about Brexit, suspicious of Labour’s left-wing leader, Jeremy Corbyn, and impatient with their member of Parliament, Mr. Skinner, who was 87 and had been in his seat since 1970.

Mr. Starmer has pulled the party toward the center, while Ms. Fleet, 40, is a ***working-class*** product of the Midlands. A onetime single mother who had a child at 16, she ran for a seat in the neighboring district of Ashfield in 2019, falling victim to the Conservative rout. This time, Ms. Fleet said, the mood among voters was so much better that her youngest child, who is 10, has joined her in knocking on doors.

Mr. Fritchley said he, too, had encountered less resistance. “People made their point in 2019,” he said. “They’re more inclined now to look at which government is going to support ***working-class*** people in this area. What I expect a Labour government to provide is some sort of hope for the future.”

Still, even if the Tories are on the ropes, some of the economic and social forces that fueled their last surge are still churning beneath the surface.

In Shirebrook, a onetime mining town that is one of Bolsover’s poorer precincts, the residents have yet to adjust to the changes wrought by immigration. More than a decade ago, a sporting-goods company hired hundreds of [*workers from Eastern Europe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/04/d-day-reunion-ww-ii-veterans.html) to staff a large warehouse, and memories of that linger.

“The Conservatives have policies that we agree with,” said Alison Owen, citing immigration. But Ms. Owen, 52, a restaurant supervisor who was playing bingo at a social club that serves former miners, said, “We’re Labour, through and through.” Some of her friends who voted for the Tories “are switching back,” she said.

Michele Longden, whose family owns a construction equipment rental company, said the expected Labour victory was less an expression of excitement about the party than a measure of ennui with the status quo.

“Most people are just disillusioned, full stop,” she said. “I think turnout will be low, which will give it to Labour, but by default.”

PHOTOS: Natalie Fleet, above, the Labour Party candidate for Bolsover, at a D-Day ceremony in Whitwell, England. Robert Reaney, near left, a vintage motorcycle dealer, is the Reform candidate in Bolsover. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A6.

**Load-Date:** June 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In Las Vegas, Trump Appeals to Local Workers and Avoids Talk of Conviction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C73-TNT1-JBG3-6024-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 9, 2024 Sunday 15:32 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1010 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold Michael Gold is a political correspondent for The Times covering the campaigns of Donald J. Trump and other candidates in the 2024 presidential elections.

**Highlight:** At a rally on Sunday, former President Donald J. Trump promised to end taxes on tips for hospitality workers in a speech otherwise filled with familiar refrains.

**Body**

At a rally on Sunday, former President Donald J. Trump promised to end taxes on tips for hospitality workers in a speech otherwise filled with familiar refrains.

Former President Donald J. Trump stood in blazing heat in a Las Vegas park on Sunday and directly appealed to ***working-class*** voters by promising to eliminate taxes on tips for hospitality workers.

But beyond that proposal, little at Mr. Trump’s campaign rally suggested that his new status as a felon had changed his message. And when Mr. Trump’s teleprompter apparently stopped working, his speech — which his campaign advisers had billed as focused on issues of local concern to Nevada voters — devolved into familiar stories and riffs.

“I got no teleprompters, and I haven’t from the beginning,” Mr. Trump said after speaking for roughly 15 minutes, though his speech included excerpts from prepared remarks that his campaign had provided to reporters. “That probably means we’ll make a better speech now.”

Mr. Trump repeatedly voiced his frustration with the lack of a teleprompter, even though he has often boasted of his ability to give long speeches without one.

His remarks, which lasted roughly an hour, felt unfocused as he cycled through well-worn territory, railing against electric vehicles, immigration, the four criminal cases brought against him and President Biden’s physical and mental condition.

Once again, Mr. Trump broadly depicted migrants crossing the border illegally as violent criminals or mentally ill people, and then recited “The Snake,” a standby poem he has used since 2016 to expound on the threat that he believes undocumented immigrants pose to the country.

He continued to revive his unfounded claims of fraud in the 2020 election. And he baselessly insisted Democrats would try to cheat in November, sowing doubt about the general election months before a single vote has been cast.

“Don’t let them cheat,” he told the crowd in Nevada. “You watch that vote and watch it all the way.”

Mr. Trump again praised the mob of his supporters who stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, calling them “J6 warriors,” suggesting they had legitimate reasons to try to stop Congress from certifying the presidential election and saying that they had somehow been “set up” that day.

“They were warriors, but they’re really, more than anything else, they’re victims of what happened,” Mr. Trump said. “All they were doing were protesting a rigged election.”

Mr. Trump said next to nothing about his recent conviction on 34 felony charges in Manhattan, but he lamented the four times he was indicted last year as a “disgrace.” Still, a number of people at the rally wore shirts reading “I’m voting for the convicted felon.”

Much as he did at a town-hall-style forum last week in Phoenix, Mr. Trump spoke at length about immigration, saying that Mr. Biden’s border policies constituted an “all-out war” on Black and Hispanic Americans.

Mr. Trump again criticized Mr. Biden’s recent executive order meant to deter illegal crossings at the U.S. border with Mexico, calling it “weak,” “ineffective” and garbage, though he used an expletive.

In response, the crowd began chanting the expletive, as his supporters did in Arizona when he used the same description. “This word seems to be catching on a little bit,” Mr. Trump said approvingly. (When Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, Republican of Georgia, spoke before Mr. Trump took the stage, her remarks prompted three identical chants.)

At the rally in Las Vegas on Sunday, the Trump campaign formally announced its Latino outreach effort, [*known as Latino Americans for Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/07/us/politics/latinos-trump-americans.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare&amp;sgrp=c-cb), and a number of Hispanic Americans spoke before Mr. Trump did.

Nevada has a large Hispanic population, and polls show that Mr. Trump’s support among the state’s ***working-class*** and Latino voters is increasing. His campaign is trying to capitalize on dissatisfaction among those groups with Mr. Biden’s handling of the economy.

Linda Fornos, a Las Vegas resident who came to the United States from Nicaragua, said that she voted for Mr. Biden in 2020 but that she was disappointed with his administration. “For many years, I believed in the promises of the Democrats for more opportunities for the Latino community,” she said.

Mr. Trump’s pledge to eliminate taxes on tips for restaurant and hospitality workers was a direct appeal to that group, a significant force in the Las Vegas area. “When I get into office, we are going to not charge taxes on tips,” he said.

After the rally, the Culinary Workers Union, a key part of the Democratic coalition in the state, attacked Mr. Trump’s proposal as hollow.

“Relief is definitely needed for tip earners, but Nevada workers are smart enough to know the difference between real solutions and wild campaign promises from a convicted felon,” Ted Pappageorge, the secretary-treasurer of the union, which has 60,000 members, said in a statement.

Mr. Trump’s rally in Nevada, a key battleground state, concluded a multiple-day Western swing that started on Thursday with a forum in Phoenix hosted by the conservative group Turning Point Action.

As record-high temperatures hit Phoenix, at least 11 people at that indoor event were taken to the hospital to be treated for heat exhaustion. The Trump campaign took steps to avoid similar issues in Las Vegas, where the heat was less severe but where the rally was held outside. At least six people on Sunday were taken from the event to the hospital, according to the Clark County Fire Department.

After his speech in Phoenix, Mr. Trump attended three fund-raisers in California and one in Las Vegas. Chris LaCivita, one of Mr. Trump’s two campaign managers, said that the campaign had raised about $27.5 million across the four events, a figure that cannot be independently verified until campaign filings are made public in the coming months.

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump’s rally on Sunday in Nevada, a key battleground state, concluded a multiple-day Western swing that started on Thursday in Phoenix. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jenna Schoenefeld for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why Biden Is Right to Curb Immigration***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C6Y-VDN1-JBG3-605N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 9, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 2; NICHOLAS KRISTOF

**Length:** 1119 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

Many of us liberals now find ourselves in an awkward spot on immigration.

For years we have denounced draconian steps by Republicans to bar desperate migrants. But President Biden has now introduced his own tough steps to reduce asylum seekers, not so different from President Donald Trump's approach.

The new measures may be overturned by the courts, but in the meantime many on the left are whacking Biden. Senator Alex Padilla, a California Democrat, twisted the knife by suggesting that Biden was borrowing from Trump's playbook: ''By reviving Trump's asylum ban, President Biden has undermined American values.''

Kica Matos, president of the National Immigration Law Center, said, ''President Biden's craven embrace of failed Republican policies is a mistake that will only lead to more harm and dysfunction.''

Stephen Colbert needled the Biden camp by imagining what this will look like in liberal hands: ''We're going to seal the border, folks, but the wall is going to be gluten free, and the barbed wire will be pro-choice.''

I'm conflicted, finding myself caught between pro-refugee instincts and a practical recognition that the system wasn't working: There was a torrent of illegal crossings, and the law provided a loophole that allowed people to claim asylum and stay indefinitely whether or not they warranted it.

I exist only because an Oregon family in 1952 sponsored my dad as a refugee from Eastern Europe. But I've reluctantly come to the view that Biden is doing the right thing with his clampdown. Let me explain.

Liberals, me included, were pushed to the left by Trump's policies on immigration, from the so-called Muslim ban to separation of children from families -- conducted so cavalierly that family members sometimes cannot be located. More than three years after Trump left the White House, about 1,200 immigrant children still have not been reunited with their families, to our shame as a nation.

That said, I don't think the solution is to swing the doors open.

Too often, we Americans approach immigration as a binary issue. We're in favor, or we're against. In fact, immigration should be seen as a dial we adjust.

However much we believe in immigration, we're not going to welcome all 114 million people around the world who have been forcibly displaced, not to mention perhaps one billion children globally who are estimated to suffer some kind of severe deprivation. We must settle for accepting a fraction of those eager to come, and determining that fraction is the political question before us, with many trade-offs to consider.

Immigration overall offers important benefits to the country, and employers and affluent people are particular winners: Immigrants reduce labor costs for people hiring gardeners or caregivers. But poor Americans can find themselves hurt by immigrant competition that puts downward pressure on their wages, although economists disagree on the magnitude of that impact.

I'm influenced in my thinking by a terrific book by my Times colleague David Leonhardt, ''Ours Was the Shining Future,'' which examined many studies on the impact of immigration on wages. Leonhardt concluded that immigration wasn't the primary reason for income stagnation among low-education workers over the last half-century, but that it nonetheless was a significant secondary factor.

I think of a neighbor of mine, a surly seventh-grade dropout who in the 1970s was earning more than $20 an hour (around $150 an hour today). That job disappeared, and he later ended up in part-time and minimum wage positions and lost his home. He was hurt by many factors -- the decline of unions, globalization and the impact of technology -- but he was also outcompeted by immigrants with a well-earned reputation for hard work.

It's often said that native-born Americans aren't interested in the jobs that immigrants take, but that doesn't tell the full story. Many native-born Americans may not be willing to toil in the fields or on a construction site for $12 an hour, but perhaps would be for $25 an hour.

At a time when so many ***working-class*** Americans are already falling behind, and then self-medicating and dying from drugs, alcohol and suicide, shouldn't we be careful about inflicting even more pain on them through immigration policy?

Relatively recent immigrants may also be hurt by newer immigrants -- which may help explain why Pew found that three-quarters of American Latinos believe that the increasing number of people seeking to enter the country via the southern border is a ''major problem'' or a ''crisis.''

Some ***working-class*** voters feel betrayed by Democrats who pushed to open borders, and there may be an element of xenophobia or racism in this anger -- but also an element of truth. The United States makes it difficult for foreign doctors to practice in America, protecting physicians from competition. But the United States makes it relatively easy for low-skilled immigrants to work here and push down wages of our most vulnerable workers.

I've also wondered about the incentives we inadvertently create. In Guatemalan villages, I've seen families prepared to send children on the perilous journey to the United States, and I fear that lax immigration policies encourage people to risk their lives and their children's lives on the journey.

Politics is of course a central reason Biden has acted on this issue, but that doesn't mean he's necessarily wrong. Plus, frustration at immigration makes it more likely that Trump will win the White House and that Trump Republicans will dominate Congress and the Supreme Court. That's something the left should consider a disaster worth trying hard to avert.

One way or another, an angry public will force change on immigration. Ideally, this would come about through a comprehensive legislative fix to our broken system, but Trump and Republicans have blocked that path this year. Given the choices, I trust Biden more than Trump to adopt tougher policies that are still sane and that don't demonize refugees.

Are we, the people of an immigrant nation, pulling up the ladder after we have boarded? Yes, to some degree. But the reality is that we can't absorb everyone who wants in, and it's better that the ladder be raised in an orderly way by reasonable people.

So, even as the son of a refugee, I think on balance that President Biden made the right call in curbing access to asylum.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/08/opinion/biden-trump-immigration.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/08/opinion/biden-trump-immigration.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR2.

**Load-Date:** June 9, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Montreal Election Loss Devastates Trudeau and Canada's Liberals***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0G-2CT1-JBG3-61VD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1093 words

**Byline:** By Norimitsu Onishi

**Body**

The election in Montreal had been seen as a referendum on Canada's deeply unpopular prime minister, who has faced calls from within his party to quit.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Liberal Party has lost a Parliament seat it had held for decades in a special election in Montreal, a devastating defeat that is likely to increase pressure on Canada's deeply unpopular leader to resign.

The Bloc QuÃ©bÃ©cois, a national party that supports independence for Quebec, narrowly won the race that was held on Monday, according to final results released early on Tuesday morning. It was the Liberals' second stunning election loss in three months.

The result underscored how support for the Liberals has evaporated, even in their last few strongholds, ahead of the next general election, which must be held by the fall of 2025 but is likely to take place in the spring.

Mr. Trudeau has pledged to lead his party in that election, saying over the weekend that he would not quit even if the Liberals lost on Monday.

Mr. Trudeau told reporters in Ottawa on Tuesday morning that ''there's all sorts of reflections to take'' on the election outcome.

''Obviously, it would have been nicer to be able to win,'' Mr. Trudeau said. ''But there's more work to do and we're going to stay focused on doing it.''

The defeat could set up an endgame for Mr. Trudeau's third term in office. The main opposition Conservative Party is likely to redouble its efforts to quickly bring down his government, as polls predict the Conservatives cruising to a landslide in the next election. For the past year, Mr. Trudeau's approval ratings have stagnated just above 20 percent and trailed those of Pierre Poilievre, the Conservative leader, by double digits.

To survive, Mr. Trudeau could increasingly call on the Bloc QuÃ©bÃ©cois and another small opposition party, the New Democrats. Both might prefer dealing with the Liberals to eke out victories for themselves, rather than face a potential Conservative majority that could easily pass legislation on its own.

The election in Montreal, held to fill a single vacant seat in Parliament's House of Commons, assumed outsize significance because it was seen as a referendum on Mr. Trudeau.

After his party unexpectedly lost a special election in June -- in Toronto, another Liberal redoubt -- the prime minister faced calls from within his own party to step aside. Mr. Trudeau rejected the criticism, instead using his powers as party leader to quash internal dissent.

The Conservatives now enjoy an overwhelming lead in the polls across Canada -- except in the French-speaking province of Quebec, which amplified the importance of Monday's special election.

Mr. Trudeau's popularity has plummeted as his government has seemed increasingly out of touch with the concerns of ordinary Canadians. On issue after issue -- the high cost of living, a housing shortage, problems stemming from the record number of temporary workers or foreign students -- his government has reacted with policy changes only after being pummeled by the opposition.

The government has also been accused of minimizing the threat of foreign interference in Canadian politics. It long opposed a public inquiry into the issue, which is now underway and has uncovered attempts by China and India to meddle in Canadian elections.

In the weeks leading up to Monday's vote, the Liberal candidate had been locked in a tight three-way race against Louis-Philippe SauvÃ© of the Bloc QuÃ©bÃ©cois and Craig SauvÃ© of the left-leaning New Democratic Party, who came in third on Monday. (The two are not related.)

The district, called LaSalle -- Ã‰mard -- Verdun, had been considered a reliable Liberal seat: in the party's grip almost continuously for more than half a century, and the base for a former Liberal prime minister and a former Liberal justice minister.

In the last election, in 2021, Mr. Trudeau's party won the district -- made up of ***working-class*** and gentrifying neighborhoods, with linguistically and culturally diverse residents -- by more than 20 percentage points.

This time, things went very differently.

After the seat suddenly became vacant early this year, three competitors launched campaigns to become the Liberal candidate. They said senior party officials had assured them that it would be an open nomination, and they were angered when Mr. Trudeau abruptly handpicked a city councilor named Laura Palestini to run.

With many voters expressing fatigue over Mr. Trudeau's leadership, the prime minister was conspicuously absent from the local campaign, even though his own electoral district lies a short drive away.

Mr. Trudeau's face was nowhere to be seen on Liberal Party campaign posters, though other parties featured their leaders. The prime minister made only two low-key campaign stops, including one over the weekend to a senior home. That appearance was closed to the news media.

Ms. Palestini refused nearly all interview requests, and her staff declined to let journalists accompany her on the campaign trail.

In one rare interview, she tried to distance herself from Mr. Trudeau. ''It's about me. It's not about the P.M.,'' she told the Canadian Press, referring to the election and to the prime minister.

By contrast, the candidates for the New Democratic Party and the Bloc QuÃ©bÃ©cois ran energetic campaigns. Leaders for both parties showed up frequently in the district, at the southern point of the island of Montreal, to back their candidates.

For Catherine Auclair, meeting the New Democratic leader, Jagmeet Singh, in person was the clincher. Ms. Auclair, 27, had been hesitating between the New Democrats and the Bloc QuÃ©bÃ©cois, but said she was won over after hearing Mr. Singh speak on the housing crisis and other issues.

''I found Jagmeet Singh close to the people, and seeing him more than once here made me feel that he cared about our issues,'' Ms. Auclair said after voting on Monday.

At age 23, Jackson Hofer had now voted three times in his life -- ''once for Trudeau and now two times for Jagmeet Singh,'' as he put it.

Mr. Hofer, who was studying to be a pilot, said he felt that Mr. Trudeau has been a good leader, citing his policies on the environment and L.G.B.T.Q. rights.

''He's done a good job for the nine years he's been in power," Mr. Hofer said. ''But nine years, maybe it's time to go.''

On Monday, a second special election to fill a vacancy was held in Winnipeg. But the Liberals were not contenders in that district, which remained in the hands of the New Democratic Party.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/americas/special-election-results-montreal-trudeau.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/world/americas/special-election-results-montreal-trudeau.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Louis-Philippe SauvÃ©, the Bloc QuÃ©bÃ©cois candidate, won his race for the House of Commons. The district he captured, LaSalle -- Ã‰mard -- Verdun, had been reliably Liberal for over half a century. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTINNE MUSCHI/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Wrestling Match Over Control of the Chrysler Building***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5C-PR51-DXY4-X38X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 11, 2024 Friday 11:38 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1574 words

**Byline:** Philip Kaleta

**Highlight:** Legal maneuvers and an empire in tatters leave the ownership of the once grand Manhattan skyscraper up in the air.

**Body**

Legal maneuvers and an empire in tatters leave the ownership of the once grand Manhattan skyscraper up in the air.

The owners of the Chrysler Building in Manhattan are at risk of eviction after the real estate empire of one of its owners imploded amid allegations of financial impropriety.

Signa Holding — led by René Benko, an Austrian investor whose company assembled a worldwide portfolio worth more than $20 billion before it fell apart late last year — teamed up with RFR Holding, a New York company led by Aby Rosen and Michael Fuchs to buy the Chrysler in 2019 for $151 million. The partners promised to return the aging dowager of the New York skyline to its glory days.

But the partners didn’t acquire the land below the building. Rather, they entered into a ground lease, which gave them control over the skyscraper itself for decades but required them to pay rent to the owners of the land beneath it. This arrangement, while not unusual in New York City real estate, can make for a complicated relationship between landlord and tenant.

The landowner, the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, a private college which uses the rent from the building to subsidize student tuition, recently announced it was terminating the ground lease and taking control of the building, claiming the partners were months in arrears, according to documents reviewed by The New York Times.

“You have a contractual obligation to pay your rent,” wrote Steven Klein, a lawyer representing Cooper Union wrote to the owners in a letter dated Sept. 27 and obtained by The Times.

The owners [*filed suit*](https://iapps.courts.state.ny.us/nyscef/ViewDocument?docIndex=sdEupxPW6YYu_PLUS_IEkgud2wQ==) in New York State Court to try to halt the eviction by Cooper Union. Signa referred all questions to RFR, which declined to comment.

Legal disputes and ruthless maneuvers are commonplace in the cutthroat world of commercial real estate in New York, particularly when the market is struggling, as it has been since the pandemic when many workers still have not fully returned to the office. But the fate of the once-grand Chrysler, in particular, has grown murkier in light of Mr. Benko’s troubles.

In late November, Mr. Benko’s empire crumbled under the weight of over $20 billion in debts owed to a consortium of global investors, including the royal families of Qatar and Abu Dhabi. Public prosecutors from Austria and Liechtenstein are investigating the former billionaire. The downfall of Signa, which used to be one of Europe’s largest real estate players, left creditors scrambling to recoup their investments.

Mr. Benko’s defense lawyer, Norbert Wess, rejected claims of financial impropriety, saying the accusations were unfounded.

“Mr. Benko is working with his lawyers to assist the prosecuting authorities and is presenting his position and point of view to them,” Mr. Wess said. “We are confident that this will dispel all accusations against our client.”

Mr. Benko, 46, was raised in Innsbruck, Austria. His mother was a kindergarten teacher; his father, a civil servant. At 17, Mr. Benko dropped out of high school and began converting attics of ***working-class*** houses into expensive lofts. After receiving an initial investment from the heir to a gas station fortune, Mr. Benko was able to quickly expand his business throughout the 2000s.

Mr. Benko faced legal trouble in 2012. Prosecutors in Austria said he paid a former Croatian prime minister to push Italian officials to help contest a tax bill on Signa-owned properties in Italy. Mr. Benko was sentenced [*to a year in prison*](https://iapps.courts.state.ny.us/nyscef/ViewDocument?docIndex=sdEupxPW6YYu_PLUS_IEkgud2wQ==) but ended up serving the equivalent of probation. Despite this hiccup, Mr. Benko continued to receive investments from wealthy European investors, including [*Robert Peugeot*](https://iapps.courts.state.ny.us/nyscef/ViewDocument?docIndex=sdEupxPW6YYu_PLUS_IEkgud2wQ==), the heir of the French car dynasty.

In 2019, Signa and RFR purchased the Chrysler Building, at what looked to be a bargain. The $151 million purchase price was a pittance compared to the $800 million paid by its former owner, Abu Dhabi Investment, in 2008 for a 90 percent stake.

The building has long symbolized New York’s romance with sleek design and height. The Art Deco skyscraper, located at the intersection of 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue, was the world’s tallest skyscraper when it was finished in 1930, until it was surpassed soon after by the Empire State Building.

Despite its noble past, the Chrysler [*is facing a dim future*](https://iapps.courts.state.ny.us/nyscef/ViewDocument?docIndex=sdEupxPW6YYu_PLUS_IEkgud2wQ==). The building’s fortunes have been buffeted by neglected repairs, a lack of modern amenities and vacancies after numerous tenants [*decamped during the Covid-19 pandemic*](https://iapps.courts.state.ny.us/nyscef/ViewDocument?docIndex=sdEupxPW6YYu_PLUS_IEkgud2wQ==).

A recent survey by Trepp, a commercial real-estate analytics firm, found that commercial properties built before the 1950s experience an average valuation loss per year of about 11 percent, Thomas Taylor, the senior manager for research at the firm, told the Times.

Still, the low price paid by Signa and RFR surprised many who work in real estate. The owners were pleased with the terms, however, according to someone involved with the negotiations who asked for anonymity because he was not authorized to speak publicly.

One reason: The rents demanded by Cooper Union made it nearly impossible for the Chrysler Building to be profitable, the person involved said. Tishman Speyer, the development company which owned 10 percent of the building, thought Cooper Union would never cut a deal on the land lease.

Cooper Union’s land, which it owns but the lease of which runs until 2147, immediately became a problem for Signa and RFR. The annual ground lease payments soared from $7.75 million in 2018, just before the partners took over, to $32.5 million, a cost expected to rise to $41 million by 2028, The Times reported in July.

A confidential letter from Cooper Union’s lawyers to RFR management, obtained by The Times, shows that the college was willing to negotiate a restructuring of the lease, though it did not spell out the details. Twice, in 2021 and in 2023, Cooper Union and the building owners agreed on terms only to have them fall apart, according to a person involved in the discussions who was not authorized to speak publicly.

In its recent lawsuit, Signa and RFR said the terms of the restructuring were unnecessarily onerous. They also found the building in a greater state of disrepair than they were led to believe before their purchase of it, the lawsuit said.

The wheeling and dealing took a toll on the Chrysler Building. RFR and Signa had planned only minor renovations until the land lease issue with Cooper Union was settled. After that, they had hoped to revamp the building and fill it with tenants, such as law firms, until new buyers were found, a person involved in those plans told The Times.

None of it materialized.

By last November, far bigger problems were emerging for Mr. Benko.

Despite repeated requests from shareholders, Signa delayed audited financial statements, and the European Central Bank warned commercial lenders of the elevated risks of dealing with Signa. Mr. Benko was [*frantically seeking fresh capital*](https://iapps.courts.state.ny.us/nyscef/ViewDocument?docIndex=sdEupxPW6YYu_PLUS_IEkgud2wQ==) to keep his company afloat.

In the midst of this financial turbulence, RFR Holding offered to buy out its partner’s 50 percent stake for $1, plus the assumption of the building’s debt and a possible small share in future profits, according to a person involved in the negotiations who was not authorized to speak publicly.

Before that offer could be addressed, the partner, Signa Holding, filed for insolvency in Austrian court. That ended the partnership between RFR and Signa. Signa Holding’s share of the Chrysler Building is now up for sale, as part of the liquidation process of the company’s assets.

Shareholders and lenders are determined to better understand Mr. Benko’s transactions, including whether any of their funds were used in the Chrysler Building purchase.

At the forefront of this pursuit is the Al Nahyan family of Abu Dhabi, which controls Mubadala Investment Company, one of the world’s largest sovereign wealth funds. The Al Nahyans claim, in lawsuits filed in France, that Mr. Benko defrauded them of at least $834 million in today’s exchange rate.

Another of Mr. Benko’s lawyers, Till Dunckel, denied Mubadala was defrauded. The wealth fund invested only $650 million while receiving interest payments over the years, he said.

Cooper Union, in its letter, accused Signa and RFR of misrepresenting their financial position during their lease negotiations. Over the past few months, the letter said, the partners failed to pay the rent, claiming the college is owed $21 million since May.

On Sept. 27, Cooper Union, in its termination letter, said it was assuming control of the building and engaging the real estate firm Cushman &amp; Wakefield to manage it.

RFR had filed its lawsuit against Cooper Union the day before.

“Cooper Union’s misguided decision to share its inaccurate and self-serving letter with the media is a transparent and desperate attempt to deflect attention from, and create a false narrative around RFR’s commencement of a lawsuit against it mere hours earlier,” RFR’s lawyers, Terrence Oved and Darren Oved, said in a statement to The Times.

PHOTOS: The fate of the once-grand Chrysler Building, the world’s tallest skyscraper when it was finished in 1930, has grown murky. Signa Holding — led by René Benko, left — and RFR Holding promised to return the aging icon to its glory days, but they’ve run into difficulty. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JOHANN GRODER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, VIA APA/EXPA/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES) (B4) This article appeared in print on page B1, B4.

**Load-Date:** October 24, 2024

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[***The Phantom Menace***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTC-KP11-DXY4-X2D6-00000-00&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. 14; NONFICTION

**Length:** 870 words

**Byline:** By Darrell Hartman

**Body**

In ''A Gentleman and a Thief,'' Dean Jobb vividly recounts the life and times of the notorious criminal -- and tabloid fixture -- Arthur Barry.

A GENTLEMAN AND A THIEF: The Daring Jewel Heists of a Jazz Age Rogue, by Dean Jobb

As the rich got richer in the boom years of the 1920s, many of them fled New York City noise for the newly fashionable suburbs. But in these tranquil enclaves, they found something else to keep them up at night: a mysterious jewel thief known only as ''the phantom.''

There was an elegant efficiency to the phantom's methods. He slipped past night watchmen and guard dogs, climbed up trellises and through bedroom windows, and was usually long gone before any alarm could be sounded. Victims were stunned to realize they'd been dining downstairs, or sleeping a few feet away, while he'd ransacked their dresser drawers. He could tell real pearls from fakes. He left minimal evidence of an intrusion, and no fingerprints.

Had any of his victims gotten a proper look at him, they would have seen that the burglar was a dapper dresser with movie-star good looks. Indeed, he was known to gate-crash fancy house parties, where he would introduce himself to guests as ''Dr. Gibson'' before wandering off to case the joint for future burglaries. His act was so convincing that he once spent a night on the town with the visiting Prince of Wales. The nephew of John D. Rockefeller and the glamorous Lady Edwina Mountbatten were among his victims.

Though he sounds like a screenwriter's invention, Arthur Barry was real. Life magazine called him ''the greatest jewel thief who ever lived.'' And, as Dean Jobb notes in his delectably entertaining new biography, ''A Gentleman and a Thief,'' Barry was a triple threat: ''a bold impostor, a charming con artist and a master cat burglar rolled into one.''

Barry came from a ***working-class*** Irish American family in Worcester, Mass. From his first boss, a retired safecracker, he received some memorable advice: ''Be gentlemanly and sincere. It will save you countless inconveniences, and maybe a few trips to the clink.''

Nevertheless, he made his first such trip at age 18. It was for attempted burglary, a conviction that Barry lied about in order to serve -- courageously, it seems -- in World War I. By the time he returned to America, the postwar celebrations and best (legal) jobs had evaporated.

Over a career that peaked between 1922 and 1927, Jobb concludes that Barry stole jewels with a combined worth of $60 million in today's dollars. His biggest single payday came after he broke into a six-room suite at the Plaza Hotel -- a rare Manhattan job -- and made off with jewelry worth a staggering $10 million. The owner was the department-store heiress Jessie Woolworth Donahue, whose prize pearls Barry ended up selling back to her insurance company at a discount. ''Anyone who could afford to wear a $100,000 necklace could afford to lose it,'' Barry later declared.

He wasn't the only one who considered the thefts victimless -- or deserved. Though Barry's reign of low-key terror alarmed whole communities in Westchester and Long Island, it enthralled the public.

He began rousing ''clients'' from their beds at gunpoint and politely asking them to hand over valuables; his suavity became the stuff of legend -- especially after he agreed to spare items of sentimental value. When one victim showed signs of fainting, he escorted her into the bathroom and fed her an aspirin.

His 1927 capture and conviction was headline news. Barry spends much of the last third of Jobb's book in handcuffs, in jail or in hiding. As the Jazz Age gave way to the Depression, his daily existence also lost its luster -- which is not to say that the story gets boring. Barry helped lead a prison riot and reappeared in the headlines during the Lindbergh baby kidnapping, and Jobb, whose fondness for cold chapter-opens matches that of ''Law & Order'''s writers, seems incapable of penning a dull moment.

Barry wrote letters to his adoring wife, Anna, while incarcerated. They are the closest thing to a record of his private thoughts, but not terribly revealing. The version of his life story that he later provided was self-serving and incomplete, and he remains an elusive subject.

Unlike the con man Leo Koretz, another 1920s criminal whom Jobb has chronicled, Barry was rarely described in print by those who knew him. And did they really know him? (Anna claimed to have been unaware of her husband's double life.)

Instead of analyzing this ''prince of thieves'' psychologically, Jobb examines the culture that celebrated him -- noting, for example, how popular fictional characters (even some that Barry claimed he'd never heard of) paved the way for a real-life version.

The mood darkened during the Depression; the next generation of robbers was more prone to brandishing machine guns. By the 1930s, Jobb writes with a dash of tabloid hyperbole, Barry was ''a throwback to a time of glitz and excess that now seemed as remote and distant as the Middle Ages.'' Readers can decide whether his light touch merited a lighter sentence.

A GENTLEMAN AND A THIEF: The Daring Jewel Heists of a Jazz Age Rogue | By Dean Jobb | Algonquin | 438 pp. | $32.50

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/25/books/review/a-gentleman-and-a-thief-dean-jobb.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/25/books/review/a-gentleman-and-a-thief-dean-jobb.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Arthur Barry (left) was famous for his suavity and good manners. (PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE DEAN JOBB COLLECTION) This article appeared in print on page BR14.

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2024

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[***Who's Winning, or Repelling, Nevada Latinos' Crucial Swing Votes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6N-5B21-DXY4-X2VM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 17, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

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

**Length:** 1562 words

**Byline:** By Benjamin Oreskes

**Body**

For some, Donald J. Trump's incessant attacks on immigrants are too much. Still, many appear prepared to look past his escalations and back a candidate they believe will help their livelihoods.

Two months ago, Javier Barajas hosted former President Donald J. Trump at Il Toro E La Capra, one of five restaurants he owns in Las Vegas.

Mr. Barajas, 65, had eagerly backed Hillary Clinton when she ran for president in 2008; he previously welcomed President Biden to one of his other restaurants. But he has thrown his support to Mr. Trump this year for one major reason: skyrocketing prices on everything from the ingredients in his entrees to the gas for his catering truck.

His nephew, Justin Favela, was crafting a piece of traditional Mexican folk art from tissue paper when he began receiving angry and confused texts from friends and family who had seen the news of Mr. Trump's visit on social media and the nightly news.

Mr. Favela, a 38-year-old artist, has economic concerns that resemble his uncle's. Higher rents, increased costs for the supplies to create his art and student loans leave him stressed about his future.

But he will cast a reluctant vote for Vice President Kamala Harris, spurred primarily by Mr. Trump's increasingly dark and racist portrayals of immigrants like those in his own family.

''I work 12 hours a day just to be alive -- just to be able to pay rent. I can't even afford a house. The Democrats have been weak,'' Mr. Favela said, describing how the cost of a gallon of glue, which is essential for his work, has doubled in the last three years.

''But gun to my head I would not vote for Trump,'' he added. ''To still vote for somebody that called everybody from Mexico rapists and has these terrible violent border policies shows that you're not interested in supporting humanity and helping people, you're interested in the bottom dollar.''

The former president has braided his economic pitch that Americans would be better off under a second Trump administration to increasingly vitriolic and openly nativist attacks on undocumented immigrants. Appealing to voters of color, he has frequently claimed migrants are taking jobs and housing that might otherwise go to Black and Latino Americans, accusations that are not supported by available data. In rally after rally, he has cast migrants as a violent invading force responsible for degraded life in America's towns and cities, and promised ''the largest mass deportation operation in history.''

The message is registering among Nevada's Latino voters in the closing weeks of the campaign. Interviews with nearly two dozen such voters, of various ideological stripes, reveal similar rifts between friends and family over whom to support. For some, despite the financial concerns that might otherwise sway them toward Mr. Trump, his incessant attacks on immigrants are too much. Still, many appear prepared to look past his escalations and back a candidate they believe will help their livelihoods.

Mr. Barajas's frustrations capture the potency of the Republicans' economic argument. Nevada's service-heavy economy was crushed by the pandemic, and while the recovery has been strong, the state still has the highest unemployment rate nationally and some of the highest prices for gas and groceries.

''I used to pay three years ago, $32 for a case of eggs. Now it's about $100'' for the same crate of about 200 eggs, said Mr. Barajas, who arrived in the United States from Mexico in 1978 illegally and became a citizen in the early 1990s.

He added: ''I don't trust Trump 100 percent, but much better than Kamala. I know he is going to make mistakes. I know he is not going to do everything he says, but I know he is going to do much better for this country.''

Latino voters have been a key part of the coalition that has propelled Democrats to success in Nevada for the last 20 years. Ms. Harris's campaign has promoted economic proposals that they believe would bring down the cost of staples, as well as housing. Nationally, the campaign has run millions in Spanish language television advertising and said it would spend close to $3 million in October on Spanish-language radio advertising. They didn't offer numbers specific to Nevada.

Emilia Pablo, a spokeswoman for the campaign, said in a statement that Democrats were working to ''drive home the stark choice they face at the ballot box this election.'' She pointed to Mr. Trump repeatedly pushing for mass deportations, separating migrant children from their families and calling for the end to birthright citizenship.

Added Matt A. Barreto, a campaign pollster for the Harris campaign, ''While some people may like Trump on the economy, they are not willing to give up their morals and give up American democracy and the Harris campaign is making a heavy play for those voters because of Trump's extremism.''

He added, ''Trump is not winning Latinos on the economy, but yes there are Latino Republicans who vote Republican.''

Still, Mr. Trump surprised in 2020 when he picked up 36 percent support from Latino voters nationally, up from 28 percent in 2016, according to the Pew Research Center. A recent national New York Times/Siena College poll found that 56 percent of Latinos support Vice President Kamala Harris, while 37 percent back Mr. Trump.

The poll showed that Latino women back Ms. Harris in much higher numbers than Mr. Trump; it also indicated that Mr. Trump's escalating attacks on immigrants had not driven Latino voters to Ms. Harris. Two-thirds of those surveyed said they believed Mr. Trump was not referring to people like them when he spoke about immigrants. (Half of foreign-born Hispanic voters said the same.)

The survey also indicated a receptiveness to Mr. Trump's policy stances like building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border and deporting immigrants.

Jesus Marquez, a local political consultant and Trump surrogate, said Democrats thought Mr. Trump's views on the border would hurt him.

''It's actually resonating with Latinos,'' Mr. Marquez said. ''Legal Latinos, who are voting and paying taxes, it's becoming a burden to them. They don't like the open border situation.''

Latinos make up about 20 percent of the electorate in Nevada and are thus a key swing vote in a swing state. Former President George W. Bush was the last Republican presidential nominee to win Nevada, in his 2004 re-election bid.

Support for Mr. Trump's border stances was evident even among Latino voters who said his anti-immigrant escalations would keep them from voting for him in November.

Tony MuÃ±oz, a former police officer who runs a catering business in Las Vegas, recently visited family in Juarez, Mexico, and said he was shocked by what he saw as a humanitarian disaster at the border, and faulted Democrats and Republicans for failing to manage it.

He has voted for Republicans in the past and would again -- just not Mr. Trump.

''The rhetoric that Trump spilled on migrants, I'm not for it,'' he said.

''Calling us murderers, rapists and drug dealers. It just hurts me as a Latino. It hurts me as just a person.''

However, Mr. Barajas, who after arriving in the United States fell in love with President Ronald Reagan's strength and speaking style, separates his own experience as an undocumented immigrant from those that Mr. Trump demonizes.

''I came to work. I used to work two jobs. I didn't ask the government for any money. I don't mind people coming to work. They now come to'' commit crimes, he said, using the Spanish word. (While Mr. Trump routinely claims falsely that undocumented immigrants are fueling a ''migrant crime'' wave, national crime statistics do not support that assertion.)

As the clock ticks down to Election Day, both candidates are working hard to win Latino support.

Ms. Harris's campaign, conscious that the border and the economy are issues that tend to favor Mr. Trump, has focused on conveying to voters that she would be a better, more stable bet on both. Her campaign released an ad in August promising she would hire thousands of more Border Patrol officials and ending with: ''Fixing the border is tough. So is Kamala Harris.''

During a Univision town hall of undecided Latino voters in Las Vegas last week, Ms. Harris was pressed repeatedly on the cost of living and talked up her proposals to tackle price gouging and make housing more affordable.

''The economy is top of mind, like that doesn't change whether you were born here or you weren't born here,'' said Melissa Morales, the president of Somos Votantes and Somos PAC, which has about 250 paid canvassers going door-to-door to lift Latino turnout for Ms. Harris and other Democrats in the state.

Last week, Antonio Montes, 22, stood at his front door chatting with a Somos PAC canvasser in a ***working-class*** section of Las Vegas. Mr. Montes, who installs solar panels and doesn't pay much attention to the election, voted for Mr. Biden in 2020 and is leaning toward Ms. Harris.

''I know a lot of people say that, 'Oh, Donald Trump brought the economy up,''' said Mr. Montes, whose chief issue is the economy as he struggles to keep up on rent. ''But in reality, I don't feel like he really did. I feel like it was the president before him. The policies of the presidency take a while to kick in. So in reality the problems in the economy here could be Donald Trump's fault.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/16/us/politics/trump-immigration-nevada-latinos.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/16/us/politics/trump-immigration-nevada-latinos.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Members of a culinary workers union canvassing last week in East Las Vegas, where voting preferences can differ even within a family. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Justin Favela, in his Las Vegas art studio, said, ''gun to my head I would not vote for Trump.'' His uncle, Javier Barajas, hosted the former president at his restaurant Il Toro E La Capra, below. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ROGER KISBY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

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**End of Document**



[***Another Blow to Trudeau: Liberals Lose a Long-Held Seat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D08-N251-JBG3-60T9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2024 Tuesday 23:18 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1131 words

**Highlight:** The election in Montreal had been seen as a referendum on Canada’s deeply unpopular prime minister, who has faced calls from within his party to quit.

**Body**

The election in Montreal had been seen as a referendum on Canada’s deeply unpopular prime minister, who has faced calls from within his party to quit.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s Liberal Party has lost a Parliament seat it had held for decades in a special election in Montreal, a devastating defeat that is likely to increase pressure on Canada’s deeply unpopular leader to resign.

The Bloc Québécois, a national party that supports independence for Quebec, narrowly won the race that was held on Monday, according to final [*results*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e) released early on Tuesday morning. It was the Liberals’ second stunning election loss in three months.

The result underscored how support for the Liberals has evaporated, even in their last few strongholds, ahead of the next general election, which must be held by the fall of 2025 but is likely to take place in the spring.

Mr. Trudeau has pledged to lead his party in that election, saying over the weekend that he would not quit even if the Liberals lost on Monday.

Mr. Trudeau told reporters in Ottawa on Tuesday morning that “there’s all sorts of reflections to take’’ on the election outcome.

“Obviously, it would have been nicer to be able to win,’’ Mr. Trudeau said. “But there’s more work to do and we’re going to stay focused on doing it.”

The defeat could set up an endgame for Mr. Trudeau’s third term in office. The main opposition Conservative Party is likely to redouble its efforts to quickly bring down his government, as polls predict the Conservatives cruising to a landslide in the next election. For the past year, Mr. Trudeau’s approval ratings have stagnated just above 20 percent and trailed those of [*Pierre Poilievre*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e), the Conservative leader, by double digits.

To survive, Mr. Trudeau could increasingly call on the Bloc Québécois and another small opposition party, the New Democrats. Both might prefer dealing with the Liberals to eke out victories for themselves, rather than face a potential Conservative majority that could easily pass legislation on its own.

The election in Montreal, held to fill a single vacant seat in Parliament’s House of Commons, assumed outsize significance because it was seen as a [*referendum*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e) on Mr. Trudeau.

After his party unexpectedly lost a special election in June — in Toronto, another Liberal redoubt — the prime minister faced calls from within his own party to step aside. Mr. Trudeau rejected the criticism, instead using his powers as party leader to quash internal dissent.

The Conservatives now enjoy an overwhelming lead in the [*polls*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e) across Canada — except in the French-speaking province of Quebec, which amplified the importance of Monday’s special election.

Mr. Trudeau’s popularity has plummeted as his government has seemed increasingly out of touch with the concerns of ordinary Canadians. On issue after issue — the high cost of living, a housing shortage, problems stemming from the record number of temporary workers or foreign students — his government has reacted with policy changes only after being pummeled by the opposition.

The government has also been accused of [*minimizing*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e) the threat of foreign interference in Canadian politics. It long opposed a public inquiry into the issue, which is now underway and has uncovered attempts by China and India to [*meddle in Canadian elections*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e).

In the weeks leading up to Monday’s vote, the Liberal candidate had been locked in a tight three-way race against Louis-Philippe Sauvé of the Bloc Québécois and Craig Sauvé of the left-leaning New Democratic Party, who came in third on Monday. (The two are not related.)

The district, called [*LaSalle — Émard — Verdun*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e), had been considered a reliable Liberal seat: in the party’s grip almost continuously for more than half a century, and the base for a former Liberal prime minister and a former Liberal justice minister.

In the [*last election*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e), in 2021, Mr. Trudeau’s party won the district — made up of ***working-class*** and gentrifying neighborhoods, with linguistically and culturally diverse residents — by more than 20 percentage points.

This time, things went very differently.

After the seat suddenly became vacant early this year, three competitors launched campaigns to become the Liberal candidate. They said senior party officials had assured them that it would be an open nomination, and they were angered when Mr. Trudeau abruptly handpicked a city councilor named Laura Palestini to run.

With many voters expressing fatigue over Mr. Trudeau’s leadership, the prime minister was conspicuously absent from the local campaign, even though his own electoral district lies a short drive away.

Mr. Trudeau’s face was nowhere to be seen on Liberal Party campaign posters, though other parties featured their leaders. The prime minister made only two low-key campaign stops, including one over the weekend to a senior home. [*That appearance was closed to the news media*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e).

Ms. Palestini refused nearly all interview requests, and her staff declined to let journalists accompany her on the campaign trail.

In one rare interview, she tried to distance herself from Mr. Trudeau. “It’s about me. It’s not about the P.M.,” she [*told*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e) the Canadian Press, referring to the election and to the prime minister.

By contrast, the candidates for the New Democratic Party and the Bloc Québécois ran energetic campaigns. Leaders for both parties showed up frequently in the district, at the southern point of the island of Montreal, to back their candidates.

For Catherine Auclair, meeting the New Democratic leader, Jagmeet Singh, in person was the clincher. Ms. Auclair, 27, had been hesitating between the New Democrats and the Bloc Québécois, but said she was won over after hearing Mr. Singh speak on the housing crisis and other issues.

“I found Jagmeet Singh close to the people, and seeing him more than once here made me feel that he cared about our issues,’’ Ms. Auclair said after voting on Monday.

At age 23, Jackson Hofer had now voted three times in his life — “once for Trudeau and now two times for Jagmeet Singh,” as he put it.

Mr. Hofer, who was studying to be a pilot, said he felt that Mr. Trudeau has been a good leader, citing his policies on the environment and L.G.B.T.Q. rights.

“He’s done a good job for the nine years he’s been in power," Mr. Hofer said. “But nine years, maybe it’s time to go.”

On Monday, a second special election to fill a vacancy was held in [*Winnipeg*](https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?ed=2106&amp;lang=e). But the Liberals were not contenders in that district, which remained in the hands of the New Democratic Party.

PHOTO: Louis-Philippe Sauvé, the Bloc Québécois candidate, won his race for the House of Commons. The district he captured, LaSalle — Émard — Verdun, had been reliably Liberal for over half a century. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTINNE MUSCHI/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** September 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Passed Over by Harris, Shapiro Tries to Deliver Pennsylvania for Her***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7S-7PD1-DXY4-X37D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2024 Tuesday 21:27 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1764 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:** Pennsylvania’s governor may not be on the verge of the vice presidency, but he says he has everything — including his “heart and soul” — riding on a Kamala Harris victory.

**Body**

Pennsylvania’s governor may not be on the verge of the vice presidency, but he says he has everything — including his “heart and soul” — riding on a Kamala Harris victory.

Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania bounded off a big blue bus on Saturday afternoon with the other two governors of the critical “blue wall” states — Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan and Tony Evers of Wisconsin — and headed down a steep hill to greet a gathering of Democratic canvassers in a park outside Pittsburgh.

It was the third of four stops that unseasonably warm, clear day for their Blue Wall bus tour. Though all three governors lead political battlegrounds critical to Vice President Kamala Harris’s chance at winning the presidency, only Mr. Shapiro came within a whisper of being on the ticket that they are now trying to elect.

But if there were any lingering resentments, or even disappointment, it was not obvious that day, nor is it evident in his punishing schedule of campaign appearances, interviews, advertising shoots, fund-raisers and behind-the-scenes outreach efforts for Ms. Harris and fellow Democrats.

Mr. Shapiro, his voice straining for emphasis, stressed what he sees as at stake in the election, for the nation, for his state and for him personally.

“I want to be really clear about something: This is not just about the politics of winning a race,” Mr. Shapiro said in an interview in Baldwin Township, a suburb nestled in the wooded hills just south of Pittsburgh.

Speaking of his own experience repeatedly suing the Trump administration as the commonwealth’s attorney general and then battling the Trump campaign as it tried to overturn the 2020 election, Mr. Shapiro called former President Donald J. Trump “a dangerous guy.”

“This is not about some temporary moment of politics,” he said. “It’s the future of this country.”

For a man of Mr. Shapiro’s ambitions, there are always some politics involved. If Ms. Harris wins in two weeks, the governor will be a hero to the cause, a 51-year-old politician from the leafy suburbs of Philadelphia who somehow became the Democratic Party’s unlikely outreach director to rural and ***working-class*** white voters — and who is young enough to look toward 2032 and the end of a Harris second term.

If Ms. Harris wins Pennsylvania but loses the presidency, Mr. Shapiro could well be the most obvious front-runner for the Democratic nomination for president in 2028.

Politically and personally, and for Mr. Shapiro’s own legislative agenda, much is riding on Democratic success on Election Day, Pennsylvania’s lieutenant governor, Austin Davis, said.

“Every Democratic governor wants to deliver their state,” Mr. Davis said after a joint appearance with the governor in rural Slippery Rock on Saturday morning. “I can’t really say what the fallout would be” for failure, he added, “but I can tell you it would be high.”

As Pennsylvania’s attorney general, Mr. Shapiro went to court to try to stop [*Mr. Trump’s ban on travelers from predominantly Muslim countries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html). He sued over [*the Trump administration’s effort to thwart mandatory coverage of contraceptives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html) under the Affordable Care Act. And he was in court 43 times in late 2020 and early 2021 to preserve [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s narrow victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html) in the commonwealth.

Aides now point to the 1.2 million Pennsylvanians who may lose their health insurance in a second Trump term if the Affordable Care Act is again threatened, and they warn of federal efforts to infringe on abortion rights.

Mr. Shapiro is also helping to defend his party’s one-seat majority in the State House of Representatives and to try to cut into the Republicans’ six-seat majority in the State Senate. Success on those fronts, he likes to say, would help him get stuff done — though he uses a different word than “stuff.”

Pennsylvania, with its 19 electoral votes, is no doubt the biggest prize of the seven swing states. Same as the others, polling averages suggest a dead heat. The importance of Mr. Shapiro in delivering it for Ms. Harris is self-evident: [*He won the governor’s race two years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html) against Doug Mastriano, a Republican, by nearly 15 percentage points, flipping some counties that had voted for Mr. Trump in 2020 and cutting into Republican dominance in others.

That dominant showing fueled the push by many Democrats to get Mr. Shapiro on the ticket — and the open glee of some Republicans when Ms. Harris chose Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota instead.

“I love Shapiro so much,” said Heidi Priest, 43, who came to Slippery Rock from nearby Butler, where Mr. Trump was nearly assassinated over the summer, to see her governor stump with Senator Bob Casey, a Democrat locked in his own tough re-election fight. “I had been really hoping he would be the vice president.”

Around noon that day, as they waited for the blue-wall governors in a small field behind the Stop-N-Glo Car Wash in Moon Township, Pa., a clutch of Democratic women was debating whether the governor had even wanted to be vice president.

“I don’t think he was really disappointed,” Marianne Mnich, a retiree in the township, said of the governor.

Valeris Klauscher of Crescent Township agreed: “I think he’s a bigger man than that.”

“I think he’s a smarter man than that,” said Joyce Reinoso of Robinson Township. “He wants to be the top dog.”

(Asked whether he had any lingering hurt feelings, Mr. Shapiro answered curtly: “I think Kamala Harris made a great choice in Tim Walz.”)

In fact, any suggestion that Mr. Shapiro could have easily delivered Pennsylvania if he had been Ms. Harris’s running mate misses some political fundamentals — about 2022 and 2024, said former Representative Conor Lamb, a Democrat from Western Pennsylvania, as he mingled with canvassers on Saturday afternoon in Baldwin Township.

“No offense to Josh,” Mr. Lamb said, “but he was running against [*the worst candidate of the cycle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html)” in 2022.

Mr. Mastriano, a far-right state senator who has embraced Mr. Trump’s stolen-election lies, might have been a close ally of the former president’s, but [*he never had his appeal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html).

Mr. Shapiro’s name on the ticket most likely would have made little difference for Ms. Harris against a former president whose supporters are as dug in now as they were in 2016, when Mr. Trump won the state, Mr. Lamb said.

“It’s this close because the voters are entrenched,” he said.

Just up the road, a man in a T-shirt proclaiming “I’m a Trump Deplorable” groused at the gathering of Harris supporters and scoffed at the notion of Mr. Shapiro as a bipartisan bridge builder.

“I hate him,” the man said, declining to give his name.

Mr. Shapiro is using what leverage he has. The governor’s aides tallied almost 60 events for the ticket since President Biden bowed out of the race, in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Georgia and North Carolina. At least 20 appearances in Pennsylvania have come since he was passed over for Mr. Walz.

Some have been high profile: He appeared before [*a huge crowd in Philadelphia with Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html) on Aug. 6, the same day she announced the Minnesota governor as her choice for vice president, and worked the spin room after the one and only debate between the vice president and the former president.

Other efforts have been more targeted. Mr. Shapiro has become a fixture on La Mega, a Spanish-language radio show out of Allentown, Pa., as well as on the conservative talk shows on WSBA radio out of York, Pa.

After a day of fasting for Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish year, Mr. Shapiro hopped a plane to Atlanta on Oct. 13 to stump with Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia in the suburban counties of Clayton and Fayette before flying back to Philadelphia that night to headline a major fund-raising dinner for Ms. Harris’s national finance committee.

“Listen,” Mr. Shapiro said in the interview, “I’m pouring my heart and soul into electing Kamala Harris and Tim Walz.”

Although he said he was in close communication with the vice president and her campaign, he declined to divulge any specific advice he had given or recommendations he’d made for key campaign stops.

But the governor’s fingerprints appear on the granular details of Ms. Harris’s travels, like the choice of holding [*a Labor Day rally featuring Ms. Harris, Mr. Biden and the governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html) at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 5’s union hall. The union isn’t well known outside Western Pennsylvania, but it has a powerful presence in this key swing region. The governor has been particularly aggressive in calling in favors from unions.

Mr. Shapiro is also trying to shore up Democratic vulnerabilities elsewhere. He stumped for the vice president in Wisconsin in the largely rural Richland, Lafayette and Iowa Counties alongside Senator Tammy Baldwin, a Democrat facing a tough re-election battle in that state. Over the remaining days, his spokesman, Manuel Bonder, said he would spend time securing the votes of [*Jewish Pennsylvanians concerned over rising antisemitism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html) and the wavering support of some Democrats for Israel — a worry exacerbated by [*Ms. Harris’s decision not to pick Mr. Shapiro as her running mate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html).

It is a balancing act, selling Ms Harris to skeptical voters by emphasizing his own reputation for bipartisanship and moderation. In Slippery Rock on Saturday morning, the governor spoke about how he and Mr. Casey had gone up against the Biden administration to beat back an Energy Department proposal that could have shut down a steel mill in Butler County and cost 1,200 jobs. Without explicitly mentioning Ms. Harris’s past support for banning fracking, he talked up natural gas as part of his “all of the above” energy policies.

Then he commiserated with the Democratic faithful in a county where Trump signs come in bold clusters and Harris signs hardly exist.

“I know sometimes it can feel a little bit lonely here in Butler County when you’re a Democrat,” Mr. Shapiro told the crowd of about 100 that had gathered at the Twisted Oak Tavern at the edge of a golf course.

The governor advised attendees to take two yard signs, “one to send a message to all your neighbors — they’ve got company here in Butler County — and the second for when they steal the first.”

PHOTOS: Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania has taken on a punishing schedule of appearances, events and outreach in support of Vice President Kamala Harris’s campaign and that of fellow Democrats.; JOSH SHAPIRO, the governor of Pennsylvania.; Mr. Shapiro has emphasized his own reputation for moderation as a way of selling Ms. Harris to skeptical constituents. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL SWENSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

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**End of Document**



[***Black Elites Rethinking Support for President***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C4K-8DK1-JBG3-602X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1589 words

**Byline:** By John Eligon

**Body**

In pivotal elections on Wednesday, President Cyril Ramaphosa and his African National Congress party are struggling to keep the support of Black middle- and upper-class voters.

Cyril Ramaphosa ascended to the presidency of South Africa several years ago carrying the excitement and optimism of the country's rising Black professionals, who saw themselves in him: a measured businessman with intellectual gravitas. He seemed an antidote to the previous administration, which had blasted Black professionals as elitists complicit in the continued white domination of the economy.

But as voters head to the polls on Wednesday for the most consequential election in South Africa since the end of apartheid 30 years ago, Black professionals represent one of the grave threats to the precarious grip on power held by Mr. Ramaphosa and his party, the African National Congress, or A.N.C.

Polls predict that the party will receive below 50 percent of the national vote for the first time since the country's first democratic election in 1994. And Black professionals could play a significant role in the A.N.C.'s demise.

After defecting from the A.N.C. during the scandal-plagued tenure of Mr. Ramaphosa's predecessor, Jacob Zuma, many professionals returned to the party in the 2019 election. They believed that Mr. Ramaphosa could clean up corruption and turn around the sluggish economy, according to interviews with political analysts and Black professionals.

The return of these voters to the A.N.C. in the last election helped the party retain a comfortable majority, political analysts say.

Now, though, some Black professionals say they have grown disillusioned with Mr. Ramaphosa, believing that he has not acted decisively enough to reinvigorate the economy and eliminate A.N.C. corruption. Staggering unemployment, poverty, crime and a lack of basic services have left many South Africans fed up with the government.

''It just feels like he has not been bold enough,'' said Polo Leteka, a 48-year-old venture capitalist. While she credits Mr. Ramaphosa with turning around some state institutions, she believes that he consults too much before taking action. ''I think there's a balance between consultation and being authoritarian. And I don't think he's struck that balance properly as a leader.''

Black professionals are those in the middle- and upper-classes who tend to have some level of higher education, work white collar jobs and are readily able to afford necessities like food, housing and medical care. The cohort has grown significantly since the end of apartheid: It accounts for 3.4 million of South Africa's 62 million people, according to researchers at the University of Cape Town. Black professionals are just 7 percent of the Black population, but they have a spending power of $22 billion, the researchers said.

Mr. Ramaphosa had an approval rating of 41 percent among the Black middle- and upper-classes in 2022, according to the latest data from Afrobarometer, an independent research organization. But only 30 percent of people in the Black affluent classes said that year that they would vote for the A.N.C. in an election, down from 51 percent in 2018, just months after Mr. Ramaphosa became president.

Bonke Madlongolwana, 25, who owns a wholesale firewood company and is studying law, gave a blunt diagnosis of Mr. Ramaphosa: ''I think he lacks a backbone.''

Mr. Ramaphosa has rejected the assertion that he is a weak leader, pointing to recent improvements in the state-owned power and rail companies as evidence that his style of leadership was bearing fruit.

''Those who would like a president who is dictatorial, who is adventurous, who is reckless, will not find that in me,'' he said during a recent town hall meeting with young professionals in Johannesburg, where he wore a dark suit instead of the gold A.N.C. polo shirt that he typically wears during campaign rallies. ''In me they will find a president who wants to consult. I say I am decisive, but I want to take people along.''

While the party gets most of its support from the poor and ***working-class***, Black professionals, with their wealth and access to power, have an outsized influence on the political narrative that sways voters nationwide.

It might seem paradoxical that economically struggling Black South Africans support the A.N.C. at higher rates than the affluent Black population, which has benefited the most under the party's leadership. But the Black middle and upper classes tend to be more difficult to satisfy, several politicians and Black professionals said.

They aren't moved by the public works jobs, free government houses and cash grants that party leaders promise their poor and ***working-class*** constituents. Instead, they are interested in seeing corrupt officials prosecuted, competent leaders appointed to state-owned companies and policies that allow their businesses to compete against white-owned entities.

Black professionals say that they also feel the pain of widespread poverty: Many pay what South Africans call the ''Black tax,'' sending a portion of their earnings home to support jobless family members. Black professionals also resent that government shortcomings force them to pay for private security, schools and hospitals.

For many, those burdens dampen the party's argument that Black professionals have been able to rise out of poverty because of the government's affirmative action policies or higher education grants.

''You cannot clap at a fish for swimming,'' said Mr. Madlongolwana, adding that it was the job of any functional government to provide educational and economic opportunities for its people.

Critics of Mr. Ramaphosa argue that he sometimes appeared more concerned with placating factional battles within the party than with making difficult decisions that could benefit the country, such as firing ineffective government ministers. But Mr. Ramaphosa's supporters say his measured approach has spared South Africa from crisis and turned around corrupted state institutions.

''The one thing that you can rely on with his presidency is that there's a lot of political stability,'' said Sarah Mokwebo, 32, who works for the national treasury department.

Mdumiseni Ntuli, the head of the party's election campaign, said that the A.N.C. needed to do a better job of explaining to the Black middle class the specific reasons the country continues to face challenges, like the residual impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the economy.

While much of the A.N.C.'s campaigning plays out in spirited rallies in poor and ***working-class*** communities, engaging with middle-class voters takes more low-key forms: meetings in private homes, banquet lunches and dinners or forums on university campuses.

Mr. Ramaphosa's typical stump speech with Black professionals involves highlighting the corrupt institutions, energy crisis, and broken ports and rail system that his administration inherited. He tries to paint a picture of a South Africa pointed in the right direction.

But the A.N.C. is vying against 51 opposition parties this year, and 11 of those have formed a bloc led by the Democratic Alliance, the country's second largest party. The A.N.C. is still expected to dominate, but if it draws less than 50 percent of the vote, it will need to ally with one or more opposition parties to form a government.

Songezo Zibi, a former journalist and corporate communications official, launched a political party, Rise Mzansi, last year that aims to capture disgruntled, Black middle- and upper-class voters. One challenge, he said, was trying to motivate Black professionals to become politically active.

''The question they will ask is, 'What are you going to do for me?''' he said. ''They hang on the coattails of politicians to help them realize their dreams.''

For many Black professionals, the A.N.C.'s heyday came under Thabo Mbeki, who succeeded Nelson Mandela as president in 1999. Mr. Mbeki focused heavily on policies to ensure greater Black ownership of companies.

But backlash from those who felt that he left the poor behind led to the rise of Mr. Zuma, a populist who positioned himself as a champion of ordinary people. Mr. Zuma derided Black business people as ''clever Blacks'' who looked down on those with less education and wealth.

When Mr. Ramaphosa took over in 2018 from Mr. Zuma, who resigned under withering corruption allegations, Black business leaders were optimistic. Mr. Ramaphosa had become a billionaire after apartheid through A.N.C. policies that incentivized companies to give ownership to Black people. Many believed that he would champion Black entrepreneurs and was too well-off to be tempted by corruption.

Andile Nomlala, a 40-year-old entrepreneur working in real estate and agriculture, recalled a gathering before the 2019 election in the upscale Johannesburg suburb of Sandton, in which Mr. Ramaphosa met with about 300 Black professionals.

Speaking from a podium, Mr. Ramaphosa vowed to grow Black businesses and root out corruption in the party through good governance, Mr. Nomlala recalled.

''When I left the room there was nothing else in my heart than hope,'' Mr. Nomlala said, and he cast his vote for the A.N.C. for the first time since the Mbeki presidency.

But the past five years have left him sour. He feels that Mr. Ramaphosa has been too slow in addressing the electricity crisis and holding corrupt officials accountable.

''We are utterly disappointed,'' Mr. Nomlala said. ''People are angry with the A.N.C.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/29/world/africa/south-africa-election-president-ramaphosa.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/29/world/africa/south-africa-election-president-ramaphosa.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: President Cyril Ramaphosa, above, after attending a ''business luncheon to promote economic growth and solidarity,'' left, this month in Centurion, north of Johannesburg. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILAN GODFREY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** May 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***South Africa’s Black Elites Sour on the President They Championed***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C4J-V1G1-JBG3-64JB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** WORLD; africa

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**Byline:** John Eligon John Eligon is the Johannesburg bureau chief for The Times, covering a wide range of events and trends that influence and shape the lives of ordinary people across southern Africa.

**Highlight:** In pivotal elections on Wednesday, President Cyril Ramaphosa and his African National Congress party are struggling to keep the support of Black middle- and upper-class voters.

**Body**

In pivotal elections on Wednesday, President Cyril Ramaphosa and his African National Congress party are struggling to keep the support of Black middle- and upper-class voters.

Cyril Ramaphosa ascended to the presidency of South Africa several years ago carrying the excitement and optimism of the country’s rising Black professionals, who saw themselves in him: a measured businessman with intellectual gravitas. He seemed an antidote to the previous administration, which had blasted Black professionals as elitists complicit in the continued white domination of the economy.

But as voters head to the polls on Wednesday for the most consequential election in South Africa since the end of apartheid 30 years ago, Black professionals represent one of the grave threats to the precarious grip on power held by Mr. Ramaphosa and his party, the African National Congress, or A.N.C.

[*Polls predict*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/2024-south-africa-election-tracker) that the party will receive below 50 percent of the national vote for the first time since the country’s first democratic election in 1994. And Black professionals could play a significant role in the A.N.C.’s demise.

After defecting from the A.N.C. during the scandal-plagued tenure of Mr. Ramaphosa’s predecessor, Jacob Zuma, many professionals returned to the party in the 2019 election. They believed that Mr. Ramaphosa could clean up corruption and turn around the sluggish economy, according to interviews with political analysts and Black professionals.

The return of these voters to the A.N.C. in the last election helped the party retain a comfortable majority, political analysts say.

Now, though, some Black professionals say they have grown disillusioned with Mr. Ramaphosa, believing that he has not acted decisively enough to reinvigorate the economy and eliminate A.N.C. corruption. [*Staggering unemployment*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/2024-south-africa-election-tracker), poverty, crime and a lack of basic services have left many South Africans fed up with the government.

“It just feels like he has not been bold enough,” said Polo Leteka, a 48-year-old venture capitalist. While she credits Mr. Ramaphosa with turning around some state institutions, she believes that he consults too much before taking action. “I think there’s a balance between consultation and being authoritarian. And I don’t think he’s struck that balance properly as a leader.”

Black professionals are those in the middle- and upper-classes who tend to have some level of higher education, work white collar jobs and are readily able to afford necessities like food, housing and medical care. The cohort has grown significantly since the end of apartheid: It accounts for 3.4 million of South Africa’s 62 million people, according to researchers at the University of Cape Town. Black professionals are just 7 percent of the Black population, but they have a spending power of $22 billion, the researchers said.

Mr. Ramaphosa had an approval rating of 41 percent among the Black middle- and upper-classes in 2022, according to the latest data from Afrobarometer, an independent research organization. But only 30 percent of people in the Black affluent classes said that year that they would vote for the A.N.C. in an election, down from 51 percent in 2018, just months after Mr. Ramaphosa became president.

Bonke Madlongolwana, 25, who owns a wholesale firewood company and is studying law, gave a blunt diagnosis of Mr. Ramaphosa: “I think he lacks a backbone.”

Mr. Ramaphosa has rejected the assertion that he is a weak leader, pointing to recent improvements in the state-owned power and rail companies as evidence that his style of leadership was bearing fruit.

“Those who would like a president who is dictatorial, who is adventurous, who is reckless, will not find that in me,” he said during a recent town hall meeting with young professionals in Johannesburg, where he wore a dark suit instead of the gold A.N.C. polo shirt that he typically wears during campaign rallies. “In me they will find a president who wants to consult. I say I am decisive, but I want to take people along.”

While the party gets most of its support from the poor and ***working-class***, Black professionals, with their wealth and access to power, have an outsized influence on the political narrative that sways voters nationwide.

It might seem paradoxical that economically struggling Black South Africans support the A.N.C. at higher rates than the affluent Black population, which has benefited the most under the party’s leadership. But the Black middle and upper classes tend to be more difficult to satisfy, several politicians and Black professionals said.

They aren’t moved by the public works jobs, free government houses and cash grants that party leaders promise their poor and ***working-class*** constituents. Instead, they are interested in seeing corrupt officials prosecuted, competent leaders appointed to state-owned companies and policies that allow their businesses to compete against white-owned entities.

Black professionals say that they also feel the pain of widespread poverty: Many pay what South Africans call the “Black tax,” sending a portion of their earnings home to support jobless family members. Black professionals also resent that government shortcomings force them to pay for private security, schools and hospitals.

For many, those burdens dampen the party’s argument that Black professionals have been able to rise out of poverty because of the government’s affirmative action policies or higher education grants.

“You cannot clap at a fish for swimming,” said Mr. Madlongolwana, adding that it was the job of any functional government to provide educational and economic opportunities for its people.

Critics of Mr. Ramaphosa argue that he sometimes appeared more concerned with placating factional battles within the party than with making difficult decisions that could benefit the country, such as firing ineffective government ministers. But Mr. Ramaphosa’s supporters say his measured approach has spared South Africa from crisis and turned around corrupted state institutions.

“The one thing that you can rely on with his presidency is that there’s a lot of political stability,” said Sarah Mokwebo, 32, who works for the national treasury department.

Mdumiseni Ntuli, the head of the party’s election campaign, said that the A.N.C. needed to do a better job of explaining to the Black middle class the specific reasons the country continues to face challenges, like the residual impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the economy.

While much of the A.N.C.’s campaigning plays out in spirited rallies in poor and ***working-class*** communities, engaging with middle-class voters takes more low-key forms: meetings in private homes, banquet lunches and dinners or forums on university campuses.

Mr. Ramaphosa’s typical stump speech with Black professionals involves highlighting the corrupt institutions, energy crisis, and broken ports and rail system that his administration inherited. He tries to paint a picture of a South Africa pointed in the right direction.

But the A.N.C. is vying against 51 opposition parties this year, and 11 of those have formed a bloc led by the Democratic Alliance, the country’s second largest party. The A.N.C. is still expected to dominate, but if it draws less than 50 percent of the vote, it will need to ally with one or more opposition parties to form a government.

Songezo Zibi, a former journalist and corporate communications official, launched a political party, Rise Mzansi, last year that aims to capture disgruntled, Black middle- and upper-class voters. One challenge, he said, was trying to motivate Black professionals to become politically active.

“The question they will ask is, ‘What are you going to do for me?’” he said. “They hang on the coattails of politicians to help them realize their dreams.”

For many Black professionals, the A.N.C.’s heyday came under Thabo Mbeki, who succeeded Nelson Mandela as president in 1999. Mr. Mbeki focused heavily on policies to ensure greater Black ownership of companies.

But backlash from those who felt that he left the poor behind led to the rise of Mr. Zuma, a populist who positioned himself as a champion of ordinary people. Mr. Zuma derided Black business people as “clever Blacks” who looked down on those with less education and wealth.

When Mr. Ramaphosa took over in 2018 from Mr. Zuma, who resigned under withering corruption allegations, Black business leaders were optimistic. Mr. Ramaphosa had become a billionaire after apartheid through A.N.C. policies that incentivized companies to give ownership to Black people. Many believed that he would champion Black entrepreneurs and was too well-off to be tempted by corruption.

Andile Nomlala, a 40-year-old entrepreneur working in real estate and agriculture, recalled a gathering before the 2019 election in the upscale Johannesburg suburb of Sandton, in which Mr. Ramaphosa met with about 300 Black professionals.

Speaking from a podium, Mr. Ramaphosa vowed to grow Black businesses and root out corruption in the party through good governance, Mr. Nomlala recalled.

“When I left the room there was nothing else in my heart than hope,” Mr. Nomlala said, and he cast his vote for the A.N.C. for the first time since the Mbeki presidency.

But the past five years have left him sour. He feels that Mr. Ramaphosa has been too slow in addressing the electricity crisis and holding corrupt officials accountable.

“We are utterly disappointed,” Mr. Nomlala said. “People are angry with the A.N.C.”

PHOTOS: President Cyril Ramaphosa, above, after attending a “business luncheon to promote economic growth and solidarity,” left, this month in Centurion, north of Johannesburg. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILAN GODFREY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** May 29, 2024

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[***Peter Welch Explains Why He Thinks Biden Needs to Drop Out***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CFR-48W1-DXY4-X0MB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 10, 2024 Wednesday 14:29 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 551 words

**Byline:** Robert Jimison

**Highlight:** ‘It’s a catastrophe,’ said the senator from Vermont, becoming the first Democrat from that chamber to publicly say the president should step aside.

**Body**

‘It’s a catastrophe,’ said the senator from Vermont, becoming the first Democrat from that chamber to publicly say the president should step aside.

Senator Peter Welch of Vermont on Wednesday became the first Democratic senator to publicly call on President Biden to withdraw as the party’s presidential candidate in the aftermath of his disastrous debate performance last month.

“We can’t unsee what we saw,” Mr. Welch said in an interview shortly after publishing [*an op-ed in The Washington Post*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/07/10/welch-biden-withdraw/) in which he called for Mr. Biden to end his campaign and allow another Democrat to take on former President Donald J. Trump. He said the president’s stumbles during the debate had only reinforced — rather than allayed — concerns about his ability to run a successful campaign.

“Age was a big issue going into the debate, and it was an opportunity, obviously, that the White House saw to put that to rest, and coming out of the debate, it intensified it,” the first-term senator said. “And that’s a real problem.”

Mr. Welch, 77, said his decision to call on the president to step aside was extremely difficult because he and voters in his home state “love Joe Biden.” He touted the 2020 election results, in which Vermonters delivered Mr. Biden the highest percentage victory of any state in the country.

But he said those same voters had deep anxieties about the future, fearing that four years under a second Trump administration would remove any chance of extending progressive policies championed by Mr. Biden and could wipe away the progress they have supported over the last four years.

Mr. Welch said it had become an existential issue for him to consider the threat of another Trump presidency, and that his determination was that Mr. Biden was not up to beating the former president.

“It’s not the elites in Vermont who are talking to me,” Mr. Welch said, brushing back [*an argument that Mr. Biden has made in recent days*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/07/10/welch-biden-withdraw/) as he has defiantly refused to leave the race. “It’s the ***working-class*** mother who’s got two kids and is hoping maybe we can get the child care tax back. It’s kids who are working in AmeriCorps just to do cleanup and environmental work who are terrified that all the achievements of the Biden administration on the environment are going to be erased if we get a Trump presidency.”

“It’s a catastrophe,” he added.

The senator said he is not blind to the risks that could come should Mr. Biden step down, but rejected comparisons to the meltdown Democrats faced in 1968, when chaos and violence at the party convention in Chicago contributed to then-Vice President Hubert Humphrey’s loss in the general election that November.

“One of the achievements of Joe Biden is that he has unified the Democratic Party — everyone from Bernie Sanders to Joe Manchin,” Mr. Welch said. “And what that means is that if we have to go through ‘Who’s our next candidate?,’ it’s going to be among people who are all committed to the Biden commitment to save democracy, the Biden commitment to the environment, the Biden commitment to women’s rights.”

PHOTO: Senator Peter Welch of Vermont in the Capitol on Tuesday. He said on Wednesday that it was a hard decision to make but he thought President Biden should end his re-election campaign. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Appear Poised to Take Control of Senate, New Poll Shows***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D55-RJG1-DXY4-X1FV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 10, 2024 Thursday 10:10 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1472 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:** The latest polling from The New York Times and Siena College shows Republicans leading in key Senate races in Montana, Texas and Florida.

**Body**

The latest polling from The New York Times and Siena College shows Republicans leading in key Senate races in Montana, Texas and Florida.

Control of the Senate appears likely to flip from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party this fall, as one of the nation’s most endangered Democrats, Senator Jon Tester of Montana, trails his Republican challenger in his bid for re-election, according to [*a new poll from The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html).

Mr. Tester, who first won election to the Senate in 2006, is winning over moderate and independent voters and running far ahead of the Democrat at the top of the ticket, Vice President Kamala Harris. But as of now, that does not appear to be enough to survive in Montana, a conservative state where former President Donald J. Trump is ahead by 17 percentage points and where control of the Senate hangs in the balance.

Tim Sheehy, a wealthy Republican businessman and a former Navy SEAL who has never held public office, leads Mr. Tester 52 percent to 44 percent, the poll shows. Mr. Sheehy’s lead is a seven-point advantage without rounding.

Democrats currently hold a 51-seat Senate majority. But with Republicans already set to pick up a seat after the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III, an independent from West Virginia who caucuses with Democrats, the party cannot afford to lose additional seats.

In fact, the party’s only hope is to secure a 50-50 split and to have Ms. Harris win the White House, allowing her running mate, Tim Walz, to provide the crucial tiebreaking vote as vice president.

At least seven other Democratic-held Senate seats are competitive this fall, including in the presidential battlegrounds of Arizona, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Nevada and Wisconsin. In late September, [*a series of Times/Siena surveys*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html) in four of those races, as well as in Ohio, found Democrats ahead, though narrowly in some cases.

[Follow [*the latest polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html) and see updated [*polling averages of the Harris vs. Trump matchup*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html).]

The problem is that the Democratic Party has scarce opportunities to flip any Republican-held seats in 2024 to make up for any potential losses, such as in Montana.

The best opportunity, according to new Times/Siena polling, may be in Texas, which Democrats have long dreamed of flipping but where they have fallen well short in recent years. Senator Ted Cruz, a Republican seeking his third term, leads his Democratic challenger, Representative Colin Allred, 48 percent to 44 percent, according to a [*Times/Siena poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html) in Texas.

And in Florida, [*a Times/Siena poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html) found that Senator Rick Scott, the Republican incumbent, is comfortably ahead of Representative Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, his Democratic rival, by an even wider margin, 49 percent to 40 percent.

Both Mr. Cruz and Mr. Scott lead by smaller margins in their states than Mr. Trump is ahead of Ms. Harris.

A third potentially competitive Republican-held seat has emerged in recent weeks, though the re-election bid of Senator Deb Fischer, Republican of Nebraska, was not included in the polls. Ms. Fischer is running against an independent, Dan Osborn, and Republicans have recently come to her campaign’s aid with advertising.

In Montana, money has been flooding the state for months. With a population of around 1.1 million, Montana is set to see more than $265 million in television spending related to the Senate race, according to AdImpact, the ad-tracking service.

Republicans have circled Mr. Tester’s race as a top priority in 2024 largely because the state has become so solidly Republican in national politics. Mr. Trump won there with 57 percent of the vote in 2020 — the same percentage he was pulling in the poll.

Mr. Tester, with his flattop haircut and seven fingers — he lost three digits in a meat-grinding accident as a child — has successfully carved out a distinctive image that has long allowed him to outrun his party label and win re-election in 2012 and 2018.

This year, Republicans are hoping to make the Senate race in Montana a national partisan referendum. In the poll, 55 percent of likely voters said they would prefer that Republicans control the Senate, compared with only 37 percent who prefer Democratic control.

As of now, the poll found that Mr. Tester was winning the support of only 6 percent of Republicans. Mr. Tester trails his challenger even though he was favored over Mr. Sheehy by independent voters and viewed more favorably by them.

The race has been the top priority for Senator Steve Daines of Montana, the chairman of the Senate Republican campaign arm, the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Mr. Daines is determined to knock out his state’s senior senator. It is something of a grudge match in that Mr. Tester had vocally supported former Gov. Steve Bullock, a Democrat, when Mr. Bullock challenged Mr. Daines in 2020.

In Montana, Ms. Harris is viewed unfavorably by 60 percent of likely voters, who trusted Mr. Trump more than her on every issue tested, including the economy, immigration, abortion, democracy and helping the ***working class***.

In a sign of the state’s partisan tilt and the uphill battle for Mr. Tester, even independent voters there said they preferred that Republicans control the Senate in 2025.

In the Montana governor’s race, Mr. Trump’s edge over Ms. Harris (57 percent to 40 percent) was similar to the lead of the Republican governor, Greg Gianforte, over his Democratic challenger, Ryan Busse (57 percent to 35 percent).

For Mr. Tester, the steady barrage of [*negative ads about*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html) him appears to have affected his image, with 47 percent viewing him favorably and 50 percent unfavorably.

All three new Times/Siena polls — in Montana, Texas and Florida — showed fresh evidence of a trend that has been the case across the map this year: Republican Senate candidates are running behind Mr. Trump.

In Texas, Mr. Trump was ahead by seven points, while Mr. Cruz was up by only four points.

In Florida, Mr. Trump was leading by 13 points, while Mr. Scott was ahead by nine points.

And in Montana, Mr. Trump’s lead was 10 points larger than Mr. Sheehy’s.

In all three states, the gender gap was working in the G.O.P.’s favor. Men favored the Republicans by a wider margin than women favored the Democratic candidates.

Interestingly, immigration was tied with the economy as the most pressing issue for voters in Montana — while it was significantly behind the economy as the most important issue for voters in Texas and Florida, two states that are more traditionally associated with the topic, even if Montana borders Canada.

Ruth Igielnik and Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

Here are the key things to know about these polls:

* Interviewers spoke with 656 voters in Montana from Oct. 5 to 8, 622 voters in Florida from Sept. 29 to Oct. 6, and 617 voters in Texas from Sept. 29 to Oct. 4.
* Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, more than 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/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-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 this poll, interviewers placed nearly 55,000 calls to nearly 30,000 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/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html), under “Composition of the Sample.”
* The margin of sampling error among likely voters is about plus or minus four percentage points. 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/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-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/2024/10/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-montana-crosstabs.html).

Ruth Igielnik and Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Senator Jon Tester, Democrat of Montana, is viewed unfavorably by 50 percent in the new poll. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Tim Sheehy, who has never held public office, is well in the lead. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LOUISE JOHNS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A9) This article appeared in print on page A1, A9.

**Load-Date:** October 11, 2024

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[***Trump Draws, and Repels, Nevada Latinos With His Anti-Immigrant Message***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6F-JHF1-JBG3-603D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1632 words

**Byline:** Benjamin OreskesBenjamin Oreskes is a reporter covering New York State politics and government for The Times.

**Highlight:** For some, Donald J. Trump’s incessant attacks on immigrants are too much. Still, many appear prepared to look past his escalations and back a candidate they believe will help their livelihoods.

**Body**

For some, Donald J. Trump’s incessant attacks on immigrants are too much. Still, many appear prepared to look past his escalations and back a candidate they believe will help their livelihoods.

Two months ago, [*Javier Barajas*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos) hosted former President Donald J. Trump at [*Il Toro E La Capra,*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos) one of five restaurants he owns in Las Vegas.

Mr. Barajas, 65, had eagerly backed Hillary Clinton when she ran for president in 2008; he previously [*welcomed President Biden to one of his other restaurants.*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos) But he has thrown his support to Mr. Trump this year for one major reason: skyrocketing prices on everything from the ingredients in his entrees to the gas for his catering truck.

His nephew, Justin Favela, was crafting a piece of traditional Mexican folk art from tissue paper when he began receiving angry and confused texts from friends and family who had seen the news of Mr. Trump’s visit on social media and the nightly news.

Mr. Favela, [*a 38-year-old artist*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos), has economic concerns that resemble his uncle’s. Higher rents, increased costs for the supplies to create his art and student loans leave him stressed about his future.

But he will cast a reluctant vote for Vice President Kamala Harris, spurred primarily by Mr. Trump’s increasingly dark and racist portrayals of immigrants like those in his own family.

“I work 12 hours a day just to be alive — just to be able to pay rent. I can’t even afford a house. The Democrats have been weak,” Mr. Favela said, describing how the cost of a gallon of glue, which is essential for his work, has doubled in the last three years.

“But gun to my head I would not vote for Trump,” he added. “To still vote for somebody that called everybody from Mexico rapists and has these terrible violent border policies shows that you’re not interested in supporting humanity and helping people, you’re interested in the bottom dollar.”

The former president has braided his economic pitch that Americans would be better off under a second Trump administration to increasingly vitriolic and openly [*nativist attacks on undocumented immigrants*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos). Appealing to voters of color, he has frequently [*claimed migrants are taking jobs*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos) and housing that might otherwise go to Black and Latino Americans, accusations that are not supported by available data. In rally after rally, he has cast migrants as a violent invading force responsible for degraded life in America’s towns and cities, and promised “the largest mass deportation operation in history.”

The message is registering among Nevada’s Latino voters in the closing weeks of the campaign. Interviews with nearly two dozen such voters, of various ideological stripes, reveal similar rifts between friends and family over whom to support. For some, despite the financial concerns that might otherwise sway them toward Mr. Trump, his incessant attacks on immigrants are too much. Still, many appear prepared to look past his escalations and back a candidate they believe will help their livelihoods.

Mr. Barajas’s frustrations capture the potency of the Republicans’ economic argument. Nevada’s service-heavy economy was crushed by the pandemic, and while the recovery has been strong, the state still has the highest unemployment rate nationally and some of the highest prices for gas and groceries.

“I used to pay three years ago, $32 for a case of eggs. Now it’s about $100” for the same crate of about 200 eggs, said Mr. Barajas, who arrived in the United States from Mexico in 1978 illegally and became a citizen in the early 1990s.

He added: “I don’t trust Trump 100 percent, but much better than Kamala. I know he is going to make mistakes. I know he is not going to do everything he says, but I know he is going to do much better for this country.”

Latino voters have been a key part of the coalition that has propelled Democrats to success in Nevada for the last 20 years. Ms. Harris’s campaign has promoted economic proposals that they believe would bring down the cost of staples, as well as housing. Nationally, the campaign has run millions in Spanish language television advertising and said it would spend close to $3 million in October on Spanish-language radio advertising. They didn’t offer numbers specific to Nevada.

Emilia Pablo, a spokeswoman for the campaign, said in a statement that Democrats were working to “drive home the stark choice they face at the ballot box this election.” She pointed to Mr. Trump repeatedly pushing for mass deportations, separating migrant children from their families and calling for the end to birthright citizenship.

Added Matt A. Barreto, a campaign pollster for the Harris campaign, “While some people may like Trump on the economy, they are not willing to give up their morals and give up American democracy and the Harris campaign is making a heavy play for those voters because of Trump’s extremism.”

He added, “Trump is not winning Latinos on the economy, but yes there are Latino Republicans who vote Republican.”

Still, Mr. Trump surprised in 2020 when he picked up 36 percent support from Latino voters nationally, up from 28 percent in 2016, according to the Pew Research Center. A recent national [*New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos) found that 56 percent of Latinos support Vice President Kamala Harris, while 37 percent back Mr. Trump.

The poll showed that Latino women back Ms. Harris in much higher numbers than Mr. Trump; it also indicated that Mr. Trump’s escalating attacks on immigrants had not driven Latino voters to Ms. Harris. Two-thirds of those [*surveyed*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos) said they believed Mr. Trump was not referring to people like them when he spoke about immigrants. (Half of foreign-born Hispanic voters said the same.)

The survey also indicated a receptiveness to Mr. Trump’s policy stances like building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border and deporting immigrants.

Jesus Marquez, a local political consultant and Trump surrogate, said Democrats thought Mr. Trump’s views on the border would hurt him.

“It’s actually resonating with Latinos,” Mr. Marquez said. “Legal Latinos, who are voting and paying taxes, it’s becoming a burden to them. They don’t like the open border situation.”

Latinos make up about 20 percent of the electorate in Nevada and are thus a key swing vote in a swing state. Former President George W. Bush was the last Republican presidential nominee to win Nevada, in his 2004 re-election bid.

Support for Mr. Trump’s border stances was evident even among Latino voters who said his anti-immigrant escalations would keep them from voting for him in November.

Tony Muñoz, a former police officer who runs a catering business in Las Vegas, recently visited family in Juarez, Mexico, and said he was shocked by what he saw as a humanitarian disaster at the border, and faulted Democrats and Republicans for failing to manage it.

He has voted for Republicans in the past and would again — just not Mr. Trump.

“The rhetoric that Trump spilled on migrants, I’m not for it,” he said.

“Calling us murderers, rapists and drug dealers. It just hurts me as a Latino. It hurts me as just a person.”

However, Mr. Barajas, who after arriving in the United States fell in love with President Ronald Reagan’s strength and speaking style, separates his own experience as an undocumented immigrant from those that Mr. Trump demonizes.

“I came to work. I used to work two jobs. I didn’t ask the government for any money. I don’t mind people coming to work. They now come to” commit crimes, he said, using the Spanish word. ([*While Mr. Trump routinely claims*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos) falsely that undocumented immigrants are fueling a “migrant crime” wave, national crime statistics do not support that assertion.)

As the clock ticks down to Election Day, both candidates are working hard to win Latino support.

Ms. Harris’s campaign, conscious that the border and the economy are issues that tend to favor Mr. Trump, has focused on conveying to voters that she would be a better, more stable bet on both. Her campaign released an ad in August promising she would hire thousands of more Border Patrol officials and ending with: “Fixing the border is tough. So is Kamala Harris.”

During a Univision town hall of undecided Latino voters in [*Las Vegas*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/a-pro-trump-restaurant-owner-may-explain-the-former-presidents-appeal-to-nevada-latinos) last week, Ms. Harris was pressed repeatedly on the cost of living and talked up her proposals to tackle price gouging and make housing more affordable.

“The economy is top of mind, like that doesn’t change whether you were born here or you weren’t born here,” said Melissa Morales, the president of Somos Votantes and Somos PAC, which has about 250 paid canvassers going door-to-door to lift Latino turnout for Ms. Harris and other Democrats in the state.

Last week, Antonio Montes, 22, stood at his front door chatting with a Somos PAC canvasser in a ***working-class*** section of Las Vegas. Mr. Montes, who installs solar panels and doesn’t pay much attention to the election, voted for Mr. Biden in 2020 and is leaning toward Ms. Harris.

“I know a lot of people say that, ‘Oh, Donald Trump brought the economy up,’” said Mr. Montes, whose chief issue is the economy as he struggles to keep up on rent. “But in reality, I don’t feel like he really did. I feel like it was the president before him. The policies of the presidency take a while to kick in. So in reality the problems in the economy here could be Donald Trump’s fault.”

PHOTOS: Members of a culinary workers union canvassing last week in East Las Vegas, where voting preferences can differ even within a family. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Justin Favela, in his Las Vegas art studio, said, “gun to my head I would not vote for Trump.” His uncle, Javier Barajas, hosted the former president at his restaurant Il Toro E La Capra, below. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ROGER KISBY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

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**End of Document**



[***Democrats, Let’s Get Real About Why Harris Lost; Frank Bruni***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC6-79B1-JBG3-60SW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2024 Thursday 19:13 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2371 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:** Americans aren’t joyful. They’re angry. And they’ve been telling us that all along.

**Body**

As Election Day neared, Democrats’ hopes soared. I know because I saw it and heard it all around me — the widening smiles, the brightening voices. Vice President Kamala Harris was ascendant. Donald Trump was done. People could just feel it.

They were reacting to polls, though they were picking and choosing: To listen to them, that [*outlier survey in Iowa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html), which augured a Harris victory in a red state that she ended up losing by about 13 percentage points, was some amalgam of the burning bush and the Rosetta stone.

They were reacting to momentum, which is a word as squishy as a wet paper towel and a concept beloved by dreamers whose yearning outstrips actual evidence.

But they were reacting above all to Trump. To how epically awful he was being. In his increasingly saturnine and serpentine remarks, he imagined Liz Cheney facing a fusillade of bullets, he called Democrats “demonic,” he said that he should never have left the White House after the 2020 election. All of this was characterized by many observers as the most self-destructive, disastrous conclusion to a presidential campaign that they’d ever beheld. And all of it was identified by the optimistic Democrats around me as the last straw.

Americans — at least the ones whose minds weren’t firmly made up — would surely abandon Trump now. There was a limit to the cruelness and craziness they’d abide.

That judgment, of course, was terribly wrong. And I want to name and dwell on a few of the reasons for its wrongness, because they’re stubborn misapprehensions, enduring blind spots. They’re costing Democrats — no, they’re costing America — dearly.

For starters, many voters don’t know about or didn’t really pay attention to all of Trump’s florid ugliness in the final hours. Many voters aren’t plugged in like that. Politics, even presidential campaigns, aren’t in the center of their vision but in its periphery — and irregularly, at that. Those of us who get hourly updates, have nightly freak-outs and can hold forth on [*Trump and the shark*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html), [*Trump and Hannibal Lecter,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) [*Trump and windmills*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) aren’t normal, but we’re arrogant: We assume our experience is everyone’s and our knowledge ambient.

No. People are busy. People are distracted. People are cynical. They tune out much if not most of this political drama because they regard it, indeed, as theater, as performance, whether it’s Trump’s conniptions or Harris’s “Kumbaya.”

So what, then, forms their impressions and drives their decisions? They’re responding in significant measure to the state of the world around them, whether it’s to their liking and whom they hold responsible for it. That was Harris’s affliction — the price of food, the elusiveness of homeownership and the fact that she’d been the No. 2 figure in the administration in charge of the country for the past four years. The obvious, boring nature of the diagnosis didn’t make it any less fatal.

Another blind spot: the belief that seemingly key moments matter more than ongoing conditions. Sure, Democrats had an expertly choreographed convention. Yes, Harris had a great debate. No doubt, Trump had a miserable one. And then came his Madison Square Garden debacle.

But while treating each of those news stories as potential turning points spiced up the narrative, it smudged the big picture, which is about satisfaction with and confidence in the country’s direction. Survey after survey showed that Americans were deeply fearful and intensely pessimistic. Not even the most star-studded rally could change that. Not even an endorsement by Taylor Swift could make it go away.

As for joy, well, we got that wrong, too. (That’s a deliberate “we” — I’m [*including myself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html).) The Reagan-era adage that sunniness wins more votes than gloominess has been repudiated repeatedly over the decades since he left office, and while I root for its return, I recognize its current quaintness.

We all must if we want to understand the political playing field better than we did in 2016 and again this year. If we want to compete effectively against the MAGA movement. If we want to contain its excesses and make certain that America has a viable political alternative to it. Trump sells terror, and he has found a robust market for it. That’s because it’s a durable ware.

The Harris Factor

Would a Democrat other than Harris have been able to beat Trump? That question now haunts not only Democrats but also all Americans who view Trump’s return to the White House as a rejection of the country’s core values and a portal to disaster. The answer is more complicated than many of the arguments already jousting with one another.

But before I say more about that, I want to say thank you to Vice President Harris. Yes, thank you. I’ve no doubt that she gave it her all, in a manner that showed more grace and grit than many Americans previously attributed to her. She had her serious shortcomings, as all of us do, and there were challenges she handled [*much less dexterously than she might have*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html). But what we asked of her was titanic in the context of American presidential campaigns: to win over a critical mass of voters who had not expected her to be the Democratic nominee — and hadn’t had any say in that — in the span of 15 weeks.

That anomaly defined her candidacy like nothing else. And it was enmeshed in other dynamics that worked against her: most Americans’ intense dissatisfaction with how the country was faring under the leadership of President Biden, with whom she was inextricably linked; a sense among some Americans that they’d been lied to about his physical and cognitive fitness; the pall that cast over the entire Democratic Party.

Given when and how Biden abandoned his re-election bid in late July, Harris was bound to pick up the pieces and carry the torch. But her partnership with him made it much, much trickier — not just politically but also on a human level — to do what was necessary and distance herself from an unpopular incumbent. If another nominee would have been better, that’s largely because another nominee could have better established separation from him.

As we puzzle over any false steps she made, any concerns she failed to address and any ways in which her past or current political identity turned some voters off, we shouldn’t lose sight of larger circumstances.

This was a dismal year for Democrats through and through: Look at the results of Senate races, including the defeat of a politician as talented and admired as Senator Sherrod Brown in Ohio.

This is a bad time for ruling parties and a boom time for the likes of Trump, as Nate Cohn [*observed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) in his Times newsletter, The Tilt. Harris’s defeat “occurred against the backdrop of political upheaval across the industrial world,” he wrote. “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.”

Harris’s pluses and minuses perhaps mattered less than those ups and downs.

A Ray of Hope in North Carolina

I’m elated by and relieved about the victory of Attorney General Josh Stein over Lt. Gov. Mark Robinson in the North Carolina governor’s race. As I explained in [*a long examination of the contest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) in September, Stein, a moderate Democrat, has the experience and temperament to lead the state. Robinson, a right-wing Republican, has a loud voice, extremist positions, bizarre behavior and viciously bigoted statements.

His defeat — by, apparently, nearly 15 percentage points — suggests limits to the tolerance for undiluted MAGA madness.

It encourages me for an additional reason: The margin of Robinson’s loss diverged hugely from Trump’s advantage over Harris in North Carolina of more than three percentage points. That’s a remarkable magnitude of ticket splitting even for this state, which has a long history of it. It shows that political tribalism goes only so far.

I’ve written extensively over the years about the intensification of partisanship in American politics; a big chunk of my most recent book, “[*The Age of Grievance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html),” explores that. Unchecked, partisanship often blinds us to truth and leaches all nuance from our judgments and humility from our behavior. It also has us voting for people in accordance with our (and their) labels and nothing more.

But in North Carolina, where a third of the electorate is officially unaffiliated with either of the country’s two big political parties, Stein prevailed even as Trump prospered. Voters here elected another Democrat to succeed Stein as attorney general while they voted for Republicans in several other statewide races. Democrats here also [*appeared to break the Republican supermajority*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) in the state House of Representatives.

“So we are still a divided, bipolar, competitive state,” Michael Bitzer, a professor of history and political science at Catawba College in North Carolina, wrote to me in a text message early Wednesday morning. I’d prefer us a little bluer. But I like that the color of a given race on a given year isn’t a foregone conclusion.

For the Love of Sentences

In The Atlantic, Helen Lewis [*illuminated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) a view of America from the opposite side of the Atlantic: “In Western Europe, many see America’s presidential election this year not as a battle between left and right, liberal and conservative, high and low taxes, but something more like a soccer game between a midranking team and a herd of stampeding buffalo. Sure, the buffalo might win — but not by playing soccer.” (Thanks to Barbara Jusiak of Irvine, Calif., and Darcy Fryer of Manhattan, among others, for nominating this.)

In The Financial Times, Alan Beattie [*appraised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) the president-elect’s economic talk: “Some people think it’s a category mistake even to address Donald Trump’s trade policy as an actual thing rather than a mess of prejudices and contradictions, and that for other governments to employ logic and game theory in engaging with it is like trying to play chess with an angry rhino.” (Daniel Olson, Temù, Italy, and Dan Stone, Centerport, N.Y.)

In The Rutland Herald of Vermont, Walt Amses [*performed a post-mortem*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) on Trump’s Madison Square Garden rally: “Who could have predicted a candidate known for crude, racist, sexist, vulgar speeches would draw crude, racist, sexist, vulgar speakers to the stage — prompting Bad Bunny to throw caution to the wind and endorse Harris despite the obvious risk of being marinated into hasenpfeffer by the usual suspects.” (Ric Reardon, Rutland, Vt.)

In Slate, Alexander Sammon [*described*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) watching TV at night during a reporting trip to Montana, where a fiercely contested Senate race meant ads creeping into every hour. “I was back in the hotel room for Sunday Night Football,” he wrote. “The Pittsburgh Steelers scored a late touchdown and drew to 15-13 at the half and Jon Tester helped a Republican woman get Social Security benefits and Spectrum offered internet and Arby’s has the meats.” (Ellen Patterson, Indianapolis)

In The Washington Post on the eve of Election Day, Monica Hesse [*imagined*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) Harris winning in spite of many American men’s desires and on the strength of the gender gap: “Their sense of world order is about to be undone by the women in their lives grabbing democracy by the ballot box. (When you’re a registered voter, they let you do it.)” (Douglas Steffes, Madison, Wis., and Stephanie Logan, Centennial, Colo., among others)

In The Times, Jess Bidgood [*observed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) that Trump’s riff on Liz Cheney’s violent death “seemed like yet another gift from Trump and his allies to Democrats — making the final countdown to the election feel like an Advent calendar with a sexist, violent or otherwise politically dubious remark behind each door.” (Joanna Valentine, San Antonio, and Bob Jacobson, Mt. Juliet, Tenn., among many others)

Also in The Times, Carlos Lozada [*mulled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) the memoir of a model turned first lady: “The cover of ‘Melania’ is all black, save for the one-word title in white, resembling a perfume package. Along with the aroma of indifference, the book gives off an unmistakable scent of grift.” (Carol Field, Villas, N.J., and Judi McDowell, Tallahassee, Fla., along with many others)

And Jean-Luc Bouchard [*panned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) a new feature of Microsoft Paint that’s powered by artificial intelligence and promises to “unleash your creativity”: “I prompted it to generate ‘a map of a city on a river,’ and received back the sort of technically proficient but utterly generic graphic that you might find hanging on the wall of a Days Inn. It unleashed my creativity about as much as buying a Twix bar from a vending machine would make me a pastry chef.” (Jeff Bauer, Madison, Wis., and Jim Bellis, Kfar Vradim, Israel, among others)

In The New Yorker, Bruce Handy [*detailed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) the stylist Michelle Côté’s ministrations to give Sebastian Stan, the star of the new movie “The Apprentice,” the Trump coiffure: “Stan’s real hair was covered in part by a fake scalp, which was covered in turn by a wig — a tonsorial turducken.” (Betsy Frank, Mattituck, N.Y., and Ann Madonia Casey, Fairview, Texas)

Also in The New Yorker (and also on the subject of trademark tresses), Andrew Marantz [*beheld*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) Tucker Carlson onstage in a Kansas City, Mo., arena: “His hair was elegantly rumpled, as if he’d just been awakened from a nap on a friend’s yacht.” (Robin Allen, San Francisco)

And in a less hairy New Yorker essay, Sloane Crosley [*revisited*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) Dorothy Parker’s book reviews and remarked on how much less efficient critics’ pans are today. “It takes us four times as long to kill our prey,” Crosley wrote, adding: “Our literary criticism features a great deal of ‘I,’ the pronoun most likely to overstay its welcome. In the right hands, this conflation of narrative and critique can have dazzling results. But on the whole? Imagine waiting 20 minutes for a medical diagnosis while your doctor walks you through her commute.” (Nancy Chek, Silver Spring, Md.)

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/2024/11/04/us/elections/iowa-selzer-poll-trump-harris.html) and include your name and place of residence.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ben Wiseman FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

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[***Walz’s Pennsylvania Campaign Swing Underscores Challenges in the Battleground***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CWW-94Y1-JBG3-61DG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 5, 2024 Thursday 12:55 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 992 words

**Byline:** Jazmine Ulloa Jazmine Ulloa is a national politics reporter for The Times, covering the 2024 presidential campaign. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** With his daughter, Hope, in tow, Gov. Tim Walz made stops in red-leaning parts of a state that both parties see as critical to victory, but his events featured limited interactions with voters.

**Body**

With his daughter, Hope, in tow, Gov. Tim Walz made stops in red-leaning parts of a state that both parties see as critical to victory, but his events featured limited interactions with voters.

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota on Thursday capped two days of crisscrossing Pennsylvania, talking up Vice President Kamala Harris’s experience, taking shots at former President Donald J. Trump and making his now familiar pleas to voters that they fight for freedom with optimism.

“Look, it would be easier if we didn’t have to do this. It would be easier if these guys wouldn’t undermine our system, if they wouldn’t lie about elections, if they wouldn’t put women’s health at risk. But they are, so it’s a privilege for us to do the fight,” he said in Erie, Pa., where he stumped from a stage at the edge of Presque Isle Bay before hundreds of cheering supporters waving “Coach” and “Kamala” signs.

The appearance was one of several events that Mr. Walz used to blitz the local media airwaves and fire up Democratic volunteers with the Midwestern dad charm that his party is banking on to help draw white ***working-class*** voters. Mr. Walz, and his daughter, Hope, hit several cities in counties that went for Mr. Trump in 2016 — stung by fading American manufacturing and a difficult economy.

The [*shooting this week at Apalachee High School in Winder, Ga.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/apalachee-high-school-shooting-lockdown.html), added urgency to his message at the Erie rally and at local Democratic offices, where he stressed it was in voters’ power to elect leaders willing to pass gun-safety laws, tackle climate change and ensure freedom in health decisions.

“I say it as a gun owner; I say it as a veteran; I say it as a hunter: none of the things we’re proposing infringes on your Second Amendment right. But what does infringe upon this is our children going to school and being killed,” he said at a Harris-Walz field office in Erie. “It is unacceptable, and it doesn’t have to be this way. So we end that with our votes. We end it with a vision of a better America.”

Onstage later, he recalled sitting with the parents of children killed in the Sandy Hook shooting in Connecticut when he was still a member of Congress and a cardholder of the National Rifle Association. “I think about it — today, my son, this week, started his senior year of high school,” Mr. Walz said. “And it’s bittersweet for me because those killed at Sandy Hook would have been entering their senior year, too.”

His trip also underscored the challenges for his ticket as Democrats aim to improve their margins in rural and red-leaning areas in November. The specter of the former president loomed at nearly every stop, and though Mr. Walz arrived ready to engage with undecided voters, some places yielded few opportunities to do so. Mr. Walz also frustrated a handful of reporters as he refused to answer shouted questions.

On Wednesday, as the Walzes arrived in Lancaster, Pa., their motorcade passed a couple of dozen people holding Trump-Vance campaign signs as it left the airport. They visited an orchard there, a Milk Shake Factory in Moon Township, and a farm in Dawson, where the two fed caramel-colored calves out of milk bottles.

Retail politicking comes naturally to Mr. Walz, who appears to genuinely enjoy it. At the orchard, he and his daughter delighted customers with their affable nature and quick banter.

“We’re pumpkin people,” Hope Walz declared, as they picked out whoopie pies and cider doughnuts for their volunteers.

“Look at me, I have no problem picking out doughnuts,” Mr. Walz joked at one point. (A Harris campaign social media account later shared the interaction to poke fun at Senator JD Vance’s own stilted doughnut shop appearance days earlier.)

But few voters were around to meet the Walzes, and even fewer at the Milk Shake Factory. At the farm, Mr. Walz chatted with owners about their businesses, and spent a good chunk of time speaking with the dairy farm managers about shortages in veterinarians and teachers and the dairy and mining industries. In the distance, a Trump flag rustled in the breeze from a pole in a neighbor’s yard.

Stops at Democratic offices were more promising as volunteers handed over their cellphones after reaching voters — or friends or family eager to greet him. On Thursday, in Erie, the Walzes shook hands with some young voters before sitting down behind them to enjoy a burger, onion rings and two hot fudge milkshakes at a roadside restaurant. Two of the women told a reporter they were voting for Mr. Trump over concerns about inflation. One said she would cast her ballot for Ms. Harris. (A campaign official said the Walzes spoke to them for 20 minutes more after they had finished their meal and made a couple of more rounds to tables after the press had been whisked away.)

Pennsylvania has emerged as a crucial battleground for the Harris campaign, which has been investing heavily in the state to court anti-Trump and Trump-skeptical conservatives and independents. Early polls have shown Ms. Harris slightly ahead or tied with Mr. Trump and underperforming with male voters. Harris campaign officials say they are under no illusion that they can win outright in [*these right-leaning rural regions,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/apalachee-high-school-shooting-lockdown.html) but they are trying regardless, knowing any movement can matter at the margins.

Mr. Walz ignored shouted questions from reporters about news articles that surfaced Wednesday over his own distant Republican relatives pledging to vote for Mr. Trump. But at his rally in Erie, he seemed to nod at those reports as he tied Mr. Trump to a set of conservative policies he described as harmful to democracy, women, workers and the middle class.

“So you tell your relatives because, look, we all got them — we know we got to keep talking to them — he said what he would do,” Mr. Walz said of Mr. Trump. “And I believe him.”

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota greeting supporters at a rally in Erie, Pa., on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Glen Stubbe/Star Tribune, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 6, 2024

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[***Survey Shows Where Presidential Rivals Stand in Winning Over Latino Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D67-BK11-JBG3-63MP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 15, 2024 Tuesday

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

**Length:** 1724 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina, Ruth Igielnik and Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

Latino voters said they were open to Donald J. Trump's immigration policies and hungry for change. Many remain undecided.

Vice President Kamala Harris's support among Hispanic voters is in dangerously low territory for Democrats, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll, while her rival, former President Donald J. Trump, has maintained his strength with the fast-growing group poised to play a key role in deciding control of the White House.

The survey of the likely Latino electorate across the country found Ms. Harris underperforming the last three Democratic candidates for the White House, and vulnerable on a slate of top issues, including the economy, immigration and crime.

Mr. Trump, who shocked Democrats four years ago with his appeal to Latinos, particularly men, has only tightened his grip -- even as he closes his campaign with a sharply anti-immigrant message.

The poll found that those escalating attacks on immigrants had not driven Latino voters to Ms. Harris. Two-thirds of those surveyed said they believed Mr. Trump was not referring to people like them when he spoke about immigrants. (Half of foreign-born Hispanic voters said the same.)

The findings highlight Latinos' status as decisive swing voters in presidential politics. The last Democrat to fall below 60 percent with Latino voters was John Kerry, the losing nominee in 2004. Over a decade ago, roughly 70 percent of Latino voters backed President Barack Obama's re-election. Since then, Mr. Trump has eroded that support.

Both parties have aggressively courted Hispanic voters this year, and the survey suggests that voters' choices could still change: About one-quarter said they were undecided or persuadable -- slightly higher than likely voters overall. Those undecided voters lean toward Ms. Harris.

The poll of 902 Hispanic likely voters, conducted from Sept. 29 to Oct. 6, shows striking signs of support for Mr. Trump's most aggressive immigration policies: More than one-third of Hispanic voters say they support both building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border and deporting immigrants who are living in the United States illegally. A vast majority of that support comes from Trump voters, but 9 percent of Harris voters also say the same. Support for such policies came largely from Latinos born in the United States.

Roughly four in 10 Hispanic voters said they did not take the former president very seriously when he spoke, with half of men saying people take his words too seriously.

Jessie Saucedo, 39, a long-haul truck driver in Houston, said he had voted for Mr. Obama but was almost certain he would vote for Mr. Trump in November. He believes, he said, that Democrats have gone too far in their ''weaponization of the government'' against the former president. Mr. Saucedo said he had not paid close attention to politics until Mr. Trump was in the White House.

''I have heard a lot of people say that he is racist, but I honestly don't think he is racist,'' Mr. Saucedo said. ''All of the stuff was taken out of context.''

A majority of all Hispanic voters -- 55 percent -- said people had good reason to be offended by Mr. Trump's comments.

The poll showed that Latino voters, like other demographic groups, are sharply divided by gender. Hispanic men are far more likely than Hispanic women to support Mr. Trump.

The survey suggests Mr. Trump is peeling off a small but significant slice of voters who chose President Biden in 2020, with 9 percent of Biden voters surveyed saying they would cast a ballot for Mr. Trump this year. Hispanic voters who did not vote at all in 2020 were more likely than others to say they would vote for Mr. Trump.

Judith Camacho, 28, a teacher in Kirtland, N.M., who plans to vote for Mr. Trump, said that she worried some immigrants coming to the United States would cause harm and that she did not condone illegal immigration.

''I have family members that have come here illegally in the past, but I can't say that what they did was right,'' she said.

In a sign of frustration, an overwhelming majority of Hispanic voters said America's political and economic systems needed major changes or needed to be torn down entirely. Those who say the systems need to be torn down are more likely to support Mr. Trump.

Less than a third of all Latino voters say they believe that Mr. Trump, more than Ms. Harris, cares about people like them -- a lower percentage than those who plan to vote for him. Among his supporters, 80 percent said he cared about people like them, significantly lower than the 92 percent of supporters of Ms. Harris who say they believe that about her.

For many Hispanic voters, the Democratic Party remains their home, even as they indicate that it has not helped them directly. Some 57 percent say the Democratic Party understands and can fix their problems.

Less than half say the Democrats are more likely than Republicans to keep their promises. And the share who view Republicans as the party of the ***working class*** is at 35 percent, up from 27 percent two years ago.

Still, far more voters say the Republican Party is too far to the right than say the Democratic Party is too far to the left.

''The Republicans are way out of hand,'' said Raymond Islas, 58, a fiction writer and high school teacher in Tucson, Ariz., who recently registered as an independent because he was dissatisfied with both major parties.

He said he planned to vote reluctantly for Ms. Harris. ''They are too far to the right,'' he said of Republicans, ''and the rhetoric they spew out is frightening.''

The poll found that Hispanic voters maintain a fondness for the Trump administration and view the current White House with less enthusiasm. Latino voters were more likely to believe that Mr. Trump's policies helped them than to believe that Mr. Biden's policies were beneficial.

Among younger Latino voters, the gap is especially stark: Voters under 30 were more than twice as likely to say Mr. Trump's policies helped them than to say the same of Mr. Biden's.

Ricardo Sanchez, a 20-year-old security guard in Stockton, Calif., with Salvadoran and Mexican roots, said he was voting for Mr. Trump because he believed the former president put American citizens first, over sending funds abroad to aid with conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza.

Mr. Sanchez said he knew he was out of step with many of his Gen Z friends, but he believed Mr. Trump was the candidate who could most help him achieve financial stability. He said the Democratic Party lacked common-sense policies.

''The internet has labeled Trump a racist,'' Mr. Sanchez said, but he viewed the former president's intended message as being ''to take care of Americans and make us feel safe.''

Supporters of Mr. Trump are twice as likely to call crime in big cities out of control, but half of Ms. Harris's voters say it is still a major problem, according to the survey.

Nearly three in 10 Hispanic voters say the economy is the most important issue determining their vote in November, far exceeding any other issue. Abortion was ranked the top issue by 15 percent of voters, just ahead of immigration at 10 percent.

Nichole Jaramillo, 29, who considers herself an independent, said she struggled to make ends meet working two jobs in Phoenix, one as a warehouse driver and the other as a merchandiser for a beer company.

Although she has not voted in a presidential election before, she plans to cast a ballot for Ms. Harris this year, she said, because she believes the vice president will lower taxes and help her improve her way of life and support her family.

''She is trying to build everybody up and give us all an opportunity to grow,'' she said.

Camille Baker and Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

Here are the key things to know about this Times/Siena poll:

Interviewers spoke with 902 Hispanic voters from Sept. 29 to Oct. 6, 2024, as part of a national poll of 3,385 voters.

This survey includes responses from more than three times as many Hispanic voters as in a typical national survey, using a polling technique known as an oversample. The goal of an oversample is to enable confident analysis of subgroups, such as Hispanic men or younger Hispanic voters. This method does not affect the top-level results of the final poll; in the overall poll of the nation, Hispanic respondents are weighted down so that they represent the proper share of all voters and so their views are not overrepresented in the survey results.

As part of the fielding process, The Times and Siena College relied on about 50 bilingual interviewers. Overall, nearly 20 percent of interviews among respondents who self-reported as Hispanic alone were conducted in Spanish.

Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, about 98 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.

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 the Hispanic likely electorate is plus or minus 4.5 points. 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 we conduct our polls, you can see answers to frequently asked questions and submit your own questions here.Camille Baker and Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/13/us/politics/latinos-trump-harris-poll.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/13/us/politics/latinos-trump-harris-poll.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A14.

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**End of Document**



[***Civility and Then a Clash Over Jan. 6: Seven Takeaways From the Debate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3F-79W1-DXY4-X1GW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 2, 2024 Wednesday 15:30 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1341 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher and Reid J. EpsteinShane 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:** Senator JD Vance of Ohio and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota sparred over immigration, abortion and foreign policy — and then on Donald Trump’s 2020 election loss.

**Body**

Senator JD Vance of Ohio and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota sparred over immigration, abortion and foreign policy — and then on Donald Trump’s 2020 election loss.

Follow live updates on the [*2024 presidential election*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/05/us/trump-harris-election) and get the latest [*Harris-Trump results*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/05/us/trump-harris-election).

Senator JD Vance of Ohio and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota spent most of their only debate aiming not at each other but at their running mates, relitigating the last two administrations and eight years as each promised his ticket would deliver a new direction for the nation.

It was a substantive and mostly civil debate between two Midwestern men that laid bare the policy chasm between the two parties on immigration, abortion and foreign policy. But no issue made clearer the size and stakes of the country’s current political divide than the final topic of the night, when Mr. Vance refused to concede that former President Donald J. Trump had lost the 2020 election.

“Tim, I’m focused on the future,” Mr. Vance said, trying to move on. “That is a damning nonanswer,” Mr. Walz replied.

Mr. Vance looked polished throughout. Mr. Walz spoke haltingly, especially at the start, taking a series of verbal stutter-steps before getting to his point.

Vice-presidential debates rarely reshape presidential elections, and neither man appeared to suffer a race-defining stumble. But this one, uniquely, is scheduled — for now — to be the final debate of 2024. Here are seven takeaways from the debate:

Vance had no answer for a basic question: Did Trump lose the 2020 election?

Mr. Vance spent much of the night offering explanations for Mr. Trump’s policies that sounded accessible. But in one of the debate’s final exchanges, Mr. Vance found himself without an explanation for Mr. Trump’s behavior after the 2020 election. Mr. Vance tried, making the eyebrow-raising argument that Mr. Trump “peacefully gave over power on January the 20th.”

“Did he lose the 2020 election?” Mr. Walz questioned Mr. Vance.

Mr. Vance dodged and pivoted. He argued that the Democrats were the real threat to democracy and claimed that Ms. Harris censored Americans, citing old Facebook policies. He had no answer to the question itself. The exchange showed both the limits and requirements of serving as Mr. Trump’s running mate. “That’s why Mike Pence isn’t on this stage,” Mr. Walz said.

By the end of the evening, the Harris campaign said it was making an ad off the Jan. 6 moment.

A smooth Vance sought to cast Harris as the status quo.

Mr. Vance used a subtle phrase in the early minutes: “the administration of Kamala Harris.”

It was a sign of what was to come. He hardly ever mentioned President Biden’s name. Instead, he blamed Ms. Harris for all manner of ills. For the border, for higher gas prices, for inflation and even for fentanyl.

The Harris-Walz ticket has adopted “A New Way Forward” as its tagline. But Mr. Vance was having none of that on Tuesday. He insisted the vice president was not a newcomer and said she should use the powers she already has.

Running as a change agent has consistently been one of the most powerful forces in American politics. And with Republicans out of power, Mr. Vance tried not to cede it. “Day 1,” Mr. Vance said in his closing statement, “was 1,400 days ago.”

Walz began unsteadily, but found his footing on abortion.

Mr. Walz looked uncomfortable when the first question was about foreign affairs and the clash between Israel and Iran. He looked far more comfortable halfway through the debate when abortion — long the strongest issue for Ms. Harris — finally came up. Mr. Walz spoke forcefully about the need to protect abortion rights now that Roe v. Wade has been overturned with the help of justices Mr. Trump appointed.

When Mr. Vance echoed Mr. Trump’s position that abortion should be left to the states, Mr. Walz spoke about women who had died or suffered severe health problems because their states had banned or passed restrictions on abortion.

“The fact of the matter is, how can we as a nation say that your life and your rights, as basic as the right to control your own body, is determined on geography?” Mr. Walz asked.

Vance tried to reframe Trump as the candidate of stability.

For years, Democrats have labeled Mr. Trump as the candidate of chaos. Mr. Vance tried to turn that on its head. He sold the former president as presiding over a period of normalcy and economic growth — and blamed Ms. Harris for the current unrest in the world.

Mr. Vance sanded down some of the rougher edges of Mr. Trump’s rhetoric and tried over and over to tap into some of the nostalgia that polls have shown for the early years of the Trump White House. At times he seemed to offer a revisionist history. Mr. Trump, for instance, tried repeatedly to repeal and dismantle Obamacare. But not in Mr. Vance’s telling. He said he “salvaged” it.

But he argued that the real chaos agent was Ms. Harris. “Who has been the vice president for the last three and a half years?” Mr. Vance said. “And the answer is your running mate, not mine.”

Walz called himself ‘a knucklehead’ for misrepresenting his past.

Mr. Walz had to know the question was coming about his repeated past statements that he had been in Hong Kong during the June 4, 1989, Tiananmen Square protests in Beijing, after reports surfaced this week that he had in fact been home in Nebraska.

Asked to explain the discrepancy, he spoke of his biography, criticized Mr. Trump’s China policy and called himself “a knucklehead at times.” But he did not answer the question.

So the moderator, Margaret Brennan, tried again. This time she got Mr. Walz to acknowledge he “misspoke on this.”

This was not the ebullient and optimistic Mr. Walz who had become the most popular of the four major candidates for national office. He skipped a chance at candor and contrition. Instead, he seemed to slink away from an uncomfortable line of questioning by suggesting that his time in China later in the summer of the Tianamen protests had informed his theory of American democracy.

Vance sought to go from ‘weird’ to relatable.

Mr. Walz burst onto the national scene by calling Mr. Vance — and the Republican Party — “weird.” But the only man to use the word on Tuesday was Mr. Vance, who first said Democrats were following “weird science” when it came to climate change.

From his opening answer, Mr. Vance set out to systematically dismantle the weird label. He framed his life story — first made famous in his memoir, “Hillbilly Elegy” — as living the American dream. Mr. Vance mentioned his wife, his three young children (ages 7, 4 and 2) and even offered an aside that he hoped they were already sleeping midway through the debate. He spoke about his own mom’s drug addiction, his family’s early financial struggles and his grandmother’s reliance on Social Security.

As Democrats have hammered Mr. Trump as an out-of-touch billionaire who wants to cut taxes for crony friends, Mr. Vance presented a more Middle America face for the ticket. “I grew up in a ***working-class*** family,” he said.

The mics were hot until they were not.

Much was made about the debate rules in advance. Unlike in Mr. Trump’s debates with Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden, the microphones were set to be on the entire time.

Most of the asides between Mr. Walz and Mr. Vance were civil. That changed, briefly, at the end of a long discussion about immigration policy. One of the moderators, Ms. Brennan, offered an addendum that the [*Haitian migrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/05/us/trump-harris-election) that Mr. Vance has been complaining about in Springfield, Ohio, are in the country legally.

She then tried to turn to the economy — only Mr. Vance refused to yield the point. He tried to fact-check the fact-check. Mr. Walz joined in. They both talked. And then CBS decided enough was enough.

“Gentlemen, the audience can’t hear you,” Ms. Brennan said. “Because your mics are cut.”

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting.

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting.

PHOTO: The vice-presidential debate on Tuesday night is so far set to be the final debate of the 2024 presidential election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***It All Seemed So Conventional. And Then Came Jan. 6.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3H-43X1-JBG3-60K1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Highlight:** JD Vance may well be thinking about 2028 and beyond. He will need a lot more than a fairly mild 90-minute debate to fully soften his image.

**Body**

JD Vance may well be thinking about 2028 and beyond. He will need a lot more than a fairly mild 90-minute debate to fully soften his image.

Senator JD Vance of Ohio was trying to un-weird himself.

Over the course of his debate on Tuesday night with Governor Tim Walz of Minnesota, Vance did not directly repeat the most incendiary elements of the false and debunked claims he promoted last month about migrants in Ohio eating people’s pets. He did not have to talk about “childless cat ladies,” because Walz did not bring up the disparaging words that have come to define Vance in the minds of many in his party.

As Walz skipped opportunities to attack Vance more forcefully, Vance seized the chance to pitch a gentler version of himself and act out a political comity that has been lost in the era of Donald Trump. It seemed to be working.

And then came [*Walz’s question about the 2020 election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vance-jan-6-debate.html).

Vance had just promised that Walz would have his prayers and best wishes if he and Vice President Kamala Harris were elected. Walz asked him whether Trump, who finished well behind President Biden in both the Electoral College and the popular vote four years ago, had lost re-election.

“I am focused on the future,” Vance said, before trying to change the subject to censorship, which has long been a familiar target on the right.

“That is a damning non-answer,” Walz shot back.

It was a moment that laid bare a deep gulf between two men onstage who seemed not to want to be terribly confrontational. And it also made it clear that Vance, an ambitious political figure who may well be thinking about 2028 and beyond, will need a lot more than a fairly mild 90-minute debate if he ever wants to fully soften his image.

“America, I think you’ve got a really clear choice on this election,” Walz said, “of who’s going to honor that democracy, and who’s going to honor Trump.”

Nice-guy image

For much of the night, the two men seemed to want to steer the debate somewhere American politics doesn’t often go these days: friendly territory.

They pointed out where they agreed with each other. They said their real differences were with Trump and Harris. Each seemed, at times, to express empathy toward the other.

Walz’s political scaffolding is his affability, but it wasn’t clear whether the Minnesota governor’s lack of focused attacks on Vance was intentional or simply a reflection of his struggles as a debater. Was it a straightforward stumble, a Minnesotan discomfort with direct conflict, or an effort to help steer the nation’s supercharged politics to someplace a little less awful?

Regardless, it gave Vance a lot to work with.

Vance, who has a [*low favorability rating*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vance-jan-6-debate.html), seemed determined to project a nice-guy image of his own. He avoided some of the attacks he has deployed on the campaign trail for weeks. He never brought up Walz’s military record, [*which has been the subject of intense scrutiny*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vance-jan-6-debate.html). He said nothing when the moderators pressed Walz on the fact that [*he said he was in Hong Kong during the Tiananmen Square massacre*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vance-jan-6-debate.html) when he was not, preferring to let Walz’s halting answer speak for himself, and he rolled compliments of Walz into insults of Harris.

“I think you want to solve this problem,” Vance said, referring to the issue of border security, “but I don’t think Kamala Harris does.”

He also took the rare step of acknowledging that his party had a problem when it came to abortion — a move that created a striking division between himself and Trump, perhaps in the name of electability. Most voters believe abortion should be legal in some or all cases, but Trump has bragged about appointing three of the Supreme Court justices who overturned Roe v. Wade, and voters consistently say they trust Democrats on the issue more than Republicans.

“We’ve got to do so much better of a job and earning the American people’s trust back on this issue, where they frankly just don’t trust us,” Vance said.

But then, in an illustration of why his party has struggled with the issue, he misstated his own position on a national abortion ban, saying he had never supported one when he had, and sought to cast himself as “pro-family.”

“I want us to make it easier for moms to afford to have babies,” Vance said, as Walz hammered his party’s point on the importance of reproductive rights, though he did not remind viewers of the way Vance has spoken negatively of people who don’t have children.

Too close for comfort

It all amounted to a big night for Vance, who seemed to relish the opportunity to soften Trump’s record, and his own. He repeatedly evoked his “***working-class***” upbringing and a life story of struggle and redemption that he told in the book “Hillbilly Elegy,” which put him on the political map.

Yet, if the night was an attempt to widen his appeal, the exchange over the 2020 election set him back. The man who, the moderators pointed out, had denigrated Trump that year for not delivering on his economic populism was now trying to justify his boss’s effort to hold on to power he had not won.

Up until then, Vance had tried to give voters a glimpse of what might come after Trump: a little more civility, perhaps, and a deeper engagement with the policy questions that animated elections before Trump, a former reality television star, blew it all up. In many cases, he offered a smoother defense of conservative — and sometimes unpopular — ideas than what Trump had been able to when he was on the debate stage last month.

In that moment, though, it was as if Trump himself had appeared onstage, looming over his shoulder. Vance said Trump “peacefully” transferred power on Jan. 20, 2021, without acknowledging the lies and violence that swirled on Jan. 6.

Walz used the exchange to suggest that Vance and Trump were simply too close for comfort, no matter what Walz and Vance might have agreed on over the course of the debate.

“What I’m concerned about is, where is the firewall with Donald Trump?” he asked. “Where is the firewall if he knows he could do anything, including taking an election, and his vice president is not going to stand to it?”

Vance did not answer that question. And then the debate cut to a commercial.

The great Midwest-off of 2024

Last night wasn’t just a debate about immigration, abortion and democracy. It was also a smack down between one guy from Minnesota and another from Ohio. But only one of them seemed to be debating with the intention of winning Mr. Midwest 2024. Here’s my appraisal.

Viewers could be forgiven for thinking last night that what Tim Walz really wanted was for Minnesota to be president.

He praised his state’s childhood tax credit, abortion-rights protections, free meals for schoolchildren, gun laws and investments in housing — much of which he signed into law himself. He spoke glowingly of the state’s low teen pregnancy rates and Fortune 500 companies. He sounded at times like he was taping a commercial for Rochester’s Mayo Clinic.

As he tore into Trump for constantly dismissing the expertise of scientists, economists and the national security apparatus, he said, “Pro tip of the day is this: If you need heart surgery, listen to the people at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, not Donald Trump.”

He even mentioned the state’s accidental byproducts of climate change.

“Our No. 1 export cannot be topsoil from erosion from these massive storms,” Walz said.

Vance rarely brought up his home state of Ohio, and when he did, it was not to brag about it. He mentioned his difficult upbringing several times and claimed that schools and hospitals in places like Springfield, Ohio, had been “overwhelmed” by the arrival of migrants.

Walz spoke warmly of his small-town upbringing in rural Nebraska.

But if anyone won the debate, it might have been Minnesota.

PHOTO: During the vice-presidential debate on Tuesday night, Senator JD Vance of Ohio tried to pitch a gentler version of himself. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kenny Holston/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why Trump’s Unity Picks Are Not Very Unifying***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CWK-4P71-DXY4-X4C5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1037 words

**Byline:** Jess Bidgood Jess Bidgood is a managing correspondent for The Times and writes the On Politics newsletter, a guide to the 2024 election and beyond.

**Highlight:** Trump is betting that the political fringe will help him win.

**Body**

Trump is betting that the political fringe will help him win.

It is a time-honored political strategy for presidential candidates: Win your primary, hold your convention and then pivot to the center as you work to unite a broad coalition of voters around your cause.

Or not.

With nine weeks to go until the election, former President Donald Trump is showcasing his support from a coterie of divisive public figures, including Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the country’s most famous anti-vaxxer; Tulsi Gabbard, a former congresswoman who [*drew support*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) from white nationalists when she ran for president in 2020; and Elon Musk, who is probably the world’s most polarizing tech billionaire.

Trump has bubble-wrapped those three people in a valence of unity, calling them “former Never Trumpers” in a Monday fund-raising email that presented them as evidence he was “rallying Americans of all political stripes together like never before.”

But if that group aligns him with anybody, it’s the political fringe — and in a tight election, Trump is betting that it’s the disaffected, low-propensity voters who supported candidates like Kennedy who will help him win.

“They are low-information voters, they’re not really interested in the election, and they don’t see the election really impacts them that much,” said Neil Newhouse, a Republican pollster. “It’s an effort to try to get to those voters, get them to vote and get them to vote for the former president.”

‘He beats to his own drum’

Trump and his aides [*spent weeks delicately courting Kennedy*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics), an environmental lawyer who has long espoused anti-vaccine views and who initially entered the Democratic presidential primary before switching to run as an independent. Kennedy dropped out of the race and endorsed Trump last month; last week, [*Trump named him and Gabbard to his transition team*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics), which binds them more tightly to his political operation and could give them power to shape a second administration.

Both Kennedy and Gabbard are former Democratic presidential candidates who had small but devoted followings. Trump’s embrace of them mystifies Republicans who would prefer that their nominee focus on outreach to middle-of-the-road voters like [*the well-educated and often suburban Republicans who backed the former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) during the G.O.P. primary.

“I think he’s trying to be as inclusive as possible,” said the Republican donor Andy Sabin, politely, “but he’s missing the boat by not bringing in Nikki Haley, who could be better than either one of those two combined.”

Sabin, who backed Haley during the primary, is not exactly surprised. “He beats to his own drum,” he said. “He doesn’t listen to anybody.”

Trump’s alliance with Kennedy and Gabbard underscores that his strategy to find more votes depends not on attracting moderates but on reprising his 2016 strategy of bringing people who have little interest in mainstream politics into the fold.

‘A delicatessen election’

Kennedy’s support [*reached into the double digits in some polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) early in the presidential race, bolstered by the distaste of so-called “double haters” for both Trump and President Biden.

Once Biden stepped aside, Vice President Kamala Harris absorbed much of his left-leaning support, according to the Democratic pollster [*Ben Tulchin*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics), leaving behind a group of Kennedy supporters who seem more likely to back Trump.

“What’s left,” Tulchin said, “is ***working-class***, non-college-educated, younger white men disproportionately supporting R.F.K. Jr.”

By July, New York Times [*polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) found that only about a quarter of Democrats viewed Kennedy favorably, compared with nearly half of Republicans. A poll of four battleground states by The New York Times and Siena College [*taken in August*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) found that Kennedy’s supporters were disproportionately likely to be 29 or younger. More than half of them said their highest level of education was either high school or some college but no degree. Fifty-two percent of his supporters in seven battleground states were male, while 45 percent of them were female.

Kennedy’s supporters could be a natural demographic fit for Trump’s campaign, which has [*focused heavily on winning over young men*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics), and one that could help Trump in an election that could be very tight.

“It’s called a delicatessen election,” said Newhouse, “which means you take a slice and slice and slice of voters to add to your pile.”

It will be a challenge for the Trump campaign to actually turn them out, however. The Times’s polling found that [*Kennedy voters were much less likely than supporters of other candidates to say they actually plan to vote in November*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics).

— Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

An update on Trump’s trials

After going largely quiet over the summer, proceedings in some of Trump’s civil and criminal trials are ramping back up this week. Here’s what’s happening:

* In New York, Judge Juan Merchan [*has to decide whether to sentence Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) for his conviction on 34 felony counts on Sept. 18, as planned, or after the election, as Trump has requested.

1. A key hearing in Trump’s election interference case [*is set for tomorrow*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) in Washington.
2. Trump’s [*appeal in a defamation case*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) brought against him by the writer E. Jean Carroll is set for oral arguments on Friday in New York.

Tell us: How are you feeling about next week’s presidential debate?

The presidential debate next Tuesday will be the first time that former President Donald Trump and Vice President Kamala Harris face off onstage. And it could be the most important moment of the fall campaign.

I want to know [*how you’re feeling about it*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics). Are you planning to watch? Are you excited? Are you dreading it? And what do you want to see the candidates asked about?

You might recall that I asked you this before the June debate between Trump and President Biden. You had a lot of thoughts — [*some of which turned out to be quite prescient*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics). I’d especially love to hear from you if you responded then. What feels different now?

[*Weigh in here, and I may feature your answer in an upcoming newsletter.*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics)

— Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Former President Donald Trump and Tulsi Gabbard during a campaign event in La Crosse, Wis., last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jim Vondruska for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 4, 2024

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[***Fact-Checking the Debate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3N-SH11-JBG3-61P1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 3236 words

**Byline:** By Kate Zernike, Coral Davenport, Sheryl Gay Stolberg, Ana Swanson, Linda Qiu, Lisa Friedman, Edward Wong, Julian E. Barnes, Jeanna Smialek, Andrew Duehren and Dana Goldstein

**Body**

''The statute you signed into law, it

says that a doctor who presides over

an abortion where the baby survives

-- the doctor is under no obligation

to provide lifesaving care to a baby

who survives a botched late-term

abortion.''

SENATOR JD VANCE OF OHIO

This is false.

Mr. Vance is distorting Mr. Walz's repeal

of a so-called born alive law that had

been in effect in Minnesota since the

1970s. That law required doctors to report

when a ''live child'' was ''born as the

result of an abortion,'' and to provide ''all

reasonable measures consistent with

good medical practice'' to care for that infant.

Doctors have argued to get rid of these

laws because there are already laws requiring

them to provide appropriate

medical care to any human. And the extremely

rare cases of infants who have

been ''born alive'' were infants who were

close to death. Doctors said the law took

decision-making away from families,

and forced them to do invasive procedures

at the end of infants' lives, taking

them away from their parents in their dying

moments.

In the five years that Mr. Walz has

been governor, there have been eight recorded

infants ''born alive'': Three were

classified as ''previable,'' meaning they

were unable to survive outside the uterus;

two had fetal anomalies and died

shortly after birth; and three were provided

''comfort care as planned'' and died

shortly after birth. Comfort care is a kind

of hospice care, which suggests that

those infants were not expected to survive,

and that doctors did, in fact, provide

care they believed to be good medical

practice. KATE ZERNIKE

''We are the cleanest economy in the entire world.''

MR. VANCE

This is false.

Mr. Vance used this version of a line that

is often repeated by former President

Donald J. Trump and other Republicans

when asked what they would do to address

climate change. In fact, 15 countries

have cleaner air than the United

States, and 25 countries have cleaner

water, according to the Environmental

Performance Index, a global tracker run

by Yale University. During the Trump administration,

the United States rolled

back or eliminated nearly 100 clean air,

water and climate rules.

CORAL DAVENPORT

''Project 2025 is going to have aregistry of pregnancies.''

GOV. TIM WALZ OF MINNESOTA

This is false.

Project 2025, a blueprint for governing

drafted by the conservative Heritage

Foundation, does not specifically call for

a ''registry of pregnancies,'' but it does

call for existing federal agencies to collect

more accurate data about abortion.

The Trump campaign has distanced itself

from Project 2025. Mr. Walz is referring

to the project's proposal for the federal

Department of Health and Human

Services to ''use every available tool, including

the cutting of funds,'' to collect

data from states about abortions performed

within their borders.

The Centers for Disease Control and

Prevention has collected data about

abortion since 1969, four years before the

1973 Supreme Court decision in Roe v.

Wade made the procedure legal across

the nation. But data reporting is voluntary.

Project 2025 calls for the C.D.C. to

''require monitoring and reporting for

complications due to abortion.''

SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

''Those same experts for 40 years

said that if we shipped our

manufacturing base off to China,

we'd get cheaper goods. They lied

about that.''

MR. VANCE

This is false.

Outsourcing manufacturing from the

United States to other countries had documented

negative effects, like reducing

U.S. manufacturing employment and

suppressing American wages, but one

thing it did do is drastically lower the cost

of goods. Offshoring manufacturing allowed

companies to pay lower wages

and therefore charge American consumers

far less for their products like

shoes, electronics, clothing and toys.

Economic studies have found that, in the

years following China's entry into the

World Trade Organization in 2001, U.S.

prices fell substantially. ANA SWANSON

''Look, Tim, first of all, it's really rich

for Democratic leaders to say that

Donald Trump is a unique threat to

democracy when he peacefully gave

over power on January the 20th as

we have done for 250 years in this

country.''

MR. VANCE

This is misleading.

While Mr. Trump did indeed leave office

on Jan. 20, 2021, without any violence,

that of course followed Mr. Trump's supporters

storming the Capitol on Jan. 6.

And though Mr. Trump and his allies continue

to falsely claim that congressional

proceedings on Jan. 6 to certify Electoral

College results remained ''peaceful,'' the

riot resulted in injuries to about 150 federal

and local police officers, several

deaths and $1.5 million in damages to the

Capitol. And fear of additional violence

led President Biden's inauguration that

year to include a large presence of armed

forces, as 25,000 National Guard troops

joined thousands of police officers.

LINDA QIU

''This idea that carbon emissions

drives all of climate change -- let's

just say that's true, just for the sake

of argument.''

MR. VANCE

This is misleading.

As he took issue with Vice President Kamala

Harris's climate agenda, Mr. Vance

was implying that the notion that carbon

emissions were the main cause of climate

change was false. In fact, carbon

emissions are driving climate change.

That is an established scientific fact,

backed up by the world's top scientists in

multiple United Nations-led reports, as

well as an exhaustive scientific report

the Trump administration issued in 2017.

The finding: Humans are the dominant

cause of the global temperature rise that

has created the warmest period in the

history of civilization. LISA FRIEDMAN

''All I said on this is I got there this

summer and misspoke on this. So I

will just -- that's what I've said. So I

was in Hong Kong and China,

during the democracy protests, went

in. And from that, I learned a lot of

what needed to be in governance.''

MR. WALZ

This is misleading.

The pro-democracy protests in Beijing

and other cities in Communist-ruled

China peaked in the spring of 1989 and

ended when the Chinese military attacked

protesters overnight from June 3

to June 4, killing hundreds or thousands

of civilians around Tiananmen Square in

Beijing alone.

Mr. Walz had plans to go to China in

August 1989, according to newspaper articles

from Nebraska that year. He has

said he went to China through Hong

Kong, which was a British colony then

and where residents held rallies to support

the pro-democracy protesters in

China, even after the military crackdown.

Mr. Walz would not have seen the large

protests in the People's Republic that

people commonly think of as the pro-democracy

protests in China of 1989. He

would have arrived after their tragic end.

EDWARD WONG

''Iran, which launched this attack,

has received over $100 billion in

unfrozen assets thanks to the

Kamala Harris administration.

What did they use that money for?

They used it to buy weapons that

they are now launching against our

allies and God forbid, potentially

launching against the United States

as well.''

MR. VANCE

This is misleading.

Give Mr. Vance credit for making this accusation

more accurately than Donald

Trump. Mr. Trump usually accuses President

Biden of giving Iran $150 billion of

taxpayer money. Mr. Vance used a smaller

number and made clear the money

was Iranian assets that had been previously

frozen in overseas accounts.

Those accounts were frozen as part of

international sanctions on Iran's nuclear

program, and some -- around $55 billion

-- was unfrozen as part of the original

Iran nuclear deal negotiated by the

Obama administration that was eventually

canceled by Mr. Trump. Ms. Harris

was not part of the Obama administration

that made the original Iran deal. The

Biden administration did not revive the

deal, did not unfreeze other accounts and

did not lift sanctions on Iran.

JULIAN E. BARNES

''Donald Trump hasn't paid anyfederal tax 10 to the last 15 years.''

MR. WALZ

This is exaggerated.

A 2020 New York Times investigation

found that former Mr. Trump paid just

$750 in federal income taxes in 2016 and

another $750 in 2017, and he paid no income

taxes at all in 10 of the 15 previous

years. Since then, however, Democrats

made public more of Mr. Trump's tax

records, which show that his tax bill has

increased. During the first three years of

his presidency, he paid $1.1 million in federal

income taxes. In 2020, he again paid

no federal income taxes. LINDA QIU

''25 million illegal aliens competing

with Americans for scarce homes is

one of the most significant drivers of

home prices in the country.''

MR. VANCE

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 behind the

country's housing affordability crisis.

A lack of supply is the primary culprit,

they said. Mr. Vance also overestimated

how many unauthorized migrants have

entered and settled in the country. While

border crossings topped 10 million under

the Biden-Harris administration, many

of those migrants were turned away at

the border and many crossings were

from ''repeat offenders.'' LINDA QIU

''Right now in this country,

Margaret, we have 320,000

children that the Department of

Homeland Security has effectively

lost. Some of them have been sex

trafficked.''

MR. VANCE

This is misleading.

Mr. Vance is wildly distorting a number

from a recent inspector general report.

The report noted that Immigrations

and Customs Enforcement transferred

some 448,000 unaccompanied migrant

children into the custody of the Health

and Human Services Department from

the 2019 to 2023 fiscal years. It did not issue

''notices to appear'' in immigration

court to some 291,000 children. And

about 32,000 unaccompanied migrant

children failed to appear for their immigration

hearings.

In other words, that figure includes

both some 32,000 children who did not

appear for court hearings and the nearly

300,000 others who were not required to.

These children were not ''lost,'' nor is

there any evidence that they were sex

trafficked. Moreover, about half of that

time -- the 2019 and 2020 fiscal years,

and part of the 2021 fiscal year -- occurred

under the Trump administration.

LINDA QIU

''What [Harris has] actually done

instead is drive the cost of food

higher by 25 percent, drive the cost

of housing higher by about 60

percent.''

MR. VANCE

This is misleading.

Both food and gas prices are up sharply

in recent years, though the commonly

used S&P CoreLogic Case Shiller Home

Price index is up less than 60 percent --

about 38 percent since the Biden administration

took office. But neither of those

jumps is solely because of administration

policies. Food prices were affected

by factors including Russia's invasion of

Ukraine and one-off issues like egg

shortages thanks to avian flu, and the

rapid housing price increase started under

the Trump administration and came

amid a persistent shortage of housing

supply. JEANNA SMIALEK

''I never supported a national ban. I

did when I was running for Senate

talk about a minimum national

standard.''

MR. VANCE

This needs context.

Mr. Vance supported a national ban on

abortions after 15 weeks during his 2022

campaign for the Senate, but said he

would allow for some exceptions. ''I think

it's totally reasonable to say you cannot

abort a baby, especially for elective reasons,

after 15 weeks of gestation,'' he said

during a debate that year. LINDA QIU

''Donald Trump was the guy who

created the largest trade deficit in

American history with China.''

MR. WALZ

The U.S. trade deficit in goods and services

with China hit a record peak in 2018,

when Mr. Trump was in office, at $378 billion.

It then shrank for the next two years of

the Trump administration, before rising

again after Mr. Biden took office, largely

because of the aftershocks of the pandemic.

Its highest level under Mr. Biden

was $366 billion in 2022. Last year, the

trade deficit with China fell sharply to

$252 billion, the lowest level in more than

a decade. But these fluctuations in the

trade deficit were most likely because of

broader economic factors, not solely

Trump or Biden administration policies.

ANA SWANSON

''If you look at what was so different

about Donald Trump's tax cuts, even

from previous Republican tax cut

plans, is that a lot of those resources

went to giving more take-home pay

to middle-class and ***working-class***

Americans.''

MR. VANCE

This needs context.

The 2017 tax cut signed into law by Mr.

Trump did provide a tax cut to many middle-

class and ***working-class*** households.

But the benefits from the tax cut largely

flowed to upper-income Americans.

According to an analysis by the Tax

Policy Center, more than 65 percent of

the tax cut accrued to the top 20 percent

of households. The bottom quintile of

American households was estimated to

receive a boost of 0.4 percent in after-tax

income because of the cut, while the top

quintile was estimated to receive a 2.9

percent increase in after-tax income.

ANDREW DUEHREN

''We have to remember that for

years in this country, Democrats

protested the results of elections.

Hillary Clinton in 2016 said that

Donald Trump had the election

stolen by Vladimir Putin because

the Russians bought like $500,000

worth of Facebook ads.''

MR. VANCE

This is misleading.

It is true that Democratic lawmakers

have objected to counting a state's electors

after the elections of recent Republican

presidents in 2001, 2005 and 2017. But

in those cases, the losing candidate had

already conceded, did not try to overturn

election results and did not attempt to

persuade the vice presidents at the time

to halt proceedings as Mr. Trump is accused

of doing in 2020. And Hillary Clinton

has said repeatedly that Russian interference

was partly to blame for her

defeat in the 2016 presidential election,

but again, she did not organize slates of

false electors and pressure officials to

overturn voting results. LINDA QIU

The reason child care is ''so

expensive right now is because

you've got way too few people

providing this very essential

service.''

MR. VANCE

This requires context.

It is true that there are shortages of child

care centers and workers in many regions

of the country, in part because the

job pays poorly: The hourly wage is currently

lower in many instances than

wages in retail, food service or warehouses.

But Mr. Vance's proposal to provide

some financial support for informal

family care would most likely not fix

what is essentially a broken market. The

core problem is that the fees most parents

can afford to pay simply do not

cover the cost of doing business for

providers, with money left over for profit.

And the reason the cost of American

child care is so burdensome is that unlike

most other developed nations, the

United States government does not

meaningfully subsidize the cost.

DANA GOLDSTEIN

''This epidemic of violence, the

gross majority -- close to 90

percent in some of the statistics I've

seen -- of the gun violence in this

country is committed with illegally

obtained firearms.''

MR. VANCE

This needs context.

It is difficult to discern the exact percentage

of illegally obtained guns used in

crime in the United States. The topic is

not well researched, and the situation

varies from state to state. In 2019, the

Justice Department published a survey

of prison inmates that found more than

half had either stolen their gun, found it

at the scene of the crime or obtained it on

the street or from the underground market.

Just 7 percent had bought it under

their own name from a licensed dealer.

But Mr. Vance made the comment after

being asked about how to curb mass

shootings in the United States, particularly

in schools. Mass shootings, which

account for fewer than 0.5 percent of all

gun homicides, are mostly committed

with legal weapons, according to a study

published in 2022 by the National Institute

of Justice, a research arm of the Justice

Department. The institute conducted

a detailed examination of the assailants

in 172 mass shootings from 1966

to 2019. It found that 77 percent of perpetrators

of mass shootings bought at least

some of their firearms legally, while illegal

purchases were made by 13 percent

of those committing mass shootings. In

cases involving K-12 school shootings,

more than 80 percent of individuals who

engaged in shootings stole guns from

family members. SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

''We need to figure out how to solve

the inflation crisis caused by

Kamala Harris's policies.''

MR. VANCE

This needs context.

Several studies have suggested that

spending under the Biden administration

in response to the pandemic did contribute

to inflation, but it was not the sole

or even primary driver of the rapid price

increases that started in 2021 and have

only recently faded.

Inflation jumped amid pandemicspurred

lockdowns that left goods in

short supply, and was exacerbated by

Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Studies

have found that the size of U.S. federal

spending did worsen the inflation --

some even find large effects -- but inflation

took off globally, not just in the

United States, in a sign that other factors

were also at play. JEANNA SMIALEK

''The one thing that Joe Biden did is

he continued some of the Trump

tariffs that protected American

manufacturing jobs.''

MR. VANCE

This is true.

After carrying out a multiyear review of

the tariffs that Mr. Trump placed on

China, Mr. Biden largely decided to keep

those levies in place. The review, which

the Biden administration published last

month, quoted economic analyses that

have found that Mr. Trump's tariffs --

and the retaliatory tariffs that China has

imposed on American products -- had a

small negative effect on U.S. economic

welfare, positive impacts on U.S. production

in the industries most affected by

the tariffs and minimal effects on economywide

prices and employment.

ANA SWANSON

''Donald Trump could have

destroyed the program. Instead, he

worked in a bipartisan way to

ensure that Americans have access

to affordable care.''

MR. VANCE

This is false.

Even after the Senate tried and failed to

repeal the Affordable Care Act, the

Trump administration continued to take

actions that weakened the health care

law. Enrollment also declined under the

Trump administration, contrary to Mr.

Vance's claim that Americans did not

lose health care.

The New York Times has previously

detailed several ways the Trump administration

was undermining the Affordable

Care Act, including by limiting outreach

and advertising, allowing the sale

of cheaper plans with fewer benefits and

reducing subsidies to insurance companies

for low-income enrollees.

The Trump administration also said it

would stop defending crucial parts of the

health care law in court in 2018, and said

it believed that the law was unconstitutional

in 2019. Under the Trump administration,

the number of enrollees declined

to 11.4 million in 2020, from 12.7 million in

2016. LINDA QIU

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/03fact-check-headline.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/03fact-check-headline.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A9.

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[***On City Strolls, ‘Fat Ham’ Writer Was Inspired by ‘Ghosts of Absence’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D1J-7D51-DXY4-X192-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 1301 words

**Highlight:** Walking around downtown Philadelphia, James Ijames reflected on his new play, “Good Bones,” gentrification and the absence that “haunts the cities.”

**Body**

The Tower Records on Broad Street, the Borders bookstore on Chestnut, and the Kitchen Kapers boutique at the corner of Walnut and 17th Streets in Philadelphia: The playwright James Ijames shopped at all of them in the early 2000s while pursuing his M.F.A. at Temple University.

I frequented them as well, in the late 1990s, as a student at the University of Pennsylvania. During a walk around downtown Philadelphia on a sweltering August afternoon, we noticed that those businesses were long gone. Passing by the buildings that once housed them, we reflected on how those old haunts endure, in some way, because they stay in our memories, paralleling many of the ideas of that lingering generational history Ijames gets at in his work.

Our small talk — about our fondness for the city, [*receiving Pulitzer Prizes the same year*](https://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-year/2022) (in 2022) and being college professors — gave way to weightier issues: gentrification, ghosts and intergenerational trauma. Those subjects are all explored in “Good Bones,” his much-anticipated follow-up to his Tony-nominated “Fat Ham,” [*a Pulitzer winner*](https://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-year/2022) about a Hamlet-inspired character’s struggles to overcome his family’s cycles of trauma and violence.

Ijames (pronounced “imes”) still lives in Philadelphia, with his husband, and teaches at Villanova University. (He is also a former co-artistic director of that city’s Wilma Theater, which produced a [*film version*](https://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-year/2022) of “Fat Ham” in 2021, before the Public Theater in Manhattan [*staged the play’s in-person premiere in 2022*](https://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-year/2022).) As we stood on the corner of 15th and Locust Streets, he pointed out that his favorite video store is now a plastic surgery center.

“I loved TLA Video because they carried queer independent films, like ‘The Watermelon Woman.’ It was the only place I could find that stuff,” Ijames said. “I’m sad that there isn’t a place for a little queer boy to go.”

Those video finds also nurtured something else.

“TLA had these filmed theater productions you could buy or rent. I have a DVD of Blythe Danner and Frank Langella in ‘The Seagull’ at Williamstown Theater Festival [in 1974] at my house right now that I bought right here,” Ijames recalled. “I learned how to write dramatic literature that way.”

It was during another walking tour, in Washington, in 2017, that Ijames conceived “Good Bones,” which is now in previews at the Public. It was commissioned by the Studio Theater in Washington, where it had a world premiere run last spring. (The New York Times critic Jesse Green, who saw that earlier version, [*remarked*](https://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-year/2022) on its geographic specificity: “Anyone who spends even a little time observing Washington’s glassy new high-rises squeezed up against its squat Federal piles, many built by enslaved people, will recognize Ijames’s spiritual geography: a place where history is both erased and inescapable.”)

Taking place in what Ijames describes as “big city USA,” the story revolves around Aisha; her husband, Travis; and their renovation of a historic townhouse that they purchased in the blighted neighborhood where Aisha was raised. Earl is the contractor helping them; he and his sister, Carmen, a student at the University of Pennsylvania, grew up in the same public housing development as Aisha.

Unlike Travis (played by Mamoudou Athie), a transplant who hails from a wealthy Black family, and Aisha (Susan Kelechi Watson), an advocate for the new sports arena coming to the area, Earl (Khris Davis) and Carmen (Téa Guarino) identify with the local Black ***working-class*** community that nurtured them, believe that it has many aspects worth preserving and are against gentrification. The central conflict stems from their different aspirations, socio-economic status, and notions about how best to save their city from ruin or rapid change.

Instead of a more traditional story of white people displacing their Black neighbors, “Good Bones” focuses on the class tensions among African Americans. Doing so complicates our understanding of gentrification, who is complicit in its proliferation and what are the potential solutions.

Watson, a Brooklyn native who played Beth Pearson on the TV show “This Is Us,” learned of the play when the director Saheem Ali gave her the script after they worked together, in 2021, on the Shakespeare in the Park production of [*“Merry Wives.”*](https://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-year/2022)

The actress recalled being immediately attracted to the cadence of Ijames’s writing. “He just hears the real rhythm of the way people speak, so it doesn’t feel effortful to say his words,” she said in a recent interview. “If you just speak the words, the scene just builds itself. And when you give actors that kind of playfulness, that freedom of expression, because you’ve created such a strong structure, I think those are the strongest playwrights, and James is definitely one of those people.”

“Good Bones” provides another opportunity for the audience as well.

“We don’t often see her side,” she said of her character, who welcomes the stadium, “in an argument between two people from the same culture and background.”

Ali, who directed Ijames’s “Fat Ham” at the Public and on Broadway, was similarly drawn to Ijames’s unique depiction of this hot-button issue within the context of a Black family. “There’s a realness to James’s language,” Ali said. “It’s never posturing or trying to capture the way that Black America speaks that we’ve seen onstage before. There’s something so contemporary, truthful, funny, and piercing about it. And each of his plays has those elements, and they morph depending on what world it is in.”

As much as he relishes collaborating with Ijames (they’ve worked together on three plays), Ali was especially attracted to how “Good Bones” frames gentrification as a fundamentally American crisis.

“The first time I learned about eminent domain was when I moved to New York to attend graduate school at Columbia, and it was trying to buy up lots of places in Harlem so it could expand,” said Ali, who was born in Nairobi, Kenya. “I was just in awe that the government could take people’s property. And then, it is America. This country was built on displacing people.”

Of course, the challenge is conveying these complicated debates in a relatable and accessible way to an audience.

That’s where the ghosts come in.

At a recent rehearsal, white plastic bags were strewn everywhere, hanging as partitions and draperies. Onstage, doors suddenly opened, balls abruptly rolled, and a woman’s hearty laugh blaring through the speakers jolted me.

“Someone told me once, ‘You always have dead people and ghosts in your plays,” Ijames said. “I’m like, ‘Because those are the two things we always confront in life.’”

Unlike “Fat Ham,” in which his protagonist is tormented by his murdered dad, the “Good Bones” ghosts take on a more speculative and ethereal quality.

“What James has done so beautifully is have the ghost laughing,” Ali said. “Aisha then has to decide: ‘Is it laughing at me? Am I the subject of this joke? Am I the butt of it? Or is there something I’m missing that will remind me how to be in the present moment?”

“It ties her to a past,” he added. “What is the mythical past that reminds us about how to behave in the present to create a better future?”

When Ijames and I were in Philadelphia, passing empty storefronts, Ijames reflected, “The ghost in ‘Fat Ham’ is a little bit more ‘Scooby-Doo.’ It’s like a jump-out-of-something sort of ghost. In ‘Good Bones,’ it’s more spooky. It is the ghost of absence and of not having these places of community. It’s almost like the absence of those things almost haunts the cities.”

PHOTO: James Ijames at home in Philadelphia. Ijames won a Pulitzer Prize for his play “Fat Ham”; his follow-up, “Good Bones,” is now in previews. He frames gentrification as an American crisis. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HANNAH BEIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR4.

**Load-Date:** September 25, 2024

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[***What Two Primaries Reveal About the Decline of Working-Class Democrats; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667B-KB91-JBG3-641Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1378 words

**Byline:** Kim Phillips-Fein

**Highlight:** Can Democrats effectively represent radically different constituencies within the party?

**Body**

The results of the Democratic congressional primaries in New York City on Tuesday give us a hint of just how far the ***working-class*** liberalism once associated with city politics has declined. The winners of two races in particular, Jerrold Nadler and [*Daniel Goldman*](https://urldefense.com/v3/__https:/www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/nyregion/daniel-goldman-trump-ny-primary.html__;!!BhJSzQqDqA!RdEZoMbXotHXgq_VOpb_SXh_lI9cuGNRuw0UbLVQQwQEcmEitQfiKWQw_oprEyJPXkx5hCVi1oi4fG7Hgmc$), who will almost surely represent much of Manhattan (and a bit of Brooklyn) in the House, emerged as the victors of complicated congressional primaries in districts that were redrawn to reflect national shifts in population.

They represent different kinds of New York City Democrats — Mr. Nadler, a longtime congressman, has deep roots in the old grass-roots liberalism of the Upper West Side, while Mr. Goldman is a political newcomer whose star has risen through his association with opposition to Donald Trump — but their shared success nonetheless highlights socioeconomic divisions in Manhattan that have a long history.

The primaries reflected the tensions and divisions within contemporary liberalism itself and raise the question of how (or whether) Democrats can effectively represent such radically different constituencies.

The changes in the city districts were a result of math — subtraction, to be specific. New York State lost a seat in the House because its population [*came up short by 89 people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/nyregion/new-york-census-congress.html) in a census conducted in 2020, at the height of Covid in New York. Indeed, if so many New Yorkers had not died in the early months of the pandemic, these contests — particularly the one that pitted Mr. Nadler against his House colleague Carolyn Maloney — would almost certainly not have taken place.

Beyond the numbers, though, the primaries were part of a continuing story of class divisions in New York City. In the mid-1930s, the Columbia University sociologist Caroline Ware wrote a study of Greenwich Village that focused on the Irish and Italian immigrants who moved there in the late 19th century and whose Catholic churches still dot the neighborhood.

Some at the time saw the Village as a success story of immigrant assimilation. But Professor Ware had a different interpretation. The people of the Village, she suggested, lived side by side but had little contact with one another. They were left to navigate a complicated city as “isolated individuals rather than as part of coherent social wholes.”

The national Democratic Party faces a similar class divide between highly educated urbanites and the ***working-class*** voters for whom it often claims to speak. It’s no secret that the party has moved away from the fiercely pro-union New Deal politics of the mid-20th century. For much of the 20th century, New York State’s congressional delegation included more than 40 representatives (compared with 27 today), a voting bloc that generally collaborated in support of an expansive social welfare state and ***working-class*** interests. New York representatives included many of the country’s most left-leaning politicians (like the Upper West Side’s Bella Abzug).

Mr. Nadler and Mr. Goldman come from different backgrounds, politically and economically. Mr. Nadler grew up in the city and got active in politics opposing the Vietnam War. Mr. Goldman is a Washington native who attended Sidwell Friends, Yale, Stanford; he served as assistant U.S. attorney with Preet Bharara in the Southern District of New York.

For Mr. Nadler, despite his victory on Tuesday night, the political world he emerged from no longer exists as a vital force. This is in part because of transformations within Democratic politics.

Mr. Nadler’s political career was forged at a pivotal moment in the aftermath of New York’s fiscal crisis of the 1970s. He was first elected to the State Assembly in 1976. In the following years, Democratic city officials were forced to increase subway fares, close public hospitals, charge tuition at CUNY and cease to embrace a politically ambitious role for local government. Mr. Nadler was elected to Congress in the early 1990s, when Democratic leaders like Bill Clinton proclaimed the end of the era of big government and were most optimistic about free trade and deregulation despite its impact on cities like New York.

He has supported many measures over his long career that would aid ***working-class*** people, but at the same time the Democrats have generally backed away from politics that would more forcefully address inequality and the economic divide.

Meanwhile, the economic fortunes of Manhattan were also changing — as part of an effort to secure a steadier tax base in the aftermath of the collapse of manufacturing, the city under Ed Koch began to reorient its economy toward Wall Street and real estate development.

As Wall Street became an engine of the city’s economy in the administration of Michael Bloomberg, Manhattan’s demographics began [*moving*](https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/planning-level/nyc-population/census2020/dcp_2020-census-briefing-booklet-1.pdf?r=3) in largely the opposite direction from the city as a whole. From 2010 to 2020, the white and Asian share of the borough’s population grew, while the Black and Latino share fell.

Today, the institutions that had once helped to stitch together constituencies from different ethnic and racial backgrounds, like unions, are far weaker in the city and nationally than they once were. People confront the problems of living in New York through the lens of personal ambition — as “isolated individuals,” as Professor Ware put it — rather than through collective efforts to improve the city’s life.

The narrow victory of Mr. Goldman illustrates even more sharply the political crisis of ***working-class*** New York. In addition to being an heir to the Levi Strauss fortune, Mr. Goldman is a type well known to denizens of Lower Manhattan, a successful lawyer who was able to self-fund his campaign. He is clearly a candidate whose political appeal was strongest for the new leaders of the Village and Lower Manhattan, the professional upper classes who work in law firms and investment banks, who fund their children’s schools’ parent-teacher associations and the park conservancies.

This is a social world that has little meaningful overlap with the ***working-class*** population, often Asian and Latino, that still dwells here but lacks the confident political organization and alliances with the middle class that it once possessed.

Mr. Goldman’s political fortunes rose with his role as lead counsel in the first impeachment suit against Mr. Trump; his path to the House was largely paved by this rather than any deep engagement with the kinds of material issues that affect the lives of working- or even middle-class New Yorkers.

Mr. Goldman’s race was very close — he [*won*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/08/23/us/elections/results-new-york.html?name=styln-2022-midterms&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) by roughly 1,300 votes. The runner-up, Yuh-Line Niou, a state assemblywoman, ran a campaign whose rhetoric focused on class appeals, but unions and progressive groups proved unable to act in a coordinated way to support any single candidate in a crowded field.

Despite their different backgrounds, both Mr. Goldman and Mr. Nadler embody a Manhattan that has shifted in ways that affect not only its own politics but those of the country at large. Their careers point to the divides that Professor Ware pointed out decades ago.

In her account, the Village — and New York, and America as a whole — faced the problem of how to respond to the collective problems of a modern industrial society through the lens of a political culture that had been shaped by ruthless individual acquisition. The particular problems have changed, and yet Lower Manhattan remains home to a population that, as dense as it is, is intensely divided by class and ethnicity, that is characterized (as Professor Ware put it) by “an almost complete lack of community integration.”

The bitter politics of the August primaries, which reveal yet again the declining power of New York’s liberalism, are the result.

Kim Phillips-Fein, a historian at Columbia University, is the author, most recently, of “[*Fear City: New York’s Fiscal Crisis and the Rise of Austerity Politics*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9780805095265/fearcity)” and “[*Invisible Hands: The Businessmen’s Crusade Against the New Deal*](https://wwnorton.com/books/Invisible-Hands/).”

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PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DOLLY FAIBYSHEV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Rent Was $325 a Month and the Piano Fit; renters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4H-V1P1-JBG3-64VV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 1440 words

**Byline:** D.W. Gibson

**Highlight:** A couple briefly considered moving to one of the newer market-rate buildings in New York City and paying more for a splashier place. Then they got real.

**Body**

A couple briefly considered moving to one of the newer market-rate buildings in New York City and paying more for a splashier place. Then they got real.

David Hedges and Joel Auville recently considered moving. There’s a lot of large-scale, long-term construction right outside their windows. “With this new building,” Mr. Auville said, “we were depressed, thinking we were going to lose light.”

There was another factor: They’ve been living in the same apartment for 42 years.

“I thought, gee, if we spend $5,000 a month, we could find a really wonderful place,” Mr. Hedges said. “And after about two weeks of living in it, we’d probably look at each other and say, ‘Can we go home now?’”

Just the thought of moving led the couple to realize how much of their shared life is defined by the building in Midwood, Brooklyn, that they’ve called home since 1982. The apartment is rent stabilized, and the city’s Rent Guidelines Board sets annual increases for rent-stabilized and rent-controlled apartments, mostly protecting those residents from the harsh market forces that have typified the post-pandemic rental market.

“There’s an organic quality to rent stabilization,” Mr. Hedges said. “I always thought about it as stabilizing rent, money, but it’s really about stabilizing community in a person’s life, stabilizing a real relationship with the neighborhood.”

The couple met in Paris in 1978. Mr. Hedges, who is from Stony Brook, N.Y., was studying music abroad; Mr. Auville, who grew up in public housing outside of Paris, had a steady career as a leather craftsman. They first saw each other at a bar called Club 18, a small gay disco on the Rue de Beaujolais. “It was more ***working class*** than fashionable,” Mr. Hedges recalled. “In those days, the ‘gay scene’ was still mostly underground, unless you were rich and famous.”

But after they started a life together, Mr. Auville’s father died. “Joel was ready to move,” Mr. Hedges recalled, “so we decided we’d come here.”

They could see a life for themselves in New York. Mr. Hedges wanted to attend Brooklyn College to finish his master’s degree in music, while Mr. Auville was ready to apply for permanent residency and carve out the next chapter of his life in a new country.

They spoke French to each other, so Mr. Auville didn’t speak English when they arrived. Hitting the streets of Brooklyn to find a place to live forced him to learn fast. “The tradition was to go walking around, asking supers, ‘Do you have anyplace?’” he recalled. “We did that in August, so it was about 100 degrees.”

When they found the one-bedroom apartment, Mr. Hedges loved it immediately. “It was large, I liked the kitchen, and it was close to the school. I just had a good feeling about it,” he said.

Mr. Auville was another story. “Joel hated it because the floors hadn’t been redone,” Mr. Hedges said. The people who lived here before us had two Doberman pinschers and there were still lots of traces of that.”

It was affordable, just $325 a month with gas included. “And I still said to the guy, ‘Do you have something cheaper?’” Mr. Hedges recalled, laughing. “The guy looked at me and said, ‘Yeah, I got something cheaper where you’ll go home at night and they’ll hit you over the head — is that what you want?’ Something about his bad salesmanship sold me immediately. I felt like, my God, I’m home.”

The owners of the building confirmed they’d do repairs before handing over keys, which relieved Mr. Auville, so the couple signed a lease.

David Hedges, 70; Joel Auville, 69

Occupation: Mr. Hedges is a retired high school teacher; Mr. Auville is a retired leather craftsman and home cleaner.

On living with a piano: Mr. Hedges went 20 years without playing his piano and eventually sold it. “Whatever success I had was too much, too fast,” he said. “My playing became very willful and forced.” Eventually he realized he couldn’t stay away forever and started playing again. He bought a second piano with savings and still remembers watching the movers struggle to get it into the apartment. “I have never seen giant men sweat like that.”

On neighborhood safety: Midwood has had ups and downs over the years — Mr. Hedges was mugged at one point — but both men said the neighborhood has not felt dangerous to them. “At times, people became scared the value of their home would go down,” Mr. Auville noted, “but the neighborhood has never felt unsafe.”

There were several families in the building, some with multiple generations in multiple apartments. “It’s a building that when people find it,” Mr. Hedges said, “they tend to stay in it.”

The first neighbors he and Mr. Auville met had moved into the building as newlyweds in 1932. “When we moved in,” Mr. Auville recalled, “most of the people living here were Jewish people. Many had survived the Holocaust.”

The neighborhood had just enough amenities — a supermarket and hardware store, inexpensive restaurants and an Irish bar that still served 25-cent beers — and there was a familiarity among the people who shared the building. Neighbors could tell when families were in a fight or when someone wasn’t feeling well. People put used items out in the lobby and told others to feel free to take them.

Mr. Hedges recalls feeling comfortable from the beginning. “Certainly, we were the only gay people around and I don’t remember feeling threatened in any way.”

He routinely practiced at the piano and his neighbors not only tolerated it but welcomed it. On weekend afternoons, some of them would sit in his apartment and would listen to him play. “The assumption in this neighborhood has always been if you’re here, you’re one of us,” he said. “We want to support you to do whatever it takes for you to be able to stay here. We want to support you to meet your goals, work hard, make a good living and stay. Because this is how a community functions. You don’t have to conform, you just have to participate. For many, hearing the piano was a part of continuity and community in the building.”

In the early days, Mr. Hedges and Mr. Auville commuted to Manhattan for work, cleaning luxury apartments for a company that catered to wealthy New Yorkers. They developed several friendly relationships with clients and furnished much of their apartment with items given to them by the people for whom they cleaned — a bedroom set from Irma Jaffe, the art historian; works from artists like Beth Neville and Florence Siegal.

Mr. Auville continued cleaning apartments while Mr. Hedges ultimately decided on a teaching career. He landed at an alternative high school not far from their apartment. They kept at their lives for decades and, somewhere along the line, Mr. Hedges and Mr. Auville unwittingly became the fixtures in the neighborhood.

The couple, both retired now, have been walking the neighborhood together nearly every day for several years; when they miss a day, their absence is noted. “After years of observing us,” Mr. Hedges said, “people in the neighborhood know us and feel a bond that they have to express.”

“People come up to us on the street, people we’ve never met,” Mr. Hedges said, “who see us and say, ‘Oh, I’m glad to see you’re OK, I’ve seen you in this neighborhood for years.’ Even when you don’t realize it, people are looking after you.”

Mr. Hedges laughed remembering that for a year or so after moving in, they still had a few packed boxes because they were unsure if they would last in the apartment. Now they have no regrets about staying for nearly half a century. “With rent stabilization, you get to be free from the distractions and challenges of ownership, and you get to like your life,” he said. “When things need repair, we let them do it. But also, we want to participate in making it livable and being happy in our lives, and we’ve made a lot of improvements over the years at our own expense.”

They renovated the kitchen and the bathroom; they’ve refreshed the paint over the years. “People who own their homes ask us, Why would you waste money like that?” Mr. Hedges said. “But it’s not wasted money because someone else, whom we will never meet, will enjoy the improvements when we leave, so how can that be wasted money?”

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PHOTOS: Top, Joel Auville, left, and David Hedges in their rent-stabilized apartment in Midwood, Brooklyn. Center, from left: the living room; and the remodeled kitchen (the couple paid for the renovations). Above, some of Mr. Auville’s housecleaning clients gave the couple many works of art over the years. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page RE7.

**Load-Date:** October 10, 2024

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[***Dancing in an Emotional Washing Machine***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D32-1JM1-JBG3-6290-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 1389 words

**Byline:** Brian Seibert

**Highlight:** Botis Seva, a rising British choreographer who mixes hip-hop and contemporary dance, brings his Olivier Award-winning “BLKDOG” to New York.

**Body**

Botis Seva, a rising British choreographer who mixes hip-hop and contemporary dance, brings his Olivier Award-winning “BLKDOG” to New York.

“Daddy, can you read me a story?”

The voice is a child’s, but instead of a comforting father, we see squatting figures wearing padded hoods. In near darkness, they shake and convulse. All of a sudden, they topple like ducks in a shooting gallery and huddle over the fallen as at a crime scene. Sometimes, they scuttle across the floor like insects on the move.

These unsettling images appear in “[*BLKDOG*](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/blkdog-the-story-behind-the-award-far-from-the-norm/EwUx-QuW1lsjGQ?hl=en),” a dance performance by the rising British choreographer Botis Seva. The winner of an Olivier Award, it is the breakout work of [*Far From the Norm*](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/blkdog-the-story-behind-the-award-far-from-the-norm/EwUx-QuW1lsjGQ?hl=en), Seva’s London hip-hop dance theater company. On Wednesday, it arrives in New York, as Far From the Norm [*makes its United States debut*](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/blkdog-the-story-behind-the-award-far-from-the-norm/EwUx-QuW1lsjGQ?hl=en) at the Joyce Theater.

On a recent video call from The Hague, where he was making a piece for Nederlands Dans Theater, Seva, 33, traced the origins of “BLKDOG” to the birth of his son in 2017.

“I started thinking about how I was raised and how I was going to raise a child in this world,” he said. “When I’ve gone through so much craziness, how can I do this?”

“The work is about the frustration of that,” he continued, “and of being a child trying to deal with your emotions. I’m still trying to find my healing through forgiving and letting go.”

Seva’s childhood began in South London, where he was born to Congolese parents. He was raised, mostly by his mother, in Dagenham, an East London ***working-class*** town where many Africans have settled in recent decades. He fell into hip-hop dance in secondary school, rehearsing for talent shows “because it got you out of trouble,” he said. The music drew him in. The audience response kept him coming back.

A youth club near his home offered free space. “I spent pretty much every day there,” he said — making up dances and filming himself. With friends he met at the club and in a youth company, he formed a crew and started entering street dance competitions. Then he attended [*Breakin’ Convention*](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/blkdog-the-story-behind-the-award-far-from-the-norm/EwUx-QuW1lsjGQ?hl=en), an annual hip-hop theater festival at Sadler’s Wells, London’s leading theater devoted to dance.

“I thought, ‘Wow, this is what I want to make,’” Seva said. “It wasn’t just the moves. It was people telling stories and evoking emotion through theater.”

He began applying to choreography development workshops. In Back to the Lab, a workshop run by Breakin’ Convention, he was mentored by the contemporary choreographer [*Jasmin Vardimon*](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/blkdog-the-story-behind-the-award-far-from-the-norm/EwUx-QuW1lsjGQ?hl=en).

“I think that helped bridge the language and help me find different ways of telling stories,” Seva said. “I was influenced by contemporary stuff and all kinds of street dance. I was watching and copying and taking as much as I could.”

His crew coalesced into a company. One of the first to join was Victoria Shulungu, a street dancer with competition experience. Early on, she recalled, Seva showed her a photo and asked her how it made her feel. She told him that it disturbed her, that it made her itch. He asked her to express that feeling through movement.

“I had never done something like that,” Shulungu said, “but the moment I tried it, it opened up a new world of communication. That’s when I realized that this world of movement is far bigger than I expected.”

Alistair Spalding, the artistic director of Sadler’s Wells, which recently added Seva to its starry group of associate artists, said that he saw Seva in [*Breakin’ Convention performances*](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/blkdog-the-story-behind-the-award-far-from-the-norm/EwUx-QuW1lsjGQ?hl=en), but that he really started paying attention when Seva participated in Wild Card, a series that allows young artists to curate an evening in the theater’s studio space.

“It was hip-hop, but he was taking it to a more theatrical place,” Spalding said. “It’s more interior. It’s not pandering to us, but you can’t miss the power of what’s going on.”

In 2018, Seva was one of three choreographers commissioned for a Sadler’s Wells anniversary program on its main stage. His contribution — a 30-minute first draft of “BLKDOG” — won Best New Dance Production at the prestigious Olivier Awards, beating out a work by the illustrious choreographer William Forsythe. Among those most surprised was Seva, who had not heard of the awards before learning that he was nominated.

All this sounds like a happy tale of talent finding support and a path. But about the darker parts of his past, Seva was more circumspect, alluding only vaguely to childhood trauma, which informs “BLKDOG.”

“Not growing up with my father was troubling,” he said. “That child voice that says ‘Daddy, can you read me a story?,’ that’s me thinking, ‘Man, I wish I was my son, who has me.’”

The full 65-minute work is fragmentary and atmospherically cinematic, image after image flashing in the darkness. Seva, who doesn’t perform in the work anymore, said that the title isn’t, as many people assume, a reference to the “black dog” of depression, a phrase commonly associated with Winston Churchill. Seva was thinking more of underdogs, dark horses, black sheep.

The dancers make gun shapes with their fingers and wield a baseball bat. They simulate sex and sexual abuse. This violence and sex, expressed through the muscle isolations of popping and locking and the explosive aggression of krump, is continually mixed with suggestions of childhood. The dancers’ costumes acquire the floppy dragon scales and crown of Max in “Where the Wild Things Are.” In their creepy insect walk, there’s something tender, or comic, about the way their knees piston — like those of adults riding tricycles, or mini-BMX bikes, as the dancers eventually do.

Performing the work, Shulungu said, is like being inside a physical and emotional washing machine. “You’re tackling very dark subjects that maybe you haven’t even shared with close family members,” she said. “It’s like you’re bleeding.”

For audience members, she continued, “it’s almost like a scary movie, where you’re on the edge of your seat waiting for something to happen, but that moment never lands.”

Titillation, though, isn’t Seva’s aim, he said: “If there’s one person in the theater that goes, ‘Oh, man, I need to go to therapy’ or ‘I need to talk to my dad or someone I haven’t seen in a long time,’ that’s the goal.” A voice at the end of “BLKDOG” says, “It’s OK.”

Making the work, he said, was itself a form of therapy — as audiences might infer from a therapist’s voice in the show that says: “Maybe we should start with how you’re feeling,” and, later, “What happened that day wasn’t your fault.”

Partly because of the pandemic, it took a while for Far From the Norm to make a follow-up. “Until We Sleep” debuted early this year and will tour Europe just after the group’s North American tour of “BLKDOG.” Between productions, the company has been [*making short films*](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/blkdog-the-story-behind-the-award-far-from-the-norm/EwUx-QuW1lsjGQ?hl=en). The language of film, Seva said, is a big part of how he tells stories onstage.

In those films, parenthood and childhood are also fraught themes. “[*Can’t Kill Us All*](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/blkdog-the-story-behind-the-award-far-from-the-norm/EwUx-QuW1lsjGQ?hl=en),” which he made during the lockdown period of the pandemic, juxtaposes images of him playing with his infant son against solo moments in which he looks as though he’s trying to break out of the straitjacket of his own body. An earlier film, “Reach,” cuts between his son in a crib and himself running away, his dancing expressing his turmoil.

“Children are the heart of my work and the heart of my life,” he said. In addition to their 7-year-old son, he and his partner, Lee Griffiths, who is Far From the Norm’s executive producer, now have twins.

“Sometimes I have to explain to people without children that I have to take the kids to school and make their lunches,” he said. “Even if I’m rehearsing, if I get a call from the nursery, I have to go and pick them up.”

Not all artists who are parents put that experience into their work, but Seva says he feels compelled to. “I also like to put it in,” he said, “because it shows people that my life isn’t just dance.”

Still, dance is a lot of his life. And he hasn’t given up performing just yet. His next project is a solo show.

PHOTO: The choreographer Botis Seva, in The Hague, where he is making a piece for Nederlands Dans Theater. His dance “BLKDOG,” informed by childhood trauma, will have its American debut at the Joyce Theater, performed by his London dance theater company, Far From the Norm. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSSI PUIKKONEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR7.

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[***An Actress Who Can Do It All***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4H-FPH1-DXY4-X411-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 7, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1489 words

**Byline:** By Roisin Kiberd

**Body**

''I wish I could live through something,'' says the teenage title character in the 2017 movie ''Lady Bird,'' yearning for a life beyond suburban Sacramento.

The actor playing her, Saoirse Ronan, had, at that point, already lived through enough for several lives. Then 23, she'd been acting since she was 9, and had already garnered two Oscar nominations. ''Lady Bird,'' Greta Gerwig's debut as a solo director, would earn Ronan a third. Another followed, in 2019, for her role as Jo March in Gerwig's ''Little Women.''

This year, Oscars buzz surrounds Ronan once again, thanks to her leading roles in Nora Fingscheidt's ''The Outrun,'' which opens in theaters Friday, and Steve McQueen's ''Blitz,'' out Nov. 1st.

Ronan's career reads as a series of evolutions, pushing into new territory with every role -- over the years, she has also played a 1950s Irish immigrant in New York, a child assassin, a vampire, Lady Macbeth and Mary, Queen of Scots. Now 30, with over two decades of experience in front of the camera, the Irish actress has committed herself in ''The Outrun'' to a character containing multitudes: a woman raised in a remote island community, who returns to recover from her addiction to alcohol.

''It was so much more than just making a film for me,'' Ronan said, in a video interview from New York. She described an experience that was both physically and emotionally demanding: ''I think actors are sponges, you're able to open yourself up to everything around you.'' For ''The Outrun,'' that meant swimming in the icy sea, delivering lambs on-camera and going deep into the psyche of a woman in crisis.

The movie unfolds on Orkney, an island off Scotland's northern coast, and the ''outrun'' is a wind-wracked stretch of land where farmland gives way to the sea. It's a terrain of extreme beauty, of sandstone cliffs and open sky, sea-green and cerulean, matched by the blue hair of Ronan's character Rona, who returns home to the island to recover from her addiction.

Here, nature has the power to heal, not by curing Rona of her own wildness but by inspiring her to accept it. We watch as Rona walks slowly into the cold waves, is visited by a colony of bobbing seals, and spends her nights listening for the call of the corncrake, a rare bird that nests on the island.

Her recovery is spliced with scenes from her former life in London -- first ecstatic, then catastrophic -- where drinking destroyed her relationship and her career as a scientist. Ronan said that exploring the psychology of alcohol addiction was her ''main motivation'' in taking on this role. ''It's in the makeup of our culture in Ireland and the U.K., and I have been affected by it in the way that so many other people have,'' she said. ''It unfortunately -- but maybe also fortunately -- shaped me and influenced me a lot growing up.''

Speaking carefully to avoid identifying the person in question, Ronan spoke about her experience watching an alcoholic up close. ''I repressed a lot of the feelings I had towards it,'' she said, adding that she now felt ready ''to really crack it open and explore the psychology of an addict.''

The director Fingscheidt's first film, ''System Crasher,'' follows a 9-year-old girl whose violent outbursts send her on an odyssey through the foster system. Rona in ''The Outrun'' is a kind of spiritual successor: a woman capable of wonder as well as emotional extremes. ''It's the full spectrum, from absolute euphoria, to love, to devastation, and depression, and shame,'' Fingscheidt said. ''She goes through almost every possible human shade of emotion.''

Fingscheidt co-wrote the screenplay with Amy Liptrot, the author of the 2015 addiction-recovery memoir that the movie is based on. Early in the movie's development, Fingscheidt and Liptrot met with Ronan, and the three decided to rename the protagonist ''Rona'' instead of ''Amy,'' after another Scottish island that is uninhabited and a lot more remote. ''We picked 'Rona', because it's an island beyond the outrun,'' Fingscheidt said, ''but also there's a similarity to 'Ronan.'''

Several of the movie's scenes were shot on the farm where Liptrot grew up, and though Ronan's character was drawn from her memoir, it was never intended as a direct portrayal, Liptrot said. ''She has that brittleness that I had in early sobriety,'' Liptrot said, ''and then towards the end, she channels the ambition of my writing -- that sort of manic, grandiose quality.''

When shooting wrapped in the wilds of Orkney, Ronan headed south to London, to shoot ''Blitz.'' In that movie, she plays Rita, a mother searching for her missing 9-year-old son as the city is bombed by the Nazis during World War II.

Rita embodies a woman both challenged and liberated by the absence of men, who have left for the front lines. With her hair tied in a scarf, like Rosie the Riveter, and her legs marked with eyeliner, to look like she's wearing seamed stockings, we see Rita singing, dancing, working in a munitions factory and agitating with other ***working-class*** Londoners for the opening of bomb shelters.

''In that time, women were the backbone of the country, emotionally and physically,'' McQueen said in a recent interview. ''I wanted to give that character -- a sort of unsung hero -- a platform.'' McQueen said he admired Ronan's ability to move between registers. ''It's a very intimate film, but at the same time the scale is epic,'' he said. ''She has the ability to hold those two fields, in a way not a lot of actresses can.''

McQueen was also impressed by Ronan's singing, which was key to the role. In one uncertain, then triumphant, scene, we watch Rita perform a song on BBC radio from the factory where she works. McQueen remembered shooting the scene in Liverpool: ''There were 450 women,'' he said. ''Usually men dominate a set, but the energy was completely different. Saoirse sang to them, and there was this infectious sense of emotion.''

Rita also sings with her son, George, played by Elliott Heffernan, and her father, Gerald, played by the musician Paul Weller, both of whom were acting for the first time. ''It was like a family unit,'' McQueen said. ''With Saoirse, she was not only protective of Elliott, but she understood him, because of course she started to act when she was nine herself.''

Clips of Ronan's earliest on-camera performances are still available on YouTube: In 2003, she appeared in ''The Clinic,'' a medical drama made by Ireland's public broadcaster, as an earnest child who narrowly escapes getting run over by a car. Behind the wheel on-set was her father, Paul, also an actor.

Paul and his wife Monica were living in New York as undocumented immigrants when Ronan was born. Her mother worked as a cleaner, and Paul worked as a bartender and a builder while auditioning for acting gigs. The family returned to Dublin when Ronan was three, then moved to Carlow, Ireland's second-smallest county, and Paul was cast in the Irish soap operas ''Ballykissangel'' and ''Fair City.''

Ronan grew up visiting her father on film sets, and made rapid progress once she started landing her own roles. Not long after ''The Clinic,'' she was cast as Briony in ''Atonement,'' a 2007 adaptation of the Ian McEwan novel, a role that earned her nominations for a BAFTA, a Golden Globe and an Oscar.

Although she was just 13 at the time, Ronan held her own next to Keira Knightley and James McAvoy in the movie. She shone amid an ensemble cast in Wes Anderson's Grand Budapest Hotel (2014), and in ''Brooklyn'' (2015), her first leading adult role. More recently, Ronan's collaborations with Gerwig, in ''Lady Bird'' and ''Little Women,'' showcased the same charm that helped her 2017 appearance hosting ''Saturday Night Live'' go viral.

That monologue, which included a song about how to pronounce ''Saoirse'' (it's SAYR-sha), was as much a conversation about Irishness as it was a joke about the nation's love of names with superfluous vowels. It also spoke to Ronan's other role as a cultural ambassador and part of a wave of young Irish actors that includes Paul Mescal, Barry Keoghan and Jessie Buckley, currently making a global impact.

McQueen -- who has previously given prominent roles in his movies to Irish actors, including Liam Neeson, Colin Farrell and Michael Fassbender -- praised an outlook that all three, and Ronan, have in common. ''It's an island,'' he said of Ireland. ''No one can get too big for their boots. I also think that when you come from an island, there's a real want there to communicate, and tell stories, and to find the emotion.''

Ronan, who recently bought a house in West Cork, said she remained attached to her home country, even as she moves far beyond it. ''What I'm most grateful for about Ireland is the fact that we celebrate the arts as much as we do,'' said Ronan, adding: ''We're not embarrassed when it comes to emotion, and feeling, and storytelling. We thrive on that.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/movies/saoirse-ronan-outrun-blitz.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/movies/saoirse-ronan-outrun-blitz.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Making ''The Outrun'' was emotionally demanding for Saoirse Ronan, above. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CELESTE SLOMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1)

Above left, In ''The Outrun,'' Ronan's character, Rona, returns home to the Orkney Islands in Scotland to recover from her alcohol addiction. (The outrun is a stretch of land where farmland gives way to the sea.) Above, Ronan, at age 30, has already been nominated for four Oscars. ''The Outrun'' and another current project are also generating awards buzz. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARTIN SCOTT POWELL/SONY PICTURES CLASSICS

CELESTE SLOMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C2) This article appeared in print on page C1, C2.

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[***After Years of Conservative Rule, Britain's Young Voters Are Frustrated***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CCF-7CW1-JBG3-6070-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Megan Specia

**Body**

Many young people in the northern English cities of Liverpool and Manchester say they feel disillusioned by politics.

As the flag of a British workers union flapped behind him on a blustery June morning, Liam Kehoe was on strike with colleagues outside Royal Liverpool University Hospital, demanding better pay for porters, cleaners and catering staff. Their wages have failed to keep up with the surge in the cost of living, and many said they were living paycheck to paycheck.

Mr. Kehoe, 26, serves food in the hospital. On Thursday, the day of Britain's general election, he plans to vote for the center-left Labour Party because of the economic situation and the crumbling state of the National Health Service, he said.

Thinking of the life that his parents built on salaries earned as a nurse and a truck driver, Mr. Kehoe says that young people have been left with far worse prospects after 14 years of a Conservative-led government. ''If you go back 30 years ago, houses were a bit more affordable, life was a little bit easier,'' he said. ''Nowadays, it's like you can't afford anything.''

Polls suggest more than half of voters under 35 plan to vote for Labour on Thursday, compared with 27 percent of voters over 65. While the gap between young and old in politics is not new, the extent of the split in Britain in recent years is exceptional, with support for the governing Conservative Party dropping sharply in all but the oldest age group, according to recent polls.

Before 2019, the major factor in whether people voted Conservative or Labour was income. More recently, ''age has replaced class as the defining way in which people vote,'' said Molly Broome, an economist with the Resolution Foundation, a British research institute.

The northern English city of Liverpool has long been a Labour stronghold with a proud ***working-class*** tradition. Many young people said their allegiance to the center-left party has been strengthened by a sense that their needs have been ignored by the Conservatives.

Mr. Kehoe and his girlfriend are trying to buy a home. ''The housing market is on its knees,'' he said. ''The whole country is falling to bits because this government is in it for them and not in it for us. They don't care about us, the little guys at the bottom.''

Others expressed broader discontent at a political system that they said did not account for their needs. Some young people said they would not vote at all, while others would cast ballots for third-party candidates who had little chance of winning more than a few seats but whose ethos was more aligned with theirs.

Much of the political messaging from Britain's two main parties has focused on the priorities of older generations, experts said, since they make up a large proportion of the electorate, partly because of population shifts. They are also more likely to vote: Some 96 percent of people over 65 are registered to vote, compared with 60 percent of 18- to 19-year-olds and 67 percent of those 20 to 44, according to a 2023 electoral commission report.

Politicians have safeguarded some policies that support older people, even as younger generations face worsening standards of living. The pension ''triple lock,'' for instance, introduced by the Conservative-led government in 2011, ensures that the state retirement income -- similar to Social Security in the United States -- rises each year by the highest of earnings growth, inflation or 2.5 percent.

While age remains the major dividing factor in support for the two main political parties, there are also divisions within the younger generation, Ms. Broome said. Labour has had a positive swing in polls across all generations, except among millennials who did not graduate from university and those who do not own a home.

''It's not the fact that they are more likely to vote Conservative; it's the fact that they are less likely to vote at all,'' Ms. Broome said.

Owen Burrows, 21, a porter at the Liverpool hospital, does not plan to vote, he said, despite it being the first general election for which he is eligible.

''I just can't say there is anyone I actually agree with, so I really wouldn't be inclined to vote,'' he said. He remembers being ''baffled'' in 2016 when the country voted to withdraw from the European Union.

''With the state the country is in now, and with the whole Brexit situation, it just feels like it's gone completely wrong,'' he said.

Brexit looms large for many. In Liverpool's Baltic Triangle, a former warehouse district with a thriving creative scene, young men skateboarded in the evening light. The rhythmic roll of their skateboard wheels echoed off brightly painted walls.

One of the skateboarders, Joe McKenna, 26, was the first in his family to go to university. In the Brexit referendum, his first vote, he opted to remain, while both of his parents voted to leave.

''I think that was the first time I noticed a divide between what my parents think about and what I think about,'' he said. ''Now, we don't really talk about it, because it's happened and I think they know it's not a good situation. But I don't blame them.''

With the fallout of Brexit in mind, he plans to vote Labour in the upcoming election.

''I see them as the lesser of two evils,'' he said. ''A lot of ***working-class*** people voted Tory in the last election because they convinced them there would be change. And, obviously, with Brexit, that swayed a lot of opinions toward the Conservative Party.''

Housing is another focus of discontent. Some 70 percent of young British people say they believe the dream of homeownership is over for many in their generation, according to a study from the Center for Policy Studies, a British research group. And the data backs up that view: Thirty-nine percent of 25- to 34-year-olds owned their homes in 2022-23, down from a peak of 59 percent in 2000.

Even some young Conservatives, like Olivia Lever, 24, said they felt forgotten in this current campaign. Ms. Lever, a founder of the University of Liverpool Young Conservatives and director of Blue Beyond, a grass-roots group for young Tories, said there had been no effort to appeal to younger people's needs.

''In the Conservatives, for some time, there has been a gap between the younger members of the party and the older members of the party,'' she said. ''With this election -- where is the growth? Where is the house building? Where are the jobs? How are we inspiring and empowering people?''

Ms. Lever said that many young people had become ''completely disenfranchised with politics because it is very older-people-centered,'' pointing to a recent survey her group did of young Tories that asked them to describe the current campaign. Many answered: ''Boomer-ist.''

On the other side of the political spectrum, young people who identify with the progressive left also described feeling disenfranchised. At the University of Liverpool, a small protest encampment against the conflict in Gaza sprang up last month, inspired by similar demonstrations in the United States.

Students and recent graduates there expressed frustration that Labour had not immediately called for a cease-fire or condemned Israel's actions. Aamor Crofts, 21, who is studying wildlife conservation and has been camped here since May, plans to cast her ballot for a Green or independent candidate.

''I don't see any major party that truly represents me,'' she said. Young people, she said, had been left to deal with the fallout from Brexit, economic troubles and skyrocketing house prices. ''This isn't the country we want to inherit,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/29/world/europe/britain-young-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/29/world/europe/britain-young-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: In Liverpool, a longtime Labour stronghold, many young voters are supporting the center-left, saying their needs have been ignored.

Olivia Lever founded a group for fellow young Tories who feel ''disenfranchised'' as the party has failed to engage with them.

Aamor Crofts, a protester at the University of Liverpool against the conflict in Gaza, is planning to vote Green or independent. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A6.

**Load-Date:** June 30, 2024

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[***What Ever Happened to the Lady Jaguars?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DN8-GYB1-JBG3-6137-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By John Branch and Ruth Fremson

**Body**

Her name is Hannah. When I met her more than a decade ago, she was a wide-eyed and curious seventh grader with church-pew manners. She was chatty and clingy, a dreamer with a trusting heart. She played with dolls and sang in a choir. She wanted to be a veterinarian and live in a mansion.

Hannah came from a home broken by poverty and addiction. She found comfort at Carroll Academy, a court-run day school in West Tennessee for teens in trouble. The Lady Jaguars basketball team that Hannah played on was in the middle of a 312-game losing streak, stretching over 12 years, which is why I first went to Carroll Academy. She was the youngest player that season.

Now it was early 2023. The evening sky darkened over Carroll County Jail. I was in the parking lot. A familiar voice was on the phone from the other side of the thick walls.

It was Hannah, now 24, addicted to meth, caught in a sting operation a few weeks earlier.

Oh, Hannah. Is that you?

''Hi, Mr. John,'' Hannah said. I recognized her honeyed, lilting voice instantly. It might have been the only thing that hadn't changed since she was a girl. I rubbed one hand on my forehead. The other held the phone.

''You OK?'' I asked.

Hannah was one of nine girls The New York Times had featured in a five-part series in 2012, and then in a follow-up series a year later. The stories were less about basketball than about growing up in a part of America often hidden in the shadows, culturally and economically.

I could still rattle off all their names: Hannah. Summer. Miranda. Alleyah. Leslee. Kiana. Constance. Jenna. Destiny.

Most of them had been birthed into tough luck and raised in the quicksand of rural poverty. Few had a two-parent household or a reliable address. Most had firsthand views of joblessness and drug addiction. Some had parents in jail.

As teens, they were fragile, awkward, wounded, resilient, optimistic. They were young enough to have dreams, modest ones, mostly of attaining something marginally better than what they were living.

The last lines of my final article in the 2012 series had left their future open, untold.

''A cold, late-winter wind blew, and the girls rushed to get into the warmth of awaiting cars, back into a life without a basketball team,'' I wrote. ''In a moment, it seemed, they were scattered like leaves, and it was impossible to know just where they would be blown.''

Was it?

No stories in my career have sloshed around my head as persistently as those about the Lady Jaguars. I have tried to keep tabs of their lives, mostly through the thin strands and curated footprints of social media.

I have thought of the persistent myth that people in the United States can rise above their inherited lot through dedication and hard work. The more clinical truth is that most of us are echoes of our parents, winners and losers of a genetic, economic and even geographic lottery system.

For a decade, I wondered about the Lady Jaguars. I worried for them. I wanted to know how the wind had scattered them. Over the past two years, the photographer Ruth Fremson and I reconnected with all nine of them. Seven agreed to open their current lives to us.

Mostly, we wanted to ask them all the same question I had asked Hannah: Are you OK?

Through the weak phone connection from inside the jail, Hannah's voice was tinged with optimism and no-excuses frankness. Much as she had felt safer at Carroll Academy than at home as a girl, she felt safer in jail than she did on the streets. She had been locked up for weeks but had not heard from friends or family. I was the first to visit her, she said.

''I want to grow up,'' she told me. ''I want to own my own car, buy my own house, go to college. I want to have a normal life.''

I sighed. I promised to stay in touch. I hung up and went searching for more.

HANNAH: 'I wanted to feel like somebody cared'

Voices are time capsules. So many years can pass, so many things can change -- faces, places, personalities -- but somehow people sound the same.

Hannah's sugared voice through the jailhouse phone. Summer's easygoing cadence in her chaotic living room. Alleyah's Southern accent, laced with sass and confidence. Kiana's fast-talking determination, Destiny's I-gotta-do-better sheepishness. Even Miranda's memorable laugh, through the screen door, saying to come on in.

The y'alls and dropped g's, the heavy sighs and the girlish giggles were still there. The words had harder edges. Some of the sentences were weighted with fatigue. But I recognized the voices.

''Welcome to McDonald's. How may I help you today?''

There she was again. Hannah, through the drive-through speaker, a few months removed from jail. I ordered a shake and pulled up to the window.

Hannah smiled. Her light-brown hair, long and flowing as a teen, had been shaved in jail because of a lice outbreak; now it had grown back to a short bob. Her arms were decorated with amateur tattoos, some unfinished, some she had done herself.

She had been released straight into a supervised recovery program. Her support system included a probation officer, a drug counselor and a women's shelter in a town two hours from where she grew up. ''Every storm runs out of rain,'' a note on the house's bulletin board read.

''I always just wanted to feel like somebody cared,'' Hannah said. ''That they know about me and cared that I existed.''

Hannah was 12 when she arrived at Carroll Academy after she had admitted stealing her mother's prescription pain pills and taking them to school. It was a lie, authorities later learned, conceived by Hannah's father, so that he could take the pills and avoid the wrath of his wife. Soon, the family dissolved and Hannah was bouncing from home to home, one relative to another. That's when our stories published. I soon lost track of her.

I now know that she began using crystal meth at 18. She has three felonies on her record -- two for meth and one for stealing a truck -- and a litany of probation violations. They're long stories. The last time she saw her father, a few years ago, she sold him drugs, she said.

''Ain't nobody's fault but mine,'' she said.

Hannah felt lucky. She was no longer angry at the young man who set her up during the meth sting. He had probably saved her life. No more hiding from arrest warrants and probation violations. No more dodging dealers who wanted to kill her for not repaying debts. No more running from abusive men. No more sleeping under the bridge near downtown.

Hannah's treatment required her to attend at least five substance-abuse meetings a week -- Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous and the like. The women's shelter had strict rules, household chores and routine drug tests. She graduated to another house, to a bit more freedom. Eventually she could get a phone. With her first paycheck, she and I went to Walmart and picked one out. Within a week, the house mother had taken it away from her for misusing it.

At McDonald's this spring, Hannah got a raise, to $12 per hour, and felt rich. She paid $124 a month in rent at the women's shelter, and tried to set aside $100 a paycheck to pay off the $18,000 in court fees and fines she owed. Hannah studied for high school equivalency exams, knowing a diploma could unlock other job opportunities. She applied to work as a receptionist and was told that she was a great fit, except for the felonies.

In early November, she got a new job, cleaning rooms at a nursing home. ''LOL I love it,'' she texted.

More than anything, she was pleased to have friends and mentors, a tight community of women in recovery.

''I love you,'' the women said to one another when they said goodbye each day.

Hannah turned and smiled after one such exchange. ''That's nice to hear,'' she whispered to me.

Her belongings fit into three small boxes. Hannah spent long periods noticing things she had taken for granted: The sky. Trees. People shuffling through everyday lives.

''I like how normal I feel,'' she said.

There were dark moments when Hannah came close to throwing it away again for one more high. But then she thought of jail. Of the house. Of the job. Of the meetings. Of the people she would disappoint -- her housemates, her counselor, even the people at Carroll Academy who had embraced her as a teen. And she still didn't want to let down her parents.

People around town soon knew Hannah from the meetings and from McDonald's. Sometimes the cars stacked up as people made small talk with her at the drive-through window. People were happy to see her. She made their day.

When a man pulled up and realized that he didn't have enough change for a cup of coffee, Hannah paid for him. Later, at Walmart, she bought $30 worth of clothes -- not for her, but for a homeless man who hangs around McDonald's.

She had nothing. She had everything.

ALLEYAH: 'Everything's going to be OK'

Alleyah sat in her bedroom, in a bland, suburban house in Florida, a few miles from the Atlantic coast. The bedroom looked a lot like the one that she had as a teenager in Tennessee -- twin bed, colored lights, frilly accents. She felt lucky to have gotten from there to here.

''I'm really proud of myself,'' she said.

The Florida house was a recovery residence similar to Hannah's, but Alleyah seemed to be a year or so farther on the arc to recovery. She had been promoted to house mom, and her duties included administering drug and breathalyzer tests to housemates.

When we reconnected in person, Alleyah had just finished an eight-hour shift as a customer service representative for a moving company. Her Mazda sedan was parked in the driveway. The car's starter was connected to a breathalyzer, the consequence of a D.U.I. in 2019. An app on her phone said she had been sober for 464 days. She wore her sobriety date on a beaded bracelet.

Alleyah had been sent to Carroll Academy at 13. I thought she was hilarious, a wisp of a girl with streetwise attitude and a broad smile. In 2013, I called her ''a tiny dynamo of head-shaking self-destruction.'' She could barely hoist a basketball to the rim her first year, but was point guard the second. She wanted to be a cosmetologist.

I remembered her single father telling me how worried he was about bad influences -- boys, booze, drugs -- that lingered outside their door. He wanted Alleyah to grow up and leave their town. ''There's better stuff out there if she can just get away,'' he said.

Weeks later, at 15, Alleyah failed a drug test and was ordered to a rehab center in Memphis, two hours from home. She ran away and kept running, fueled by booze and Xanax. Scared to fly, she took a bus to Florida, where she heard she could do rehab in places that let people smoke pot.

She bounced from one place to another, most of them happy to accept her and her insurance money. People in the know call it the ''Florida shuffle.''

She survived a sexual assault that she would rather not discuss. Exhausted and desperate, she got connected to Karlyn McAleer, a woman in her 30s recovering from addiction, who owns and operates Courage Houses, including three recovery residences for women.

''I kind of got a head's up about her, a girl who has been bouncing through the 'Florida shuffle,''' Karlyn said. She sat next to Alleyah on the porch. ''Then I meet her, and she's this sweet little Southern thing. I could see I was going to need to kick her in the butt. She was lazy. She needed motivation.''

''I did,'' Alleyah said, nodding.

''She's been through a lot of personalities here, but she's always been kind,'' Karlyn said. ''She doesn't like confrontation. Now she's able to speak up for herself.''

There was no timeline for re-entering the world without the guardrails of a recovery residence. That's the thing with all of the Lady Jaguars. In childhood, despite the problems they faced, they had scaffolding and safety nets, like Carroll Academy. As adults, on their own, they have to find support in unfamiliar places -- through jobs or hobbies, at halfway houses or rehab meetings, maybe with a reliable significant other. Failing is more real now, in ways they didn't fathom as teens.

''The thought of leaving here scares the hell out of me,'' Alleyah said.

''When it comes time to leave, it'll feel right,'' Karlyn told her.

''Yeah,'' Alleyah said, mostly to herself. She looked to the distance. ''It'll feel right.''

Alleyah returned to Tennessee for a few days to attend her grandmother's funeral. She went back to the housing project where her father still lives, where she still has a bedroom, where the faces in the neighborhood look familiar, but older.

She felt anxious. Too many memories. Too many temptations. Too many ways to upend her simple dreams: a car, a job, a place to live, a family, someday. It can all feel so hard.

Alleyah pondered what she would tell her 15-year-old self. She cried.

''I would tell her that everything's going to be OK,'' she said.

She recently began hunting for her own apartment. This winter, she thinks, she'll be ready to live on her own.

CARROLL ACADEMY: 'They can't see past the tree line'

For 30 years, Carroll Academy has snared teens before they slip into society's cracks. A juvenile court judge assigns them there, mostly for bad behavior or chronic truancy, until they earn their way back to what the kids call ''regular'' school. That might take a few months, even a year or two. Three of the nine former Lady Jaguars graduated from Carroll Academy.

The idea is to nurture them with tough love and nudge them to adulthood -- then release them, like fish in a river.

''We can't be there to hold their hands forever,'' Randy Hatch, Carroll Academy's founding director and longtime basketball coach, now retired, told me this year.

Most girls at Carroll Academy are placed on the basketball team ''to give their worlds a bit of structure and to teach them about teamwork and trusting others,'' as I wrote in 2012. Many of them have no experience playing basketball, and they lose most games in a rout. The 2012 team extended the program's losing streak to 184.

Carroll Academy serves five rural counties, dotted by small towns strung together by quiet roads that cut over rolling hills of cotton fields and forests. Midway between Nashville and Memphis, the region's demographics skew older, whiter, poorer and less educated than the state's averages.

In the 1990s especially, the area was hollowed out by the shuttering of manufacturing plants. Most residents were ***working class*** and deeply rooted, without the wherewithal to chase jobs elsewhere. Most of the 2012 Lady Jaguars were born into these families.

Back then, Hatch said that the children of Carroll Academy were hampered, in part, by a lack of imagination for a better life. ''They can't see past the tree line,'' was how he put it to me.

It's 2024. Plants have opened again and employers are desperate for workers. But not enough applicants can pass the drug screening, and many won't be hired because of felony records.

And there is not a culture of work. Some of the Lady Jags had never seen parents with a steady job. ''They've never seen someone who had to set an alarm clock,'' Hatch said.

Drugs are a through line. Waves of them have crashed into communities like these in recent decades -- crack, heroin, opioids, now fentanyl, taking shifts filling worlds of tedium and anxiety.

But methamphetamine is the constant, hiding in the hollers and bridging generations. ''Hillbilly cocaine,'' a Carroll Academy counselor called it, as inextricable from the landscape as summer humidity. Several of the Lady Jaguars from 2012 have fought meth addictions as young adults, just as their parents did -- or continue to do.

KIANA, CONSTANCE, MIRANDA: Better lives for their children

Most of the former Lady Jaguars live day to day, month to month. Few have secure jobs or anything like a career. They don't own houses. They don't have saving accounts, retirement plans or big inheritances. Few have traveled far, and several have never seen the ocean. I remember how surprised I was in 2012 when I learned during a field trip to Memphis that some of the girls had never been on an escalator. Today, most haven't been on an airplane. I don't know that any of them voted in the recent elections; Hannah, as a felon, could not, by Tennessee law.

But none of them complained, at least to me. They did not blame others for their troubles. Every one of them felt that she was in a better place now than ever.

I marveled at Kiana's optimistic resilience. Raised by a single father struggling with addiction, she found relative stability over two years at Carroll Academy before she got pregnant and dropped out of high school. As a jobless mother, she began using meth and opioids, along with a boyfriend named Matthew. They broke into houses to feed their addictions. They had more children.

An overdose episode -- Kiana bolted barefoot from their rural home and went missing overnight in the woods -- brought police attention and led to charges for child endangerment. Kiana and Matthew went to jail, then rehabilitation, separately. The four children, two girls and two boys, were sent to foster care.

Kiana told me their story last year as she pulled from a vape pen, kiwi-strawberry flavor. The family was back together, and Kiana and Matthew said that they had been sober for several years. Matthew had a job at a Walmart, working in the meat and produce departments. He set an alarm and reported at 4 a.m.

''I would have died without my kids,'' Kiana said. ''They're what keeps me going.''

Kiana is one of the five former Lady Jaguars with children. Adding kids to their lives could have been disastrous for young women living in rudderless malaise. But some found motherhood to be an unexpected motivator -- if not immediately -- to strive for something more than what they had.

Kiana's biggest worry was losing custody of her children again. The family's house was clean. There was food in the refrigerator and children's artwork on the walls. Kiana and Matthew had purchased a used truck to replace the dead one out front. Kiana studied for high-school equivalency tests and worked as a clerk at an AutoZone.

''We made it,'' Kiana said. ''At least this far.''

Then she and Matthew broke up. The pup-tent structure of a shared life collapsed. Kiana moved out. She often posts about her struggles on Facebook -- her determination to stay sober, to fight for her kids, to never go backward.

At Halloween, she dressed her kids in costumes and took them to the town square to trick-or-treat. ''The kids had a blast!'' she wrote on Facebook.

You can't choose your parents, I thought to myself, but you can choose how to parent.

I was curious to find Miranda, now living in Kentucky. The last time I saw her, she was newly graduated with a newborn daughter. Akyia was now 11, a bright sixth grader, sitting politely on the same sofa Miranda had as a child. Akyia listened carefully as Miranda detailed her life since Carroll Academy.

''Once you get out on your own, it's not rainbows and ice cream,'' Miranda said.

On an end table next to a Bible was a painted sign that read, ''Grow through what you go through.'' Miranda wanted Akyia to hear everything.

Miranda, 30, is a recovering alcoholic. She makes money cleaning houses, but Jesus is her calling. She has the same giggle from childhood, but speaks in the cadence of a preacher, spinning stories of being saved and saving strangers -- at Food Giant, Walmart, the gas station, wherever she feels a person needs her intervention. She speaks openly about her alcohol and drug use, her D.U.I. and arrests for drug possession, her suicide attempts, her bouts of loneliness and feelings of abandonment.

''I've never felt so loved,'' she said. ''I've never felt so worthy.''

She looked at Akyia. Eleven years earlier, a crib had been set up in Miranda's bedroom in her single mother's house, under a poster of Justin Bieber. Now Miranda was the single mother, and that baby was headed to middle school. Time marches and echoes.

But Miranda believes that Akyia will not repeat her mistakes and experience because she will learn from them. Miranda will see to it, she said, by staying close. She smiled at her daughter.

''She's a better version of me,'' Miranda said.

Two years ago, they returned home from a Christmas play to find a neighbor on the porch, urging Miranda to drag a mattress into the utility closet and get underneath it.

Moments later, a massive tornado tore through the roof of the house. It ripped through a candle factory next door and killed more than 50 people and injured hundreds of others across several counties.

In the closet, everything went deafening and black. Then it went still and quiet. A neighbor banged on the door. ''The hardest thing I ever did was let go of my daughter's hand,'' Miranda said.

I thought of Constance, whose three young children were regular parts of her Facebook posts. Over burgers, her family in tow, Constance cheerfully described her life -- the familiar act of pinching pennies while juggling jobs and day care and a son with autism.

As a teen, Constance's issue was unruly behavior, not drugs or alcohol, and she was a steady presence on the Lady Jaguars. She spent a few post-school years in the party orbit of some of her former teammates, but pulled herself away. She had support from extended family, bounced from job to job, and got into a serious relationship.

Now she and her husband, Elijah, who was working to become a licensed barber, were building a family. The two dreamed of buying a house in the next few years, but it still felt improbable. Constance volunteered at her kids' school and entered their toddler-aged girls in beauty pageants. Elijah coached their soccer and basketball teams.

This summer, Constance learned that she was pregnant with her fourth child, due by year's end. The gender-reveal party culminated in an explosion of blue powder. Elijah did a cartwheel and backflip in celebration.

DESTINY: 'I am not my past'

The hardest Lady Jaguar to find was Destiny. She was the best player on the team in 2012, a rough-edged senior with a quick dribble and a good 3-point shot. On a mural at Carroll Academy, based on one of Ruth's photographs from the 2012 series, Destiny is frozen in time, shooting a jumper with one person in the bleachers behind her -- her grandmother, sometimes the only person, among all the families of the Lady Jaguars, who came to watch the games.

Destiny was living on the fringes when I last saw her in 2013. Then I lost track of her.

On a crisp afternoon this past January, Ruth and I found her at Carroll County Jail, the same place where I had reunited with Hannah. Destiny stood before us, wearing jail clothes. She smiled sheepishly. She seemed happy to see us.

Destiny had lost count of how many times she had been jailed over the years, mostly for minor drug offenses and probation violations. This time, she had been arrested on an assault charge and would spend 56 days in jail.

For years, Destiny hid in the shadows, on the streets, trying to live undetected. Alleyah and Hannah had done the same. Once they had rap sheets, they avoided public places and police officers, job applications and rental agreements -- anyone or anything that might attract the authorities.

What struck me most was realizing that no one was looking that hard for them. As children, they were worth rescuing. As adults, they were considered barely worth finding.

Weeks later, out of jail and wearing donated clothes, Destiny sat across from me in a restaurant booth. She laughed at memories of playing for the Lady Jaguars. She hated Carroll Academy at the time but appreciated it now -- a common sentiment. ''They cared,'' she said. She vowed to start applying the lessons, a delayed effect like a slow-release pill. She spoke as if she had been reading inspirational posters.

''I'm not going to let my mistakes dictate what my future holds,'' she said. ''I am not my past.''

She thought for a moment. ''I'm not going to be what people think I am,'' she said.

She wanted to move to Florida, away from bad influences and familiar cops and judges. She needed a fresh start in a new place. I thought of Alleyah, who happened to be in that same mural at Carroll Academy, frozen in time, watching Destiny take a shot.

''I want to go somewhere different, where nobody knows me,'' Destiny said. A few months later, she moved into a rented house a few miles from where she grew up.

SUMMER: 'You've got to break the cycle'

Her name is Summer, which fits her, carefree as a songbird. In 2012, she was a senior at Carroll Academy, a sweet-souled girl behind a sharp tongue and a tough exterior, admired by her younger teammates. She had a baby boy and a history of drug use, fighting and truancy. Behind closed doors, she cried as she told me the story of her young life.

She grew up playing soccer and softball, taking ballet lessons and competing in beauty pageants. She dreamed of joining the Air Force and going to college. Then she found trouble.

''Bad decisions, good intentions,'' she told me when she was 17. That became a headline on one of the stories. But something else she said had stayed with me, too.

''I never blame anyone else for the choices I make,'' Summer said in 2012. ''But I do think if I was in a better environment, I'd be a better person.''

Now Summer was 30. She sat on a sofa in a three-bedroom rental house she shared with her longtime boyfriend, Junior, raising seven children. The living room was a swirl of kids and bleating screens.

''I'm in a much better spot than I've ever been,'' Summer said. Her singsong lilt has not changed through it all.

Summer grew up fast, and it might have saved her. She bowed out of the toxic party scene after having a couple of kids and with Junior's steadying influence. He is the father of the last six children, with a job at a factory that makes motor parts for cars.

He and Summer lived on the same street where Junior grew up, across from where Summer's mother was raised. They paid $450 a month in rent. There was a trampoline in the yard, weeds in the rain gutter and, inexplicably, a pair of socks on the roof. Toys cluttered the porch, but inside was neat. School artwork and photos hung on the walls. The large TV was usually on, with at least one child staring at it.

I thought of all the homes where I had sat with Summer and DeMarion, her first baby -- the trailer not far from here, the house outside town, her grandmother's cabin that burned down.

Now she had something for her kids that she never had as a girl: stability and a steady address.

''You've got to break the cycle,'' Summer said. ''You've got to be parents who think 'I don't want the same thing for my kids.'''

Summer has always had a natural calm, on the basketball court at Carroll Academy and now in the madness of a crowded house. On a Friday in May, a birthday party for two of the kids was starting in an hour. She had things to cook and party favors to make. She sat and chatted.

I had told her about Hannah, about how when I went looking for her, I found her in jail.

''Really?'' Summer said. She sounded surprised, but just a little. ''She was so sweet and innocent.''

The front door swung open. Kids ran in, others ran out, like hockey players trading shifts. Summer noticed Junior outside holding a hose.

''Why is he giving the dog a bath? It's going to rain,'' she said, mostly to herself.

Junior walked in. ''Your daughter's literally playing in the mud,'' he said. KaMyra, 4, had been inside a moment earlier.

''You're literally out there with her,'' Summer said. She shrugged. ''She's got to change, anyway.''

Summer talked about her everyday life -- getting kids to schools and sports, KaMyra's upcoming beauty pageant, building a float for the town's annual fish fry, staying up at night taking online college courses. Summer hoped to be a counselor, helping kids like she used to be.

She wanted to find a bigger house, maybe through Habitat for Humanity. (This fall, the family moved into a four-bedroom, two-bath house. ''Finally!'' she texted me.) She had recently turned 30. The family celebrated at Texas Roadhouse, and Junior gave Summer a necklace with pink rhinestones.

They took family vacations, a slice of life I didn't hear from other Lady Jaguars. They had just been in Gatlinburg, Tenn., and they had vacationed on Florida's Gulf Coast the year before. Summer showed me photos.

Her children, pining for attention, kept interrupting. ''Get out of grown people's conversations,'' Summer said. The baby, crawling on the floor, got Summer's attention with a giggle. ''You're over here having a ball, ain't you?''

Soon everyone was off to the recreation center. Summer and Junior had rented the gym for $15 an hour. Banners were hung. Cupcakes, chips and homemade sandwiches were laid out on folding tables. Family and friends arrived.

Adults sat in clusters, talking, as children chased each other and played games. Nyl King, celebrating his birthday, rode his new bicycle. It had a helium-filled No. 8 tethered to the seat.

I didn't want to overstay my welcome. I thanked Summer for inviting me to the party and for letting us back into her life. I thought of the end of the last story in 2012. Scattered like leaves. Impossible to know where they would be blown. I headed for the door, toward home.

Summer held her baby and smiled. She liked her life. She was proud of it.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.In 2012 and 2013, John Branch and Ruth Fremson reported on the girls of Carroll Academy in West Tennessee. To provide this update, they made multiple trips to Tennessee, and also traveled to Florida and Kentucky.Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/24/us/lady-jaguars-basketball-carroll-academy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/24/us/lady-jaguars-basketball-carroll-academy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top photograph: Destiny, Summer and other Lady Jaguars teammates leaving the Carroll Academy gym in 2012. Bottom: Summer and some of her children outside their home in 2024. (F1)

2013: Hannah came from a home broken by poverty and addiction. She found comfort in Carroll Academy and the Lady Jaguars basketball team. (F2)

2024: After years on the streets and following a meth bust, Hannah was released into a supervised recovery program and got a job. She feels lucky.

2012 & 2013 From left: Destiny was the team's high scorer and best player, with a good 3-point shot

Summer had been a senior, a 17-year-old mom and the team's queen bee

Alleyah, at right, was the sassy sprite of a girl from the projects.

2024: From left: Destiny has spent time living on the streets and in jail, and was looking for a fresh start

Summer has seven children now, six of them with her partner, Junior

Alleyah found serenity at a recovery residence in Florida. (F2-F3)

2024 From left: Destiny has spent time living on the streets and in jail, and was looking for a fresh start

2012: Hannah was the youngest of the Lady Jaguars. She liked being on the team and cried when the season ended.

2024: At a women's shelter, after being released from jail. Hannah has three felonies on her record

they are long stories. (F4)

2024: Hannah bought clothing for a homeless man who hangs out near the McDonald's where she worked. At left, celebrating Hannah at a court check-in.

2024: Hannah shared a room with other women at the recovery home where she was living. (F4-F5)

2024: Hannah missed the sky during her time in jail, when she was not allowed outdoors. (F5)

2013: Alleyah during a home loss. That year, she failed a drug test and was ordered to a Memphis rehab

she ran away instead.

2024: Alleyah is required to use a breathalyzer before her Mazda sedan will start, the consequence of a 2019 D.U.I.

2024: Alleyah got a job at a moving company. ''She's always been kind,'' said Karlyn McAleer, who runs the recovery home.

2024: Above, a bracelet with the date Alleyah began her sobriety

top, sharing at a meeting in her recovery home, where she's become a house mom. (F6)

2024: Alleyah loves shopping at the mall. She recently began apartment hunting

she thinks by winter she'll be ready to live on her own.

2024: Alleyah outside her recovery residence. She was a year or so further than Hannah on the arc to recovery. (F6-F7)

2012: Kiana, center, fooling around with the team, and, far right, at her home a year later. She was raised by a single father struggling with addiction.

2024: Kiana's desire to be a good parent to her four children motivates her sobriety: ''They're what keeps me going.''

2012: Above left, on a field trip with the Lady Jaguars, Constance marveled at seeing tall buildings for the first time.

2024: Constance pulled herself away from the party scene. She and her husband, Elijah, are expecting a fourth baby. (F8)

2013: Miranda with Akyia as an infant and keeping house at her single mother's home, a year after graduating.

2024: Miranda lives in Kentucky with Akyia, now a bright 11-year-old. ''She's a better version of me.''

2012: Destiny awaiting drug test results. She graduated high school but struggled for stability and soon had a rap sheet.

2024: At the Carroll County Jail, where The Times tracked Destiny down. She served 56 days on an assault charge. (F9)

2024: Summer's youngest, Kayra, born in 2023. Six of her seven kids are with Junior. (F10)

2024: Summer encouraging Masii, 7, on the soccer sidelines. She bowed out of the toxic party scene after she became a mother. (F10-F11)

2012: Summer was a sweet-souled girl with a history of drug use and truancy. ''Bad decisions, good intentions,'' she said then.

2024: Summer treated the children to Happy Meals after a soccer practice. She gives them stability she never had.

2024: Summer and Junior have been together over 10 years. Children's art adorns their home. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RUTH FREMSON) (F11) This article appeared in print on page F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, F6, F7, F8, F9, F10. F11.

**Load-Date:** December 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How a Teamster Leader’s Flirtations With Trump Have Divided the Union***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CFT-6T61-DXY4-X1GB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1333 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:** The Teamsters’ president, Sean O’Brien, will address the Republican convention next week in Milwaukee, just when President Biden needs unified support from organized labor.

**Body**

The Teamsters’ president, Sean O’Brien, will address the Republican convention next week in Milwaukee, just when President Biden needs unified support from organized labor.

Sean O’Brien, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has framed his decision to speak at the Republican National Convention next week as a savvy maneuver to keep the union’s doors open to whoever prevails in November’s presidential election.

But his open flirtation with former President Donald J. Trump has divided the union’s leadership, rankled some of its 1.3 million members and set up a showdown over the Teamsters’ eventual endorsement that has undermined President Biden’s standing with organized labor just when he needs it the most.

“We will not allow the ***working-class*** labor movement to be destroyed by a scab masquerading as a pro-union advocate after doing everything in his power to destroy the very fabric of unions,” James Curbeam, the national chairman of the Teamsters National Black Caucus, wrote in a blistering letter to Teamsters members after Mr. O’Brien announced a meeting with Mr. Trump earlier this year.

On Monday, a Teamsters spokeswoman, Kara Deniz, defended what she framed as bipartisan overtures and shot back at Mr. O’Brien’s critics.

“The Teamsters have never been afraid of democracy, but self-interested ideologues — on the left and the right, within and outside the union — are terrified of democracy,” she said.

It was only last November that Mr. O’Brien burst into the national consciousness. The Teamsters president, who was elected to his post in 2022, [*nearly got into a fistfight with a pro-Trump Republican senator*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY), Markwayne Mullin of Oklahoma, during a Senate labor committee hearing. In 2022, after his election, Mr. O’Brien was appearing with that committee’s left-wing chairman, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, at [*rallies against “corporate greed.”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY)

But more recently, Mr. O’Brien has cut a more bipartisan image. His union wrote checks for $45,000 to both the Democratic and Republican conventions. He met with Mr. Trump at his Mar-a-Lago resort in January, then brought the former president to a Teamsters executive board meeting on Jan. 31 to talk over labor issues and dangle an endorsement.

In May, [*Mr. O’Brien snapped photos with Dana White*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY), president of the Ultimate Fighting Championship and a longtime friend of Mr. Trump’s. He then sought out speaking slots with both conventions — and landed one in Milwaukee with the Republicans.

For weeks, the union’s leadership has downplayed the idea that all this was leading toward a more formal embrace of the presumptive Republican nominee, saying the Teamsters represent workers of all political persuasions.

“General President O’Brien looks forward to addressing a crowd that hasn’t traditionally been open to union voices,” Ms. Deniz said. “But that is what democracy is all about.”

The Teamsters have yet to make a presidential endorsement, and, Ms. Deniz said, this year’s protracted process has been “the most democratic, inclusive and transparent it’s ever been in our 121-year history.” It has included round-table discussions with every major candidate, 300 town hall meetings at locals and straw polls in May, the results of which have still not been announced.

But for Mr. Trump, who has pushed hard for union votes, with or without union leadership endorsements, the O’Brien invitation was a victory. Organized labor, at least for now, remains strongly behind Mr. Biden’s re-election, and the president has worked hard to keep unions by his side.

The Biden administration’s National Labor Relations Board has been staffed with pro-union officials, a marked departure from Mr. Trump’s. Mr. Biden’s three signature domestic achievements — the [*$1 trillion infrastructure bill*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY), a [*$280 billion measure to rekindle a domestic semiconductor industry*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY) and the [*Inflation Reduction Act*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY), which included $370 billion for clean energy to combat climate change — [*all contained pro-union provisions*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY) that have particularly helped Teamsters, who drive trucks and work construction sites.

And his 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.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY) that will restore retirement accounts at the union for three decades. Virtually every major union, including the umbrella A.F.L.-C.I.O., has already endorsed Mr. Biden for re-election.

Yet Mr. Trump remains a draw to the ***working-class*** voters Mr. Biden desperately needs. As Mr. O’Brien toys with both sides, any Teamsters effort to educate and organize its members ahead of November has been put on hold, according to John Palmer, a Teamsters executive board member and vice president at-large, and other Teamster officials.

“We aren’t in a rush to judgment, and we don’t make decisions until after the conventions,” Ms. Deniz said.

For Mr. Trump, even having Mr. O’Brien at his convention is a triumph.

“When I am back in the White House, the hardworking Teamsters, and all working Americans, will once again have a country they can afford to live in and be respected around the world,” Mr. Trump wrote on his social media website Truth Social.

Mr. O’Brien’s efforts have prompted remarkable dissent within the famously tight-knit union and a leery response from conservative business groups.

Outside the arena where the convention will unfold, the Center for Union Facts, an anti-union group, [*has posted billboards*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY) calling the Teamsters “two-faced” and warning that the union has spent 99 percent of its advocacy on “left” causes.

The forceful response from Mr. O’Brien’s leadership team to internal disagreements has been equally surprising.

Mr. Palmer refused to attend the leadership meeting with Mr. Trump, instead releasing a letter to Mr. O’Brien in which he called Mr. Trump a “known union buster, scab and insurrectionist.”

Weeks later, the union’s general counsel, David O’Brien Suetholz, sent Mr. Palmer a four-page letter listing 24 media reports in which Mr. Palmer’s name had appeared, demanding confirmation in writing that he was authorized to speak on behalf of the union in each of the articles, and requesting a list of “every document you shared with a member of the media” concerning Mr. Trump’s interview with the union.

“There’s not a more Trump-like figure in the labor movement,” Mr. Palmer said of Mr. O’Brien. “It’s in his nature.”

Early this year, the union filed [*a copyright infringement case*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY) against an [*internet forum*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl-2KTpXShY) that members have long used to discuss issues, and where recent posts have featured differences of opinion about Mr. O’Brien’s approach to Mr. Trump. The union brass demanded it stop using the Teamsters name and logo on its website.

When Rick Smith, a Teamsters member and podcaster, spoke out against Mr. O’Brien “platforming Donald Trump” on an episode of his show, the Teamsters president had what Mr. Smith called “an encounter” with him at a crowded party in Pennsylvania. According to Mr. Smith, he demanded an on-air apology if Mr. Smith wanted a relationship with the union he had been a member of for 35 years.

Mr. Smith didn’t give it, though he did say, “I do agree with Sean O’Brien of 2018 where he wrote on his Facebook page after Trump’s State of the Union address, ‘We refuse to remain silent as Trump dismantles all we’ve fought for.’”

Mr. Palmer said the straw polls taken in May showed Mr. Trump with the support of a healthy 37 percent of Teamsters members, but Mr. Biden with a clear lead, 46 percent. After the executive board met with Mr. Biden, he added, virtually every member present said the union had to back the president. But Mr. O’Brien wanted to string out the process as he courts Republican support.

“But you know,” Mr. Palmer added, “you can pick up a snake and play with it, but if you play with it enough, it’s going to bite you eventually.”

PHOTO: Sean O’Brien, president of the Teamsters, has drawn critics. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNA SCHOENEFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Some Britons fear Sunak is too rich to understand working-class suffering.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PJ-5JB1-JBG3-62H8-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

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**Byline:** Emma Bubola

**Highlight:** A British worker earning the median wage would have to have been working since the Stone Age to amass the new prime minister’s fortune, one group estimated.

**Body**

A British worker earning the median wage would have to have been working since the Stone Age to amass the new prime minister’s fortune, one group estimated.

LONDON — One thing is clear about Britain’s new prime minister, Rishi Sunak — [*he is rich*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/world/europe/rishi-sunak-wealth-worth.html), ultrarich. To some, he is way too rich.

[*The Times of London estimated*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/rishi-sunak-akshata-murty-net-worth-sunday-times-rich-list-86ls8n09h) that Mr. Sunak and his wife, Akshata Murty, were worth more than $800 million, and this week, as Mr. Sunak emerged as the winner of the Tory leadership contest, critics immediately picked up on that. They accused him of being out of touch and wondered how a multimillionaire was going to preside over a country where more and more people face tough trade-offs between affording basic goods and warming their homes.

To bring down debt levels, his government is expected to announce public spending cuts and tax increases that may weigh on ordinary households.

Chris Hopkins, the political research director at Savanta ComRes, a communication consultancy, said that British voters, especially the Conservative ones, generally accept that their representatives might be wealthier than they are and did not have a problem with people being rich or successful. Former Prime Minister David Cameron, for example, was also viewed as wealthy, but his fortune was a small fraction of Mr. Sunak’s.

“We don’t mind people being rich,” Mr. Hopkins said, “but Rishi Sunak is a very extreme case.”

He added that during a cost-of-living crisis, Mr. Sunak “is going to be seen as an incredibly wealthy man” ruling over ordinary people feeling poorer and poorer. “And that’s not a good look,” he said.

Others say that Britons will be more concerned about Mr. Sunak’s competence than his personal circumstances.

“What will matter is, can he repair the damage?” said Steven McCabe, a political economist at Birmingham City University.

Mr. Sunak, who previously worked as an investment banker, [*warned over the summer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/world/europe/britain-rishi-sunak-prime-minister.html) against the [*economic policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/04/business/truss-tax-cuts-britain.html) of his predecessor, Liz Truss, describing them as a “fairy tale.” Still, for some, none of that can make up for the impression that he will not understand ***working-class*** suffering.

Many point to the fact that in March, at a gas station, he appeared to mistake a bar-code scanner for a credit card machine and tried to wave his card over it to pay for a can of Coke.

Enough is Enough, a campaign against the cost-of-living crisis, [*wrote on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/eiecampaign/status/1584540012351488001) that a worker earning the median wage would have to have been working since 22,976 years ago — in the Stone Age — to amass Mr. Sunak’s fortune.

“Remember it when he tells you to tighten your belt,” the post said.

Nadia Whittome, a member of Parliament with the Labour Party, also [*pointed to Mr. Sunak’s wealth when she wrote on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/NadiaWhittomeMP/status/1584482924967038977), “Remember this whenever he talks about making ‘tough decisions’ that ***working-class*** people will pay for.”

Mr. Sunak, for his part, has addressed the criticism, saying that people in Britain are not judged by their wealth but by their character and their actions. He also gained popularity during the coronavirus pandemic when, as chancellor, he handed out billions in government aid to protect those who had lost their jobs.

Before he became prime minister, many Britons were upset by revelations that Mr. Sunak’s wife, who is the daughter of an Indian technology billionaire, had saved millions in taxes on dividends by claiming non-domiciled status.

“His wealth doesn’t bother me,” said Alisha Ozcan, 43, a stay-at-home mother in London. Of the tax scandal, she said, “That bothers me.”

Isabella Kwai contributed reporting.

Isabella Kwai contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Rishi Sunak, left, and his wife, Akshata Murty, were estimated to be worth more than $800 million, according to The Times of London. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Vickie Flores/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***An Opera Oasis in a Troubled Landscape***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-C9N1-DXY4-X2P1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 6, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 6; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1527 words

**Byline:** By Joshua Barone and Alice Zoo

**Body**

The sun shone brightly over the downs of East Sussex on a summer afternoon while people trickled onto the grounds of Glyndebourne to hear an opera by Handel. Most of the men wore black tie, and many women were in floral gowns, as they picnicked among gardens and sculptures, and under the shadow of the property's grand, Jacobethan manor house.

As they made their way into Glyndebourne's opera house, old Oxbridge friends recognized one another and swapped life updates; introductions were made, photos were taken, and, when the time came for the show to start, the party was put on a respectful pause for the opening act of ''Giulio Cesare.''

It all had the appearance of opera in paradise, which isn't so much of an exaggeration. Glyndebourne, a country house festival that over 90 years has grown into an enormous, year-round operation, has a reputation for elitism in its unofficial dress code and high prices. But there is also elitism, the good kind, in its level of music making.

Over a brief visit in August, I saw some of the summer's finest opera: excellently sung, played and staged revivals of ''Cesare'' and Wagner's ''Tristan und Isolde.'' (Had I stayed an extra night, I would have heard Aigul Akhmetshina, the Carmen of the moment, in a new production of that opera.) The house was full, and the ovations were enthusiastic.

If only the same could be said for all opera in Britain.

Glyndebourne, a privately funded festival that receives little state support, has been mostly immune from the convulsions of the opera industry in Britain. In recent years, companies that rely on government help have faced dramatic cuts from Arts Council England, and have been subject to directives that many in the field have found insulting, if not ignorant.

English National Opera, or E.N.O., the second house in London after the Royal Ballet and Opera, lost all its usual Arts Council support in 2022; instead, it received money to relocate to a city outside London, like Manchester. That was postponed and the company's funding temporarily restored, but in the meantime its offerings have shrunk to the point that Glyndebourne is considered the second-largest house in England, in terms of number of performances.

''The U.K. has always been this sort of halfway house,'' said Richard Morrison, a critic for The Times of London, referring to its mix of government and private financing. ''It's not the American system, and it's not like Germany, which is so heavily funded by the state. But the balance has swung so far, it's like you're telling opera companies that you've got to be America now, but without the tax breaks or the tradition of philanthropy.''

British opera companies have been through a period of precarity under the last Conservative government, with about a dozen leaders in as many years at the Department for Culture, Media & Sport while the party was in office. With the Labour Party coming to power this summer, arts administrators are more hopeful; Keir Starmer, the new prime minister, plays flute and has been vocal about his love for music.

Money, though, remains tight, and nothing is certain about the future of opera. Gus Christie, the grandson of Glyndebourne's founders and the festival's executive chairman since 2000, said that watching Conservative leaders talk about the arts, ''I've been ashamed of our politicians.''

He wondered whether the opera sector could do more to change the perception of the art form. Glyndebourne may help perpetuate clichÃ©s of glamour in grand opera, but he thinks the focus should be more on the ***working-class***, backstage realities of the field. ''There's a lot of very normal people who are working here,'' Christie said. ''They're just like plumbers or doctors. And because there are a lot of people involved in the whole process, you have to charge a lot for a ticket. But it's a lot cheaper than a pop concert.''

Opera seems to be viewed with skepticism by the Arts Council, which for the past several years has been working on Let's Create, a long-term strategy to reform culture in England by 2030. The council outsourced research on opera, and this year released a report with sweeping recommendations for change. Among the study's conclusions were an understandable indictment of homogenous arts administrations, but also of the standard repertoire, which the report said doesn't ''reflect contemporary society.''

That the authors of the study don't see contemporary resonance in the 20 operas it lists as overrepresented, like ''The Marriage of Figaro'' and ''Macbeth,'' seems a failure of interpretation. Their idea of modern topics and relevance is more literal-minded; one example to emulate, they suggest, is Mason Bates's widely panned 2017 opera ''The (R)evolution of Steve Jobs.''

The study also calls for spreading opera companies more evenly throughout England, hence the directive for the E.N.O. to leave London. While it's admirable to want this art form to be available in smaller cities, can the solution be as simple as a transplant? The study doesn't include any rigorous research into whether there is audience demand or willing sponsorship for the E.N.O. somewhere like Manchester.

In a statement, the Arts Council said, ''Our outstanding orchestras and ensembles -- and the thousands of professionals who bring this music to life -- are a vital part of the creative sector of this country,'' and added, ''In an environment where difficult funding decisions have had to be made, our commitment to opera and classical music is unwavering.''

But to many observers, like Morrison, the Arts Council's decisions haven't been sufficiently considered. ''There's certainly a misunderstanding,'' he said. ''Whether it's willful or just a misunderstanding is questionable.''

Among the Arts Council's beliefs that Morrison finds bizarre is that opera, even at its highest level, can be done inexpensively. There are many small companies that present works in parking lots and pubs, but that model cannot be scaled to the level of the Royal Ballet and Opera. ''People want excellence,'' he said, ''and the British profession should strive for excellence. The notion that you can do that on the real cheap is a bit mad.''

The E.N.O., which named a new chief executive, Jenny Mollica, earlier this year and is expecting to announce a road map for its future in November, said in a statement that the Arts Council's 2022 funding announcement ''created a period of significant turbulence for the company.'' It was far from alone in the fallout. Welsh National Opera was forced to cut back on the number of its performances. Glyndebourne lost half of its state funding, a subsidy that supported touring and education rather than the main slate of the summer festival.

''When we got the cut, the only solution was to cancel the tour,'' Christie said. ''They killed it, and it was a great shame.'' In place of the annual tour, a tradition since Christie's father ran the festival in the 1960s, Glyndebourne is focusing on a more robust fall season at home. So much for the Arts Council spreading opera throughout England.

''It's very much the country's loss,'' Christie said of the cuts. Morrison was no more optimistic, saying, ''to be honest, I can't see a way through it.''

There are some glimmers of hope, however. Last year, the Arts Council gave the E.N.O. a reprieve, with a grant of Â£24 million (about $32.2 million) until 2026, and a longer timeline for its move north. (Originally it was to be done by 2026; now the E.N.O. has until 2029, which it said in a statement will ''allow for consultation with staff, more work in London and more time for the E.N.O. to develop partnerships in the new city and to establish a program there.'')

The Department for Culture, Media & Sport, under new, Labour Party leadership, said in a statement that ''opera is an important part of our nation's rich cultural fabric, and this government is committed to supporting wider participation and growth in our music and performance sectors.'' A review of the Arts Council, and a change of leadership there, could follow.

''I'm not totally pessimistic,'' Morrison said. ''We've been through crises before. It's almost a definition of the arts scene that there's always some crisis looming. And I do think there are enough people in the U.K. who care about opera that it won't die out.''

Glyndebourne, reliant above all on philanthropy, seems mostly protected from the uncertainty of opera in Britain. If there are signs of strain at the E.N.O.'s Coliseum in London, with fewer performances and creaky revivals that rarely feel like the best versions of themselves, there is an atmosphere of comfort farther south. Champagne flows, the gardens are well watered, and there are no noticeable concessions of quality onstage.

But the painful decision to cut touring is a reminder that Glyndebourne is part of England's performing arts ecosystem. ''We are the opera sector,'' Christie said. ''Together, I hope we can engage the new government, get a wider range of society to come through the doors somehow and reach that real potential to flourish much more than we currently do.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/01/arts/music/glyndebourne-british-opera-financing-crisis.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/01/arts/music/glyndebourne-british-opera-financing-crisis.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From top: the manor that houses Glyndebourne, a festival south of London

a festivalgoer and a butterfly, left, and picnicking on the grounds, right

in the organ room at Glyndebourne

preparing the stage for ''Giulio Cesare. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALICE ZOO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR6.

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[***In South Africa, a Dancer Elevates Street Art Into High Art***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2V-K351-DXY4-X3MY-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1379 words

**Byline:** By John Eligon and Ilan Godfrey

**Body**

The young boy couldn't resist the dance moves he saw being performed around him: the rapid foot taps, the ligament-spraining knee twists, the torso shimmies, all coming together in what some might describe as a sort of urban tap dance.

Growing up in an impoverished Black township near Johannesburg in the 1980s, the boy, Vusi Mdoyi, loved watching his father dance with friends, in a style known as pantsula, in the dirt yards of their staid four-room bungalows.

It was a sprinkle of joy in the dark days of apartheid.

At about 7 years old, Mr. Mdoyi began mimicking the dance form. By 10, he was dancing in school festivals. By 14, he had created his own dance crew with neighborhood friends.

Now 44, Mr. Mdoyi is a celebrated dancer and choreographer who has helped to achieve what felt unimaginable during apartheid: turning the street art of pantsula into a high art that attracts global praise, and audiences.

''To produce incredible work that is touring all over the world now -- that, for me, it's the work of a visionary,'' said Gregory Maqoma, an acclaimed South African dancer and choreographer who has mentored Mr. Mdoyi.

In 1998, while still a teenager, Mr. Mdoyi took part in workshops and shows put on by a dance company, Step Afrika!, which was co-founded in South Africa by C. Brian Williams, a Howard University graduate who had worked in the region. The company fused African American step dancing with traditional African dance.

The interest that the American dancers showed in pantsula and other African dances helped to inject a sense of pride that their dances were meaningful, Mr. Mdoyi said. Under the white-led apartheid government, which had lost power only four years earlier, Africans were often made to feel ashamed of their own culture, he said.

He admired how Black Americans were able to take culture that came from the streets and professionalize it, and he said the experience helped him to see what was possible for newly liberated Black South Africans.

In part with connections made through Step Afrika!, Mr. Mdoyi made his first overseas trip, to teach a pantsula workshop in Britain in 2001. The next year, he toured internationally with Via Katlehong, a pantsula dance company named after his native township.

''Pantsula culture, it was more related to criminals,'' Mr. Mdoyi said. Now, he added, it's a form of cultural and social activism ''through telling our own stories.''

Mr. Mdoyi's latest work is in some ways a full circle moment to what originally vaulted his career from South African festivals to stages across the world: He choreographed and danced in a piece performed in Soweto this month, during the 30th anniversary celebration of Step Afrika!

His new piece, titled, ''The Tattered Soul of a Worker,'' tells the story of South African migrant workers who were forced to travel from their homes to find jobs, and it offers a critique of a capitalist system that has left the ***working class*** struggling.

The dancers, clad in midcentury formal suits, dance at times with beer crates -- it's common in South Africa to see young people dancing pantsula with beer crates at traffic lights, seeking tips.

It's an example of how Mr. Mdoyi uses his choreography ''to provoke and question and also make statements,'' he said.

Black South Africans began to take up tap dancing in the 1960s after seeing it in American films, Mr. Maqoma said. That eventually evolved into pantsula, which started in townships where Black South Africans were forced to live.

The apartheid regime largely restricted Black South Africans from freely traveling into cities. That left them with virtually no access to the theaters and studios where dance thrived as an art form. So for many Black South Africans, there was little expectation that dance could be anything more than a social activity, with performances done as entertainments at weddings or community gatherings.

''It was a way of escaping all the oppression and challenges,'' said Aliko Dlamini, a family friend who used to dance and socialize with Mr. Mdoyi's father in the township. ''It was fun.''

As apartheid restrictions began to loosen in the late 1980s and early 1990s, opportunities increased for Black South Africans to access formal dance training and turn their talents into art.

For Mr. Mdoyi, his focus on dancing as he grew up kept him away from the violence that consumed many Black communities while the government tried to maintain its fragile grip on power in the dying days of apartheid.

Mr. Mdoyi said he connected with a popular street entertainer who danced pantsula and introduced him to the dance scene in nightclubs around Johannesburg. The clubs would give alcohol as the prize in competitions, but because he was too young to drink, Mr. Mdoyi said, he would sell the liquor he won.

The nightclubs were something of a dance academy for Mr. Mdoyi. He met street dancers from many different neighborhoods, each bringing their own styles, techniques and approaches.

''I embodied all of that, and it made me to be a very unique dancer,'' Mr. Mdoyi said.

Mr. Mdoyi's dance productions can come across as stage plays, with elaborate costuming, soundtracks and even dialogues that tell a story beyond the dance moves themselves. He plays with genres and moods.

In a performance called ''Footnotes,'' Mr. Mdoyi and other dancers lay a soundtrack with typewriters, typing eviction notices. The piece grows angry and frantic as disgusted shouts from tenants boom over loudspeakers.

In another piece, ''Via Sophiatown,'' Mr. Mdoyi tells the story of the 1950s-era Johannesburg neighborhoods that were a breeding ground for Black arts and culture. He mixes pantsula with other forms of dancing, like jazz, in performances that radiate an air of joy.

''When I look at Vusi's work, I don't look at only what the body does but the content inside that,'' said Sello Pesa, a South African dancer and choreographer. ''He's got something to say. The pantsula or the movement as a language, it's not enough. He feeds or injects ideas inside it.''

Mr. Mdoyi knew he wanted to become a professional dancer in high school, he said, when his dancing won him praise from classmates and he started being invited to dance at weddings, school events and community festivals. Even the local bullies took him under their wings and gave him protection, he said, because they associated pantsula with the rugged street life that they related to.

In 1998, Mr. Mdoyi won an award at a national dance festival for the first time, and the festival director connected him with Jackie Semela, who had established the Soweto Dance Theater, a company based in the nation's largest township. Mr. Semela helped to start Step Afrika!, which in 1994 held its first festival, in Soweto, only months after South Africans elected Nelson Mandela president in the country's first democratic election.

Under Mr. Semela's tutelage, Mr. Mdoyi not only honed his craft as a dancer and found a springboard to perform and choreograph pieces internationally, but he also learned the business side of the profession.

He now has two companies dedicated to creating pantsula shows and teaching the dance. Like many other artists, though, Mr. Mdoyi struggles to make ends meet with his creative work alone, so he also rents out several homes that he built in his native township.

The income from dance and real estate has allowed Mr. Mdoyi to build a spacious, two-level home in Katlehong, with shiny silver columns in the front, Italian tiles on the roof and a studio for his dance academy.

He owns other plots of land in the township, where he hopes to someday build a larger studio. But it was an intentional decision to develop his dance academy in his home community, he said, rather than opening it in one of the commercial or artsy hubs in Johannesburg.

''It's always better when you see something that is right accessible to you,'' Mr. Mdoyi said. ''We were very far when we grew up -- and even still now -- far from these professional studios. They were not catered for us.''

It was important in the township, he added, ''for our youth to access professional spaces where they feel very welcome, and they've got professional studios, they are in a facility that encourages them.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/world/africa/south-africa-pantsula-dancing-vusi-mdoyi.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/world/africa/south-africa-pantsula-dancing-vusi-mdoyi.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mr. Mdoyi and friends during a visit to Katlehong Township, where the dancer and choreographer grew up and still lives.

He often uses a beer crate in his productions, a reference to young people who dance pantsula with crates at traffic lights.

Dancers with Step Afrika! preparing for their performance at the Soweto Theater. The group is celebrating its 30th anniversary.

Performers with the Step Afrika! dance group rehearsing Vusi Mdoyi's ''The Tattered Soul of a Worker'' piece at the Soweto Theater in Johannesburg this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILAN GODFREY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A6.

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[***Democrats Hope for an Updraft in Wisconsin***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5K-9DP1-DXY4-X3X9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

John Soletski's brick Arts and Crafts house, with its Trump-Vance yard sign and its Trump flag festooned with guns, was not on the list as Jamie Wall, a Democratic candidate for Wisconsin's State Senate, knocked on doors on Monday evening in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in Green Bay.

So when Mr. Soletski dashed out to meet him, there was no guarantee it would go well.

''I like the way you're out here -- you don't see that very much,'' said a beaming Mr. Soletski, a 64-year-old with a yard business. He offered Mr. Wall his hand and a pinch of Copenhagen tobacco snuff that the candidate politely declined. ''I'm voting for the Trump guy,'' he said, ''but I'm reading up on all the others.''

It was the kind of exchange Democrats are hoping for as they hit the streets of Wisconsin, rounding up votes in the first truly contested state legislative races in 13 years. An energized Democratic Party, awakened like Rip Van Winkle after perhaps the most systematic gerrymander in the country, is eyeing newly competitive local districts for a possible updraft effect -- ideally benefiting both Vice President Kamala Harris and Senator Tammy Baldwin, whose seat is critical to Democrats' hopes of keeping control of the chamber or at least holding Republicans to a narrow majority.

In a state that President Biden won in 2020 by 20,682 votes, and former President Donald J. Trump won in 2016 by 22,748, even a few thousand voters energized by the candidates at their doorstep could make a difference. Ben Wikler, the chairman of Wisconsin's Democratic Party, said issues like abortion, school funding and Medicaid expansion -- all decided by the State Legislature -- would drive ''a small but incredibly consequential group of voters to the polls.''

''This is really a secret weapon,'' he said.

Despite Wisconsin's status as a national battleground, Republicans have controlled both of the state's legislative chambers since 2011, aided by the voting maps that their party drew heavily in its favor. Just south of Green Bay, for example, three State Senate districts converged in a jigsaw puzzle configuration, allowing three Republican state senators to live within a half-dozen miles of one another.

Then last year, voters handily elected a liberal justice to the State Supreme Court, handing the left a majority. The campaign that elected the justice, Janet Protasiewicz, was driven in large part by a push to prevent a 19th-century abortion ban from snapping back into place with the repeal of Roe v. Wade. But voters also chafed at the draconian gerrymander that ensured that an almost evenly divided state had a Legislature with an overwhelming Republican majority.

Just after Justice Protasiewicz was sworn in, a coalition of voting-rights groups and left-leaning law firms filed a legal challenge to the districts, arguing that new maps should be drawn before the 2024 election. The new liberal majority agreed, and now those maps are in place, though the high court has yet to address similarly gerrymandered U.S. House districts.

The state's Democratic governor, Tony Evers, drew up new maps that were grudgingly accepted by the Republican Legislature -- not heavily weighted to the Democrats but even: 45 Assembly seats are Democratic-leaning, 46 are Republican-leaning and eight are considered tossups, according to an analysis from The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel. In Wisconsin's Senate, 14 districts out of 33 are Democratic-leaning, while 15 lean Republican.

''Very close, very tight -- but it's fair,'' said Duane Shukoski, who worked at the paper giant Kimberly-Clark for 37 years and is now running as a Democrat for a tossup Assembly seat in Neenah, Wis.

The questions remain: Can Democrats pull themselves off the mat after 13 years of futility? Can Republicans reanimate after 13 years of complacency and guaranteed victories? And what impact will the new action at the bottom of the ticket really have?

Doug Reich, the chairman of the Republican Party of Brown County, which includes Green Bay, evinced little worry. The energy, he said, was at the top of the ticket, with Mr. Trump. It will flow down from there.

''Certainly, we're trying to wake up a lot of people who aren't aware. I'm sure a lot of people in the old red districts felt these were almost uncontested races,'' he said. ''But everybody is motivated by the presidential race. The average person sees that as the barometer of the entire culture and where the country is going.''

To an extent, Democrats agree. The voters of northeast Wisconsin do not have the State Legislature top of mind, they concede. But the Wisconsin Democratic Party is contesting 97 of the 99 seats in the Assembly and all 16 State Senate seats up for election, numbers not seen since 2011, the last election before Republicans gerrymandered the Legislature out of contention. Two years ago, Democrats ran in 84 Assembly seats and 12 of the 14 Senate seats up that year.

In contrast, Republicans have given up on contesting five Democratically-held State Senate districts this year. Repeated efforts to reach legislative candidates in the party -- and the state Republican Party chairman -- went unanswered.

''The Republicans have to work for the first time in a lot of these seats, and they just aren't,'' said Ryan Spaude, a 30-year-old district attorney in Green Bay who only recently became a Democrat and is now contesting a newly competitive Assembly seat that he said was ''as purple as a Vikings jersey.''

No question, the Democrats are trying. They have an outside chance of taking control of the Assembly, and though not enough State Senate seats are up to challenge control of that chamber, Democrats will almost certainly cut back the Republicans' majority.

Mr. Wall, a management consultant and a former Rhodes scholar, admitted he would never have run in the old district, which extended well into the much more Republican rural reaches to the south and east. ''That was a fool's errand,'' he said.

This time he is all in. He estimated on Monday night that he had knocked on close to 15,000 doors. His advertisements compete with those of Mr. Trump, Ms. Harris, Ms. Baldwin and her Republican opponent, Eric Hovde, but they have helped his ground presence.

''I see your face on the TV!'' enthused one woman who answered his knock at her door.

Dennis Stockwell, 81, a retiree from Pulaski, Wis., suggested the strategy was working when he stopped at the Brown County Democratic headquarters in Green Bay to pick up yard signs.

''Before, I felt like it didn't make a difference,'' he said. ''Now, there's a sense my vote will count.''

In Appleton, about 30 miles southwest of Green Bay, Kristin Alfheim, the Democrat running in the newly formed 18th State Senate district, marveled at the constant flow of volunteers at the Outagamie County Democratic headquarters. The area was once known for Senator Joseph McCarthy, the anti-communist demagogue, and the far-right John Birch Society. Ms. Alfheim ran in the old 19th Senate district two years ago -- and lost by eight percentage points.

Now, as the region grows more moderate, Ms. Alfheim, a center-left Democrat, has a real shot at a brand-new district that runs up the west side of Lake Winnebago, linking the sister cities of Oshkosh, Neenah, Menasha and Appleton that the old maps intentionally broke apart. Not only are more Democrats running this year, she said, but they are better, more seasoned and ready to work.

''You're not going out there to get beat up on,'' she said.

Republicans are spending huge amounts of money on advertising. The state's U.S. Senate race has tightened so much that the nonpartisan Cook Political Report reclassified it this week as a tossup, from leaning Democratic. The presidential race is essentially tied.

''People feel like this could be the end of our country -- free speech, a secure border, the size and scope of government, men in women's sports,'' said Mr. Reich, the Brown County Republican chairman, predicting an explosion in turnout for Mr. Trump. ''We have a really strong top of the ticket, and we want that to flow down.''

Even Democrats like Mr. Spaude conceded that voter concerns, which were dominated only last year by abortion rights, are now on Republican turf -- the cost of living. In that environment, Democrats are hoping shoe leather will make a difference. On Monday, Mr. Spaude was knocking on doors in Ashwaubenon, a Green Bay suburb in the shadows of the Packers' famed Lambeau Field.

It isn't easy. For every John Soletski greeting the candidates, there may be 10 who ignore the door bell, send out their dogs or point to the ''No Soliciting'' signs.

The candidates wedge their campaign literature and pocket-size Packers schedules in door knockers jammed with other political fliers.

''Like anything else in campaigning, it's really inefficient,'' Mr. Wall conceded, ''but if you do enough of it, good things happen.''

Like Brad Hooyman, who works at the packaging plant of Saputo, a major cheese and dairy company, and greeted Mr. Spaude on his doorstep, the glow of a lit-up Lambeau competing with the long twilight of Wisconsin's October evenings.

''I don't go by party,'' Mr. Hooyman, 47, said, declining to say how he was leaning in other races. ''And I know local is way different from state, which is way different from national. You've got my vote.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/11/us/politics/wisconsin-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/11/us/politics/wisconsin-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Jamie Wall, a Democratic State Senate candidate, canvassing in Green Bay, Wis. ''Like anything else in campaigning, it's really inefficient,'' he said, ''but if you do enough of it, good things happen.''

Democrats mobilize in Wisconsin: Fliers on a doorstep in Ashwaubenon include one from Ryan Spaude, an Assembly hopeful

Kristin Alfheim is running in a newly formed State Senate district. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM VONDRUSKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES This article appeared in print on page A16.

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[***Going From Royal Gowns to Uniqlo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6N-5B21-DXY4-X2VV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Laura Neilson

**Body**

Last month, standing in a sunny TriBeCa studio among racks of clothes, Clare Waight Keller was back in her element. The British fashion designer, perhaps best known as the designer of Meghan Markle's wedding gown, had arrived from London to reveal her latest Uniqlo: C capsule collection and to announce her role as the new creative director of Uniqlo.

At a moment when luxury fashion is trending toward an economic downturn and many houses are grappling with high-profile designer comings and goings, Ms. Waight Keller is betting on a Japanese behemoth known for affordable, high-quality layers -- covetable sweaters, T-shirts and jackets -- that are the staples of many a wardrobe.

Ms. Waight Keller wore an all-gray ensemble of straight-leg trousers and a wool knit blazer from Uniqlo. As she walked editors and reporters through her capsule collection, a concise lineup of $25 cashmere-blend knits, in soft shades of loden and moss, and $60 pants in suiting fabric, bolstered this time with Uniqlo: C's first men's wear capsule, Ms. Waight Keller's ease reflected her long-running career in the industry.

Until 2020, she had been the creative director at Givenchy, where cashmere sweaters typically ran upward of $1,000. She was the first woman to hold the job at the storied French house. Her collections, favored by the likes of Cate Blanchett, Julianne Moore and Gal Gadot, mixed a streamlined and modern aesthetic with precise and purposeful tailoring.

In 2018, Ms. Waight Keller's first couture collection for Givenchy -- her first-ever foray into haute couture -- was critically acclaimed. Then came the dress seen round the world: a double-bonded silk cady gown with a bateau neckline worn by Ms. Markle for her 2018 wedding to Prince Harry.

The two women have remained close and share ''a beautiful friendship,'' Meghan, the Duchess of Sussex, wrote in an email, adding that she owns several of Ms. Waight Keller's Uniqlo pieces, including a trench coat and several dresses. ''Her pieces for the brand have movement and modern grace,'' she wrote.

Now Ms. Waight Keller's role is to design trend-proof and democratically priced basics for a mostly ageless demographic. As Uniqlo's creative director, she oversees mainline collections for both men's wear and women's wear, working primarily with teams in London and New York, where Uniqlo's SoHo flagship plunked down in 2006 with colorful stacks of cashmere sweaters priced under $99.

Despite its reputation for working with outside designers and labels on capsule collections -- Jonathan Anderson, Jil Sander, Marni -- Uniqlo is not known as a designer-driven brand, which added to the surprise of Ms. Waight Keller's appointment.

Ms. Waight Keller, who has stated in interviews that she enjoys being outside her comfort zone, expected the mixed reactions. ''Every time I make a career move, I feel my choices take people by surprise,'' she said. Even if she isn't one to broadcast her interior life on social media, she has always steered her career with a strategic mind-set.

And she is not the only high-profile designer to step in this direction. Zac Posen, whose red-carpet gowns made him a darling among celebrities and socialites, was hired this year to revive brands owned by Gap Inc., including Old Navy, Banana Republic, Gap and Athleta.

At Uniqlo, which is owned by the Fast Retailing fashion conglomerate, there is no such resuscitation order. Things are selling, notably denim. According to Uniqlo, sales from the past three months have more than doubled compared with the same period last year, owing largely to a style of wide-leg trousers designed by Ms. Waight Keller, which discreetly appeared in stores this summer.

''No press, no nothing,'' Ms. Waight Keller said of the new denim style. ''They were just really resonating.''

'Never Step Off the Train'

Ms. Waight Keller, 54, grew up in Birmingham, England, an industrial, mostly ***working-class*** city. On weekends, her mother would shop at the city's sprawling, open-air rag market for patterns, fabrics and trims for making clothes.

''She wasn't a seamstress, but it was from necessity, from not having a lot of money,'' Ms. Waight Keller said over a recent breakfast in London, where she lives with her husband and teenage son. (She also has twin daughters in their mid-20s.) ''It was my first exposure, in a way, to fashion and how you put it together.''

At the Royal College of Art in London, she strategized about her future. The technical components of fashion always fascinated her, but she also knew she needed a niche to stand out from other young designers. ''By being a specialist in knitwear, I gained that skill of understanding yarns, the knitting process, understanding how to construct a garment,'' she said.

She was the only one of her peers to graduate that year with a job offer -- working in knitwear for Ralph Lauren. It set her on a career that took her to all four major fashion capitals: first New York at Ralph Lauren, then Calvin Klein, before moving to Milan in the early 2000s to work under Tom Ford at Gucci alongside a team of designers that included Christopher Bailey and Francisco Costa. It was an electrifying time for Gucci, which Mr. Ford had jolted back to life in just a few short seasons.

From Gucci, she moved back to London to work at Pringle of Scotland and then to Paris for ChloÃ©, where she was the creative director for six years, before moving to Givenchy in 2017.

Pausing between roles wasn't an option -- not as a woman, she said. Seeing how few of her peers made it back after taking family leave -- whether for childbirth or caregiving -- reinforced an unfortunate reality.

''I was at Gucci when I was pregnant with my twins,'' she said. ''There was no maternity policy in place. Tom said: 'OK, we need to deal with that. We need to put one in place.' But it's kind of amazing that it was never there before.''

''I realized you can never step off the train,'' she added, likening the fashion industry to a fast-moving competition of musical chairs.

The industry still faces criticism for its disappointing number of female creative directors. Ms. Waight Keller believes that's because their careers are often stymied early on if they have children. ''The fashion industry employs so many women,'' she said, ''but it really does not favor them in the span of this incredible, important stage in their lives.''

She wants to see more women at the executive level and credits Marty Wikstrom, then the chief executive of the fashion and accessories businesses at Richemont Group, which owns ChloÃ©, for offering her the job at the house. Ms. Waight Keller was seven months pregnant with her son at the time.

''I think that conversation would have gone entirely differently if she hadn't been a woman,'' she said.

'Still Not Perfect Enough'

After three years at Givenchy, Ms. Waight Keller stepped down in April 2020.

''I thought, you know, maybe it can just be a short chapter at Givenchy,'' she said. ''Maybe short is actually kind of gorgeous.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/16/style/clare-waight-keller-uniqlo-givenchy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/16/style/clare-waight-keller-uniqlo-givenchy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clare Waight Keller, who is the creative director of Uniqlo, out and about in London. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HARRY LAWLOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D1)

Design highlights from Clare Waight Keller (far left) include the Uniqlo: C fall 2024 capsule collection (top), wide-leg denim trousers (above right) and the wedding dress of Meghan Markle. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HARRY LAWLOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

UNIQLO

JANE BARLOW) (D4) This article appeared in print on page D1, D4.

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Going From Royal Gowns to Uniqlo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6N-HSH1-JBG3-616V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 17, 2024 Thursday 12:38 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1773 words

**Byline:** Laura Neilson

**Highlight:** Clare Waight Keller, who designed Meghan Markle’s wedding dress, finds a different kind of luxury at a mass market brand.

**Body**

Last month, standing in a sunny TriBeCa studio among racks of clothes, Clare Waight Keller was back in her element. The British fashion designer, perhaps best known as the designer of Meghan Markle’s wedding gown, had arrived from London to reveal her latest Uniqlo: C capsule collection and to announce her role as the new creative director of Uniqlo.

At a moment when luxury fashion is trending toward an economic downturn and many houses are grappling with [*high-profile designer comings and goings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/style/tom-ford-john-galliano-dior-chanel-fashion-chaos.html), Ms. Waight Keller is betting on a Japanese behemoth known for affordable, high-quality layers — covetable sweaters, T-shirts and jackets — that are the staples of many a wardrobe.

Ms. Waight Keller wore an all-gray ensemble of straight-leg trousers and a wool knit blazer from Uniqlo. As she walked editors and reporters through her capsule collection, a concise lineup of $25 cashmere-blend knits, in soft shades of loden and moss, and $60 pants in suiting fabric, bolstered this time with Uniqlo: C’s first men’s wear capsule, Ms. Waight Keller’s ease reflected her long-running career in the industry.

Until 2020, she had been the creative director at Givenchy, where cashmere sweaters typically ran upward of $1,000. She was the first woman to hold the job at the storied French house. Her collections, favored by the likes of Cate Blanchett, Julianne Moore and Gal Gadot, mixed a streamlined and modern aesthetic with precise and purposeful tailoring.

In 2018, Ms. Waight Keller’s first couture collection for Givenchy — her first-ever foray into haute couture — was critically acclaimed. Then came the dress seen round the world: a double-bonded silk cady gown with a bateau neckline worn by Ms. Markle for her 2018 wedding to Prince Harry.

The two women have remained close and share “a beautiful friendship,” Meghan, the Duchess of Sussex, wrote in an email, adding that she owns several of Ms. Waight Keller’s Uniqlo pieces, including a trench coat and several dresses. “Her pieces for the brand have movement and modern grace,” she wrote.

Now Ms. Waight Keller’s role is to design trend-proof and democratically priced basics for a mostly ageless demographic. As Uniqlo’s creative director, she oversees mainline collections for both men’s wear and women’s wear, working primarily with teams in London and New York, where Uniqlo’s SoHo flagship plunked down in 2006 with colorful stacks of cashmere sweaters priced under $99.

Despite its reputation for working with outside designers and labels on capsule collections — Jonathan Anderson, Jil Sander, Marni — Uniqlo is not known as a designer-driven brand, which added to the surprise of Ms. Waight Keller’s appointment.

Ms. Waight Keller, who has stated in interviews that she enjoys being outside her comfort zone, expected the mixed reactions. “Every time I make a career move, I feel my choices take people by surprise,” she said. Even if she isn’t one to broadcast her interior life on social media, she has always steered her career with a strategic mind-set.

And she is not the only high-profile designer to step in this direction. Zac Posen, whose red-carpet gowns made him a darling among celebrities and socialites, was [*hired*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/style/tom-ford-john-galliano-dior-chanel-fashion-chaos.html) this year [*to revive brands owned by Gap Inc.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/style/tom-ford-john-galliano-dior-chanel-fashion-chaos.html), including Old Navy, Banana Republic, Gap and Athleta.

At Uniqlo, which is owned by the Fast Retailing fashion conglomerate, there is no such resuscitation order. Things are selling, notably denim. According to Uniqlo, sales from the past three months have more than doubled compared with the same period last year, owing largely to a style of wide-leg trousers designed by Ms. Waight Keller, which discreetly appeared in stores this summer.

“No press, no nothing,” Ms. Waight Keller said of the new denim style. “They were just really resonating.”

‘Never Step Off the Train’

Ms. Waight Keller, 54, grew up in Birmingham, England, an industrial, mostly ***working-class*** city. On weekends, her mother would shop at the city’s sprawling, open-air rag market for patterns, fabrics and trims for making clothes.

“She wasn’t a seamstress, but it was from necessity, from not having a lot of money,” Ms. Waight Keller said over a recent breakfast in London, where she lives with her husband and teenage son. (She also has twin daughters in their mid-20s.) “It was my first exposure, in a way, to fashion and how you put it together.”

At the Royal College of Art in London, she strategized about her future. The technical components of fashion always fascinated her, but she also knew she needed a niche to stand out from other young designers. “By being a specialist in knitwear, I gained that skill of understanding yarns, the knitting process, understanding how to construct a garment,” she said.

She was the only one of her peers to graduate that year with a job offer — working in knitwear for Ralph Lauren. It set her on a career that took her to all four major fashion capitals: first New York at Ralph Lauren, then Calvin Klein, before moving to Milan in the early 2000s to work under Tom Ford at Gucci alongside a team of designers that included Christopher Bailey and Francisco Costa. It was an electrifying time for Gucci, which Mr. Ford had jolted back to life in just a few short seasons.

From Gucci, she moved back to London to work at Pringle of Scotland and then to Paris for Chloé, where she was the creative director for six years, before moving to Givenchy in 2017.

Pausing between roles wasn’t an option — not as a woman, she said. Seeing how few of her peers made it back after taking family leave — whether for childbirth or caregiving — reinforced an unfortunate reality.

“I was at Gucci when I was pregnant with my twins,” she said. “There was no maternity policy in place. Tom said: ‘OK, we need to deal with that. We need to put one in place.’ But it’s kind of amazing that it was never there before.”

“I realized you can never step off the train,” she added, likening the fashion industry to a fast-moving competition of musical chairs.

The industry still faces criticism for its disappointing number of female creative directors. Ms. Waight Keller believes that’s because their careers are often stymied early on if they have children. “The fashion industry employs so many women,” she said, “but it really does not favor them in the span of this incredible, important stage in their lives.”

She wants to see more women at the executive level and credits Marty Wikstrom, then the chief executive of the fashion and accessories businesses at Richemont Group, which owns Chloé, for offering her the job at the house. Ms. Waight Keller was seven months pregnant with her son at the time.

“I think that conversation would have gone entirely differently if she hadn’t been a woman,” she said.

‘Still Not Perfect Enough’

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PHOTOS: Clare Waight Keller, who is the creative director of Uniqlo, out and about in London. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HARRY LAWLOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D1); Design highlights from Clare Waight Keller (far left) include the Uniqlo: C fall 2024 capsule collection (top), wide-leg denim trousers (above right) and the wedding dress of Meghan Markle. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HARRY LAWLOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; UNIQLO; JANE BARLOW) (D4) This article appeared in print on page D1, D4.

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2024

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[***Reopen N.Y.C. Libraries on Sundays? Yes. Free 3-K for All? Not Quite.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CC2-FHH1-DXY4-X1FJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 28, 2024 Friday 13:20 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1237 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Jeffery C. Mays Emma G. Fitzsimmons is the City Hall Bureau Chief for The Times, covering Mayor Eric Adams and his administration. Jeffery C. Mays is a Times reporter covering politics with a focus on New York City Hall.

**Highlight:** Mayor Eric Adams and the City Council reached a $112 billion budget deal that restored some unpopular cuts to key programs.

**Body**

Mayor Eric Adams and the City Council reached a $112 billion budget deal that restored some unpopular cuts to key programs.

After months of tense and protracted negotiations, Mayor Eric Adams and City Council leaders announced on Friday that they had reached agreement on a $112.4 billion budget for New York City that restored many of the mayor’s proposed cuts, including to libraries and cultural institutions.

But other key programs were not made whole, including a popular and free preschool program for 3-year-olds.

This budget is particularly significant for Mr. Adams, a Democrat who is running for re-election in a competitive primary next June. Mr. Adams has insisted that major budget cuts were necessary to help offset the costs of the migrant crisis, new union contracts for city workers and the ending of federal pandemic aid.

The mayor and the City Council speaker, Adrienne Adams, adopted a celebratory tone at the announcement at City Hall, smiling and holding a model airplane to show that they had “landed the plane” as promised. Mr. Adams said they had found comity to fund important programs as the city faces major financial challenges.

“We are delivering a budget that invests in the future of our city and the ***working-class*** people who make New York City the greatest city in the world,” the mayor said.

For months, Council leaders and a wide range of advocates have argued that the mayor’s budget cuts would make life harder for New Yorkers at a moment when the city was increasingly unaffordable. Groups rallied on the steps of City Hall to call for more funding for libraries and preschools and enlisted celebrities such as [*Hillary Clinton*](https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/1773399385096818690) and [*Rachel Griffin Accurso*](https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/1773399385096818690), a children’s entertainer known as Ms. Rachel.

Library leaders said on Friday that $58 million in restored funding would allow them to reopen branches on Sundays and to remain open on Saturdays. They added that Sunday reopenings would begin at some branches “in the coming weeks,” returning to the same hours of operation before cuts forced the closures in November.

The fight over the libraries was emblematic of the deep divide between the mayor and representatives of Ms. Adams. The two sides could not agree on basic revenue estimates and offered vastly different visions for the city. Neither got everything they wanted.

Ms. Adams hinted at their differences on Friday, arguing that the city should move “away from restoring and toward strengthening and building” during the budget process — a reference to the mayor’s budget cuts.

As the budget process progressed, updated revenue projections showed that [*many of the cuts weren’t needed*](https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/1773399385096818690). Both fiscally conservative and liberal good government groups and the Independent Budget Office said City Hall’s revenue projections were inaccurate. But the mayor ordered agencies to slash their budgets anyway.

Nathan Gusdorf, the director of the left-leaning Fiscal Policy Institute, said the mayor’s “unduly pessimistic revenue forecasts” were “fiscally irresponsible” and had resulted in hiring freezes and the elimination of jobs that helped the city run smoothly.

“As the cost of living rises and our city loses working and middle-class families,” Mr. Gusdorf said, “the mayor should prioritize deeper investments in child care and affordable housing to keep New Yorkers here rather than insisting on budget cuts that will only drive more families out.”

Justin Brannan, the chairman of the Council’s Finance Committee, said he and his colleagues never doubted that the city had enough revenue to restore most of the mayor’s cuts and to make investments in housing and mental health.

“If we want to make sure New York City remains the capital of the world,” Mr. Brannan said, “we’ve got to keep investing in it.”

The budget also includes $2 billion in capital funding for affordable housing and restores funding for arts programs, H.I.V. treatment programs, [*community composting*](https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/1773399385096818690), summer youth programs and half-price MetroCards for poor New Yorkers.

A package of roughly $100 million was included for early childhood education, including for young [*children with disabilities*](https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/1773399385096818690).

About $20 million will pay for [*additional preschool seats for 3-year-olds*](https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/1773399385096818690), which is known as 3-K. Other funding aims to fill vacant seats and clear wait lists for children who receive special education services, and a biweekly working group will focus on addressing the problems.

Some 3-K supporters were disappointed that the program did not receive enough funding to make it truly universal.

“Parents are grateful to the New York City Council for their herculean efforts in achieving a budget that rolls back some of the mayor’s cuts to 3-K,” said Rebecca Bailin, executive director of New Yorkers United for Child Care. “Despite these steps, families are still facing millions in unnecessary cuts to 3-K.”

Jennifer March, executive director of Citizens’ Committee for Children, a nonprofit, praised the planned operational changes to 3-K. If the city fills empty seats that are currently funded, “we’d make big leaps forward” toward universal 3-K, Ms. March said.

Other groups, including [*supporters of city parks*](https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/1773399385096818690), expressed more disappointment that the budget deal did not address their cuts, saying they were “left behind.”

“There is no doubt that every New Yorker will notice the effects of such a shortsighted and harmful parks budget,” said Adam Ganser, executive director of New Yorkers for Parks.

The city’s tax revenues were roughly $650 million higher than expected over two fiscal years, which helped fend off some of the deeper cuts. Still, a budget deficit of $5.5 billion is expected in 2026, and budget watchdogs have cautioned that the city is not prepared for an economic downturn and called for more money to be placed in reserve.

“The mayor has talked a lot about efficiency, but we have yet to see the rubber meet the road,” said Andrew Rein, president of the Citizens Budget Commission.

Some Democrats who are considering running against Mr. Adams next year have criticized him, arguing that his budget cuts have sowed confusion and hurt ***working-class*** New Yorkers. The mayor’s cuts to early-childhood education programs, for example, are expected to be a major issue in the upcoming primary.

“The mayor should be laser-focused on making our city more livable and more affordable,” said Zellnor Myrie, a state senator from Brooklyn who is exploring a mayoral run. “Instead, his mismanagement and budget cuts are making it harder for families in every way.”

Scott Stringer, the former city comptroller who is [*exploring a primary challenge*](https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/1773399385096818690) against Mr. Adams, said the mayor’s questionable revenue projections made it feel like the city had regressed to the “bad old budget days of the 1970s when the city was on the edge of bankruptcy” and lamented that the budget had harmed families and children in particular.

Jessica Ramos, a state senator from Queens who is also considering running for mayor, called the budget “mediocre and uninspired” and said the budget process should “evolve past public gaslighting.”

Mr. Adams was seemingly unaffected by the criticism during the budget handshake ceremony. He praised his “fiscal responsibility” during the budget process, but also urged New Yorkers to celebrate what had been restored — even holding a campaign-style pep rally afterward.

PHOTO: Citing pessimistic revenue projections, Mayor Eric Adams had proposed major cuts. This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** June 29, 2024

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[***Mark Robinson, North Carolina’s Republican nominee for governor, gets his biggest stage yet.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGS-S9P1-JBG3-602H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 15, 2024 Monday 20:05 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 606 words

**Byline:** Eduardo Medina Eduardo Medina is a Times reporter covering the South. An Alabama native, he is now based in Durham, N.C.

**Highlight:** Mr. Robinson, has been widely criticized for comments perceived as antisemitic and hateful, instead focused on the economy

**Body**

Lt. Gov. Mark Robinson of North Carolina, the Republican nominee for governor of the state, who is known for his incendiary rhetoric, used the story of his impoverished upbringing and employment struggles to make the case for re-electing former President Donald J. Trump at the Republican National Convention on Monday night.

In his brief speech, Mr. Robinson, 55, avoided the kinds of polarizing attacks that he has [*made*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/06/us/politics/north-carolina-governor-mark-robinson.html) in the [*past*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/06/us/politics/north-carolina-governor-mark-robinson.html), including on the transgender community and diversity efforts in schools.

Mr. Robinson, who has been widely criticized for comments perceived as antisemitic and hateful, focused instead on the economy, an issue that may be helping him remain tied with his Democratic opponent, Josh Stein, the state attorney general.

“I lost two jobs, two manufacturing jobs, because of NAFTA — which, by the way, Joe Biden voted for,” Mr. Robinson said in his speech, attributing some of his hardships earlier in life to Democratic policies. He worked at several furniture companies in North Carolina before going into politics.

He added that his own rise coincided with Mr. Trump’s time in office.

“Under President Trump the American dream was alive and well,” Mr. Robinson said. “Under President Trump there was hope, and we need hope more now than ever.”

Mr. Robinson’s introduction to national Republicans on Monday night was a new peak in his political career, which began in 2018 after he spoke in favor of gun rights at a City Council meeting in Greensboro, N.C. His words then turned him into a viral conservative star. He was invited to speak at the National Rifle Association’s annual convention that year, and entered the Republican primary for lieutenant governor in 2019; Mr. Robinson won that office in November 2020.

He secured Mr. Trump’s endorsement in March, shortly before winning a three-way primary for the Republican nomination in the governor’s race. At the time, Mr. Trump described Mr. Robinson, who would be the state’s first Black governor, as “Martin Luther King on steroids.” In a book he published in 2022, and in a past Facebook post, Mr. Robinson described the civil rights leader as a “communist.”

Some more moderate Republicans in North Carolina have been anxious about Mr. Robinson’s bombastic nature and offensive comments, predicting they could cost him the election. North Carolina will be a key swing state in the presidential election; the last Democrat to win the state was Barack Obama in 2008. But the state has had a Democratic governor, Roy Cooper, who is term limited, since 2017.

Mr. Robinson’s campaign has highlighted his rough childhood in speeches and in TV ads, hoping blue-collar voters will be impressed with his trajectory.

“I grew up poor as the ninth of 10 kids in Greensboro,” he said on Monday night, “with an alcoholic father who beat my mother.”

But Democrats in North Carolina have played up Mr. Robinson’s history of vitriolic comments, such as when he quoted Adolf Hitler on Facebook, called Michelle Obama a man and said that abortions were about “killing a child because you weren’t responsible enough to keep your skirt down.”

Mr. Robinson has cast Mr. Stein as an out-of-touch liberal whose privileged upbringing as a graduate of Dartmouth and Harvard has made him clueless about issues that ***working-class*** residents, particularly those in rural swaths of the state, face.

PHOTO: Mr. Robinson’s introduction to national Republicans on Monday night was a new peak in his political career, which began in 2018 after he spoke in favor of gun rights at a City Council meeting in Greensboro, N.C. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Maddie McGarvey for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 15, 2024

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[***Was It Written by ChatGPT, or a Novelist?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CY0-6VS1-JBG3-622J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 11, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 27; LETTERS

**Length:** 1248 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re ''An Experiment in Lust, Regret and Kissing,'' by Curtis Sittenfeld (Opinion guest essay, Sept. 1):

As Ms. Sittenfeld noted, ChatGPT is fast but soulless; it writes toneless prose. As my college writing professor told us, unending descriptions are dull. Ms. Sittenfeld's writing deftly blends description with lots of conversation, something that ChatGPT cannot do well easily.

One more reason that ChatGPT is soulless is that it has no idea what it is writing about. It's really just an algorithm for stringing together linguistic patterns that it has indexed over the whole internet. Being a good pattern matcher is an accomplishment, but it's a long way from matching human creativity.

ChatGPT does not know whether anything it writes actually corresponds to the real world because it has no knowledge of the real world beyond the patterns it picks up from the internet. It doesn't know that the sentence ''my cat is green'' could not be true (unless I painted my cat green).

And, alas, that huge internet database includes work that is copyrighted. So I share Ms. Sittenfeld's disgust in the way her work was used without compensation.

Candy SidnerNewton, Mass.The writer is a fellow of the Association for the Advancement of A.I. and of the Association for Computational Linguistics.

To the Editor:

I enjoyed your piece pitting Curtis Sittenfeld against ChatGPT in a beach-read showdown. However, while entertaining, it was like asking a chef to make her favorite dish while telling a novice cook to ''do something with tofu'' -- then acting surprised when the meal was bland. The prompt given to ChatGPT was flavorless. By neglecting to optimize prompting techniques, you inadvertently asked the A.I. to generate generic, inoffensive content based on minimal input.

Large language models -- the technology used by many A.I. chatbots -- often require clear, detailed instructions, including about tone, style and context. For instance, Claude, an A.I. chatbot, produced a more emotive and descriptive story when given a nuanced prompt to write a summer beach romance through the lens of climate disruption anxiety.

With thoughtful prompting, A.I. can currently approach -- though not always match -- the creativity and emotive expression of skilled writers. And chatbots are evolving rapidly.

Given these capabilities, a more illuminating experiment might explore how successful authors like Ms. Sittenfeld could use A.I. to enhance their creative process rather than viewing it as a competitor. This approach better explores A.I.'s role and interplay in creative writing.

Creativity in the digital age is not about what A.I. can do but what we can do with A.I.

(I used A.I. to help write this letter.)

Hank WeissMadison, Wis.

To the Editor:

Curtis Sittenfeld asked us to judge which story ChatGPT wrote and which she wrote. It was clear to me that the first story was hers. In fairness, I was reading critically, plus I am a fan and have read most if not all of her books.

The ChatGPT story was boring and, like Ms. Sittenfeld, I wouldn't have finished it if I hadn't considered it ''assigned reading.'' Too many clichÃ© adjectives and no surprises. One other thing: In the first story, the main character had a ''situational flaw'' -- in that particular setting, she was a liar. Unexpectedly flawed characters are a hallmark of Ms. Sittenfeld's fiction -- and make it that much more readable.

Here's what troubles me. If it hadn't been a test, would I just assume the writer was having a bad day or had gotten sloppy or maybe I had outgrown her? Would I ever have suspected it was ChatGPT? No, I would not.

I am still betting on people as well, but this leaves me feeling unsettled. I am beginning to wonder if we are entering a not so brave new world of ''reader beware.''

Ellen J. ReiflerSwampscott, Mass.

To the Editor:

I found the Sittenfeld vs. ChatGPT beach read contest fascinating.

When I read the first piece I was pretty sure it was the ''real thing''; when I read the second I was absolutely positive. The second piece was a clichÃ©-ridden collection of words saying absolutely nothing. It lacked subtlety, nuance and irony and, yes, was just plain boring.

It is comforting to know that imagination, creativity and talent remain uniquely human qualities, and ChatGPT can't compete. I too am still betting on people!

Hanina LevinNew York

Solidarity With Afghan Women

To the Editor:

Re ''Unspeakable New Suffering for Afghan Women'' (front page, Sept. 5):

I cannot read this piece and stay silent. I must use my words, my voice, my outrage and speak up.

American women can do the same and use their voices at the polls this November. Don't let a bunch of bullying men (running for offices up and down the ballot, and sitting on the Supreme Court) take us back in time and take control of our reproductive rights.

Speak up while you can -- for yourself, your daughters and your granddaughters. Or be prepared to answer their questions, like the young women of Afghanistan wondering how the freedoms they've only heard about, like going to school, could have been replaced with unbearable repression.

Not being allowed to speak in public -- even at a store -- makes them part of a vanishing generation of women whose very thoughts are not valued. One of the best ways to show solidarity is to value your freedom and vote for all American women to have a choice.

Susan PerryWestminster, Vt.

To the Editor:

Why are Taliban men afraid of women?

Ellen CreaneGuilford, Conn.

Shh! Athletes at Play!

To the Editor:

''Keeping Courtside Order in a Sea of Affluence'' (front page, Sept. 8) reported about how stadium attendants control late and unruly spectators at professional tennis matches.

I have seen the same thing at professional golf matches where the attendants even hold up signs telling the fans to be quiet. These pampered athletes need to learn how to play in the real world.

When a quarterback tries to figure the speed, angle and distance of his next pass, there are 50,000 screaming fans and 11 very large men trying to knock him down. They do not sulk if some fans walk to their seats or get up to buy a beer while they are playing.

James B. BergEgg Harbor Township, N.J.

Workers Support Unions

To the Editor:

Re ''Workers Deserve So Much More Than America's Unions,'' by Oren Cass (Opinion guest essay, Sept. 1):

Mr. Cass suggests that workers might prefer a ''new form of representation'' over representation by a traditional labor union. Considerable evidence suggests otherwise.

Public approval of unions has reached its highest level since the 1960s, with nearly 70 percent of those surveyed expressing support. In 2023 we saw the highest number of union representation elections since 2016, with workers voting for unions 79 percent of the time.

Nearly half of nonunion workers told pollsters in 2017 that they would join a union if given the opportunity. That figure is 50 percent higher than when the same question was posed two decades earlier.

Mr. Cass is attempting a familiar sleight of hand, portraying himself as pro-worker while suggesting that unions are not needed by most members of the ***working class***. This claim will come as news to the thousands of workers who are forming unions and see them as an effective vehicle for advancing their interests.

Robert BusselEugene, Ore.The writer is the former director of the Labor Education and Research Center at the University of Oregon.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/10/opinion/chatgpt-curtis-sittenfeld.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/10/opinion/chatgpt-curtis-sittenfeld.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A27.

**Load-Date:** September 11, 2024

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[***The Writers' Room***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTC-KP11-DXY4-X29N-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. 17; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1054 words

**Byline:** By Francesca Wade

**Body**

A new book by Susannah Gibson spotlights the 18th-century Bluestockings, who aspired to have their writings and ideas accorded the same respect as men's.

THE BLUESTOCKINGS: A History of the First Women's Movement, by Susannah Gibson

In 1790, Mary Wollstonecraft sat down to write a fan letter. ''You are the only female writer who I coincide in opinion with respecting the rank our sex ought to attain in the world,'' she wrote in excitement to Catharine Macaulay. Macaulay had recently published her treatise ''Letters on Education,'' arguing that boys and girls should be taught the same curriculum, since ''true wisdom ... is as useful to women as men'' -- a principle that formed the bedrock, two years later, of Wollstonecraft's triumphant ''A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.''

More than a century later, in ''A Room of One's Own,'' Virginia Woolf claimed several of Macaulay's near contemporaries as role models, whose ability to earn a living from their writing, despite myriad obstacles, enabled future generations of women writers to conceive of their own intellectual freedom. ''Toward the end of the 18th century,'' Woolf concluded, ''a change came about which, if I were rewriting history, I should describe more fully and think of greater importance than the Crusades or the Wars of the Roses.''

Both Woolf and Wollstonecraft argued far more stridently for women's rights than did Macaulay or her peers, a loosely connected group of 18th-century British women writers and thinkers known -- sometimes derogatorily, sometimes affectionately -- as the Bluestockings. But as Susannah Gibson argues in her fast-paced and intimate study of the group, the Bluestockings' feminist revolution lay in their determination to think and write and educate themselves, despite the ''pitiless machinations'' of British society, which kept single women dependent on their fathers, and married women subordinate to their husbands.

Gibson's book opens in rapidly expanding London grappling with new fashions, ideas and building projects, and forging connections to Europe and the wider world. Here, in a Mayfair mansion, Elizabeth Montagu, a literary critic and writer married to a wealthy English landowner, invited like-minded women to candlelit salons where conversation was elevated to an art form, where wit and erudition were prized, and where men and women could discuss politics, literature, science and history on equal terms.

A 1739 pamphlet, titled ''Man Superior to Woman,'' denounced educated women under the stereotype of the ''bookish slattern'': dangerous, unfeminine, ugly and certainly not a suitable wife. ''A Woman,'' a conduct manual from the 1770s claimed, ''is the downy pillar on which a Man should repose from the severer and more exalted duties of life.'' Montagu's father, unusually, encouraged her early education, but she quickly saw that an advantageous marriage would be her best shot at independence. The salon that built her reputation -- ''brilliant in diamonds, solid in judgment, critical in talk,'' as one friend put it -- was made possible by her husband's wealth and supportive attitude.

Maintaining respectability was key: Fanny Burney, whose novel ''Evelina'' was a popular sensation, held back from talking in public lest she ''pass for being studious, or affected.'' Elizabeth Carter ensured that her translations of Epictetus were preceded by an introduction reconciling his thought with Christian values. Even among themselves, the Bluestockings were not exempt from the double standards by which women were judged far more harshly than men for social transgressions: Members of the circle who found themselves embroiled in scandal risked becoming outcasts. Hester Thrale, a close friend of Samuel Johnson's who operated another influential salon from her home in Streatham, was shunned by former friends when, newly widowed, she fell in love with her eldest daughter's singing teacher (whom she subsequently married).

Thrale continued to write undeterred, charting the minutiae of her private life -- Johnson's witty repartee, the antics of her children, her grief after the death of her first husband and her developing feelings for her second -- in a diary (published posthumously) that she titled the ''Thraliana.''

Gibson, an Irish historian, is as attentive to the forces that worked against the Bluestockings as to those -- wealth, supportive husbands, stimulating friendship -- that enabled their success. The complex interplay of money, class and intellectual ambition is especially fascinating. While even aristocratic women faced financial precarity if they didn't follow a conventional path, ***working-class*** writers were received on different terms altogether.

The story of Ann Yearsley, a Bristol milkwoman whose poetry was championed by the Bluestocking Hannah More, is one of the book's most shocking: More took control of her image and financial affairs, preventing Yearsley, who went on to establish a circulating library and a network of charitable schools, from accessing her earnings, while thrusting her into the limelight in just the ways middle-class Bluestockings sought to avoid.

Gibson's history is primarily social rather than intellectual. The Bluestockings' personal lives are chronicled in vivid detail: Hester Thrale's more than 15 pregnancies (including several ending in miscarriage) and the devastating deaths of several children in succession are an unforgettable horror; the saga of Thomas Wilson, a Bath churchman who spearheaded a character assassination campaign against Catharine Macaulay after she spurned his affections, makes for a gripping tale.

Still, I wanted more on the ideas that came out of these salons: how these women's writings related to other literature and culture at the time; what approaches drove their prolific output (biographies of Shakespeare and Johnson, political satire, histories of Swedish and German royals, religious tracts); what politics they espoused, however subtly, in their lives and work. But Gibson conjures palpably the all too ephemeral achievement of the Bluestockings: their sparkling conversation, wafting out through high windows, to be borne down the centuries by the London breeze.

THE BLUESTOCKINGS: A History of the First Women's Movement | By Susannah Gibson | Norton | 338 pp. | $29.99

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/22/books/review/the-bluestockings-susannah-gibson.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/22/books/review/the-bluestockings-susannah-gibson.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From left, the 18th-century Bluestockings Elizabeth Montagu, Fanny Burney and Hester Thrale. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HERITAGE IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

THE PRINT COLLECTOR/GETTY IMAGES

UNIVERSAL HISTORY ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page BR17.

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[***Trump Woos Voters With Popular, and Costly, Tax Cuts***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0W-YB31-JBG3-64BC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 20, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1224 words

**Byline:** By Andrew Duehren and Michael Gold

**Body**

Whether he is speaking to retirees, corporate executives or tipped workers, former President Donald J. Trump has made a habit of promising tax cuts that could cost trillions.

When it comes to tax policy, former President Donald J. Trump has appeared in recent weeks to channel Oprah Winfrey, the television legend whose audience giveaways became a cultural sensation.

But instead of free cars, Mr. Trump, the Republican presidential candidate, is offering his audiences bespoke tax cuts. For restaurant and hotel employees in Nevada, a swing state, Mr. Trump offered ''no taxes on tips.'' For the retired Americans who vote in great numbers, he said he would end taxes on Social Security benefits. For business executives at the Economic Club of New York, Mr. Trump offered a cut in the corporate tax rate to 15 percent, from 21 percent, for domestic manufacturers.

And for his fellow New Yorkers, whom Mr. Trump addressed at a rally in Long Island on Wednesday, he said he would bring back a prized deduction for state and local taxes, known as SALT, a tax break that he once limited.

''Going to restore SALT,'' he said during his rally, adding that the move would ''save thousands of dollars for residents of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.''

Earlier in the night, he promised that ''if you vote for me, I'm going to reduce your taxes.''

The plans, so far offered as pithy one-liners without detailed explanations, have proven politically popular, energizing crowds at his rallies and in one instance even prompting his Democratic rival to adopt a version of his idea. They have also scandalized tax and budget experts in Washington, who balk at the mounting cost of Mr. Trump's anti-tax crusade.

''The pattern is, you show up somewhere, you think about what that person wants and you propose it without regard to cost,'' said Marc Goldwein, the senior policy director for the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, which advocates lower deficits. ''I do think this is really troubling.''

Mr. Trump has not been shy about the political goals of his tax cut proposals, telling attendees at a rally in Tucson, Ariz., last week that not taxing Social Security benefits would be a ''big deal.'' He added, ''You remember that, seniors, when you go to vote.''

Republicans are trying to hold on to several House seats on Long Island, where Mr. Trump spoke on Wednesday and where lifting the $10,000 cap on the state and local tax deduction is popular. After reading out a list of House Republicans in attendance at his rally, Mr. Trump pointed to that group, including Representative Anthony D'Esposito of New York, saying: ''SALT, Anthony. Remember, fellows, SALT.'' Mr. D'Esposito stood and gave Mr. Trump a thumbs-up.

More broadly, Mr. Trump has been trying to rebrand his tax agenda, long attacked by Democrats as a giveaway to big companies and the rich, as helping the ***working class***.

''It's time for the working man and woman to finally catch a break,'' Mr. Trump said as he discussed his idea to not tax overtime pay.

Mr. Trump has waved away concerns about the cost of his proposed tax cuts by pointing to his plans to raise tariffs, arguing that the United States would have ''no deficits within a fairly short amount of time.'' The Tax Policy Center, a think tank, estimated that a 10 percent tariff on all imports, as well as higher tariffs on Chinese goods, could raise $2.8 trillion in revenue over 10 years.

But that would still come nowhere near covering the cost of all the tax cuts Mr. Trump has proposed during the presidential campaign. His most expensive proposal is to simply extend the tax cuts he signed into law in 2017, many of which expire after next year. Including higher debt service costs, continuing those tax cuts would cost roughly $4.6 trillion over a decade, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office.

He wants to pile even more tax cuts on top of that, while his running mate, JD Vance, has floated a dramatic expansion of the child tax credit.

All told, the cost of Mr. Trump's tax cuts could be nearing $10 trillion over 10 years, according to Andrew Lautz, an analyst at the Bipartisan Policy Center. ''The numbers are mind-boggling,'' he said.

The deficit has been growing in recent years, even as the economy has remained strong, alarming some economists. Governments are generally expected to run smaller budget deficits during periods of strong growth than in downturns, when the economy often needs juicing. The cost of financing America's debt has soared as interest rates have remained elevated, and rating agencies have said they are worried about the ability of the U.S. government to pay back its debts.

That dire fiscal outlook will weigh on lawmakers next year when they consider whether to extend the 2017 tax cuts. They will also have to face a decision about whether to raise the nation's debt limit, which caps how much money the United States is authorized to borrow.

Republicans have long embraced tax cuts even when they are projected to widen the deficit, hoping to jump start economic growth. Some of Mr. Trump's allies view his ideas as a way to encourage more work and therefore boost the economy. But Erica York -- an analyst at the Tax Foundation, which generally favors lower tax rates -- said that Mr. Trump's current collection of ideas, targeted at relatively small groups of Americans, would not generate broad-based economic growth.

''There is no policy rationale driving this thing, this is political considerations taking the wheel,'' Ms. York said.

Ms. York and other economists generally favor a tax system that does not tax Americans differently based on differences in where they live, how they earn money, or whether they rent or own a home. By that measure, Mr. Trump's 2017 tax law helped clean up the tax code, narrowing deductions for state and local taxes, as well as mortgage interest, while vastly expanding the standard deduction.

Mr. Trump's suite of campaign tax proposals would take the tax code back in the other direction, slicing open new carve outs for workers based on whether they earn tips or overtime pay -- and for Americans who live in high-tax states like New York and New Jersey.

''This is poking more holes in the tax code, in particular poking holes for blue states which aren't voting for us,'' said Casey Mulligan, an economist who worked in the White House during the Trump administration. ''I don't really see the economic or political sense for it.''

Of course, Mr. Trump's tax ideas would need to pass Congress to become law. And even if Republicans end up controlling both the House and Senate next year, Mr. Trump may not find them willing to go along with all of his ideas. Senator Michael D. Crapo, Republican of Idaho, would become the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee if Republicans win the chamber in November. Asked if he was concerned about the cost of Mr. Trump's ideas, he demurred.

''I get that question a lot on every single proposal that he mentions, and the answer is, we're dealing with a multitrillion-dollar tax code issue next year, and every single provision of it raises that question,'' he said. ''I'll decide what my position is on it when we see what the whole picture is next year.''

Simon J. Levien contributed reporting.Simon J. Levien contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/us/politics/trump-tax-cuts.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/us/politics/trump-tax-cuts.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump's promises to cut a range of taxes have energized the crowds at his rallies. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page B4.

**Load-Date:** September 20, 2024

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[***Democrats Finally Did What Sherrod Brown Asked For. It Might Be Too Late.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8K-KKV1-DXY4-X29F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2024 Saturday 16:49 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1992 words

**Byline:** Alec MacGillis

**Highlight:** Why Democrats in the Midwest are losing ground.

**Body**

Twelve years ago, Senator Sherrod Brown, the Ohio Democrat, took the stage at his election night party in Columbus to celebrate winning a second term. Barack Obama had just carried Ohio for the second time, after [*emphasizing*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk) his administration’s rescue of the auto industry. Mr. Brown wanted to proclaim that success onstage, but he was losing his voice, so his wife, the writer Connie Schultz, took over for him.

As she got to Jeep expanding its Toledo operations and General Motors building the Chevy Cruze at its rejuvenated plant near Youngstown, Mr. Brown started interjecting croaks to make sure she got the details right. “The aluminum is made in Cleveland … the transmission is made in Toledo … the engine is made in Defiance … the airbag is made in Brunswick.”

I thought about that moment often while on the campaign trail in Ohio this month. Mr. Brown is running for re-election again. But the political landscape is much changed. Ohio is no longer a presidential battleground. G.M. no longer makes the Cruze — the Lordstown plant where it was assembled closed in 2019. And Mr. Brown, who won his last two races by five and seven points, is in a tight race against a car dealership magnate named Bernie Moreno.

Mr. Brown and a dwindling band of Democrats in Ohio are still making the case for a certain kind of Democratic Party — one that cares about the ***working class***, that invests in their towns and factories and values the manufacturing jobs that power the nation. That case should have become easier to make of late. Over the past four years, the Biden administration has championed huge investments in renewable energy and computer chip production; two new Intel plants are under construction near Columbus. Yet the political landscape is tougher than ever for Mr. Brown and the last remaining Ohio Democrats.

There are several possible explanations. Sixty percent of Ohio residents have only a high school diploma, an associate degree or a few years of college — a relatively high percentage. Union membership has dwindled from its peak in 1989. And the Biden investments have taken a while to ramp up.

At a Brown rally outside an International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers hall in Dayton, the head of the local building trades council, David Cox, told me that his members were getting more work than they’d seen in 35 years. Then why, I asked, wasn’t this restoring support for Democrats among workers? “It takes a little while for these guys to wake up,” he said.

But Democrats often overlook another dynamic at play here, and that’s the role of place: Even if your own finances are secure, if you look out your window and see your city or town struggling, you believe you are, too. Some academics have referred to this as a sense of [*shared fate*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk), and it could be a powerful force in this election, especially in small cities in the industrial Midwest — such as Reading and Erie in Pennsylvania, Saginaw and Battle Creek in Michigan, Oshkosh and Racine in Wisconsin — where Mr. Brown and other Democrats are fighting to hang on to their seats and where Kamala Harris needs to do well (or at least hold her own).

In 2007 the academic Lorlene Hoyt and the city planning consultant André Leroux assembled a nationwide list of “forgotten cities” that were old and small, with a population of 15,000 to 150,000 and a median household income of less than $35,000. Recently, the urban researcher Michael Bloomberg updated it. Of the 179 cities now on [*the list*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk), 37 are in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. And leading the way, with 23 cities, is Ohio.

Pundits often overlook these sorts of places (they tend to focus on big blue cities, deep-red rural areas and the suburbs in between), but given how clustered these smaller cities are in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, they will matter greatly in the battle for both the White House and for control of Congress. Lately, two of Ohio’s have gained special prominence: Middletown (population 50,000) as the hometown of JD Vance, and Springfield (roughly 60,000) as home to a large community of Haitian immigrants that both Mr. Vance and Donald Trump have made a target of their comments.

I have visited dozens of these cities. They often have handsome downtowns with stately central squares and ornate, century-old bank buildings that rise 10 or 12 stories, but it can be difficult to find a cup of coffee after 2 p.m. or a place to watch a ballgame on TV at night. The local news is full of the sort of items I found a few weeks ago in a newspaper in Lima, Ohio (pop. 35,000): a report that the area was getting its 12th Dollar General store and a letter to the editor lamenting the closure of a Dana auto-parts plant with 280 jobs. Just as troubling, young people are becoming harder to find; they’re more drawn to thriving larger cities, such as Columbus, which has been vacuuming up strivers from across the state.

For decades, these smaller cities leaned Democratic, but in the past decade, they have turned redder. In 2012, Mr. Obama won Green Bay, Wis., by nearly twice as large a margin as Joe Biden did in 2020; Mr. Obama won Saginaw by an extra 15 percentage points. Even in Mr. Biden’s hometown, Scranton, Pa., Mr. Obama’s margin was more than 4,000 votes larger.

What’s so perplexing to liberals about this shift is that many of the people who left the Democratic Party are doing well for themselves; these cities are full of small-business owners, factory workers and retirees with pensions getting by under a Democratic president. But seeing your small city become a shadow of its former self can open you to a hard-edge populist message even if you yourself are managing. That’s what scholars mean by “shared fate,” and it’s what’s missed when we analyze voting behavior only by income or education level or race.

Representative Marcy Kaptur — an Ohio Democrat who is a city planner by training and, after more than 40 years in office, the longest-serving woman in the history of Congress — understands this visceral reality. Her mother was a union organizer at a sparkplug factory, and she has watched these wrenching changes play out from Toledo to the smaller cities she has represented, such as Sandusky and Lorain.

It’s rare to hear her talk up the social issues that often dominate debate on the left. Instead, she is most insistent about whether the nation’s industrial base can support its military, whether small cities have economic development expertise, whether workers at Toledo’s closed power plant can find new jobs. “I believe economics isn’t destiny, but it’s 85 percent of it,” she told me this month during a visit to a new Cleveland-Cliffs steel plant in Toledo.

For years, she has been struggling to get Democratic leaders to care about left-behind districts such as hers. In 2018, Hillary Clinton [*boasted*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk) that the areas she carried in her 2016 loss produced two-thirds of the nation’s gross domestic product, as if votes from the economically thriving areas counted more. Two years earlier, Chuck Schumer, now the Senate majority leader, declared, “For every blue-collar Democrat we lose in western Pennsylvania, we will pick up two moderate Republicans in the suburbs of Philadelphia. And you can repeat that in Ohio and Illinois and Wisconsin.”

This logic confounds Ms. Kaptur, who is now in a closely fought race with a state legislator, Derek Merrin. “A country can’t survive when vast segments of your population cannot get ahead,” she told me. Last year, to impress on party leaders how much ground Democrats are losing in districts like hers, her office produced a chart ranking the 435 House districts by median income. The moral: Democrats now represented most higher-income districts — in places like the Bay Area, the Northeast and metro Washington — while Republicans dominated in many lower-income ones. Her district was 341st in the ranking, surrounded by red ones. “Washington has trouble seeing us,” she said. “They need binoculars.”

For Mr. Brown, the plight of these small cities is personal, because he’s from an archetypal one: Mansfield (pop. 48,000), which has lost a string of manufacturers. This month the first person I met upon arriving at its central square was a woman asking for money. Mr. Brown’s father was a doctor, but as Mr. Brown often reminds voters, he went to school with the children of factory workers, a perspective that set him, like Ms. Kaptur, against trade deals such as NAFTA that many other Democrats supported.

“Politicians of both parties have done the bidding of wealthy corporations and sold the country out over and over and over again,” he said at a United Auto Workers hall in Toledo this month.

After the event, I asked him about the difficulties facing small cities. “Those cities were even more damaged than metropolitan areas because young people often tended to leave because there wasn’t the economic opportunity,” he said. “So I pay special attention to them.”

On the campaign trail, this means making more visits to the smaller cities than most other Democrats might. These cities also figure prominently in Mr. Brown’s stump speeches. “I grew up in Mansfield, Ohio, a town that looks a lot like Springfield, looks a lot like Zanesville, looks a lot like Hamilton or Middletown” is how Mr. Brown opened his remarks outside the union hall in Dayton, a city also on the updated “forgotten” list. After that event, he fell into an extended conversation with a new sort of small-city leader: one of the pioneers of the Haitian community in Springfield, who now owns five houses there and had come to Dayton to see Mr. Brown speak.

Without a doubt, Mr. Brown’s and Ms. Kaptur’s understanding of such places has helped them survive as long as they have as the state turned redder. It’s not as if their opponents have been offering these small cities many concrete solutions of their own. Far from it: Mr. Moreno’s ads center on his backing by Mr. Trump, and virtually all of the tens of millions of dollars in attack ads being run against Mr. Brown by outside groups [*focus on transgender*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk) youth.

There’s a painful irony in this for Democrats such as Mr. Brown and Ms. Kaptur. For years, they have been urging their party to pay more heed to these scattered outposts of their base: to Mansfield and Middletown, Springfield and Sandusky, all across their state and region. They were largely vindicated in their warnings about trade policy and political fallout, and a national Democratic response finally arrived in the past few years.

But in many places, demoralization had already spread so far and local institutions had withered so much that it became much easier for an opposition message based on nationwide culture-war appeals to register. Mr. Brown is as vulnerable now as he has ever been — [*running only four points ahead of Ms. Harris in the latest poll*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk) — and Ms. Kaptur’s race is just as competitive. This is doubly painful for them because they have largely skirted the culture-war front over the years, concentrating instead on economic issues.

Mr. Brown and Ms. Kaptur may well survive their latest challenges. But it’s hard to see how Democrats will revive their standing in Ohio — or enhance their prospects in the nearby swing states that remain more within their reach, such as Michigan and Pennsylvania — without helping these small cities revive, too. As Ms. Kaptur told me simply, sitting in her Toledo office overlooking the Maumee River: “They need to be seen.”

Alec MacGillis ([*@AlecMacGillis*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk)) is a reporter for ProPublica and the author, most recently, of “Fulfillment: America in the Shadow of Amazon.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](file:///C:\Users\laurareston\Downloads\Documents%2520-%2520Shortcut.lnk).

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

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2024

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[***In Wisconsin, Democrats Hope Competing Down Ballot Helps Harris, Too***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5C-PR51-DXY4-X396-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 11, 2024 Friday 22:08 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1626 words

**Highlight:** For the first time in 13 years, Wisconsin Democrats are contesting a number of local races. Even a few thousand voters energized by the candidates at their door could make a difference in a tight presidential contest.

**Body**

John Soletski’s brick Arts and Crafts house, with its Trump-Vance yard sign and its Trump flag festooned with guns, was not on the list as Jamie Wall, a Democratic candidate for Wisconsin’s State Senate, knocked on doors on Monday evening in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in Green Bay.

So when Mr. Soletski dashed out to meet him, there was no guarantee it would go well.

“I like the way you’re out here — you don’t see that very much,” said a beaming Mr. Soletski, a 64-year-old with a yard business. He offered Mr. Wall his hand and a pinch of Copenhagen tobacco snuff that the candidate politely declined. “I’m voting for the Trump guy,” he said, “but I’m reading up on all the others.”

It was the kind of exchange Democrats are hoping for as they hit the streets of Wisconsin, rounding up votes in the first truly contested state legislative races in 13 years. An energized Democratic Party, awakened like Rip Van Winkle after [*perhaps the most systematic gerrymander in the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/us/politics/voting-democracy-wisconsin-senate.html), is eyeing newly competitive local districts for a possible updraft effect — ideally benefiting both Vice President Kamala Harris and Senator Tammy Baldwin, whose seat is critical to Democrats’ hopes of keeping control of the chamber or at least holding Republicans to a narrow majority.

In a state that [*President Biden won in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/us/politics/voting-democracy-wisconsin-senate.html) by 20,682 votes, and former President Donald J. [*Trump won in 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/us/politics/voting-democracy-wisconsin-senate.html) by 22,748, even a few thousand voters energized by the candidates at their doorstep could make a difference. Ben Wikler, the chairman of Wisconsin’s Democratic Party, said issues like abortion, school funding and Medicaid expansion — all decided by the State Legislature — would drive “a small but incredibly consequential group of voters to the polls.”

“This is really a secret weapon,” he said.

Despite Wisconsin’s status as a national battleground, Republicans have controlled both of the state’s legislative chambers [*since 2011*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/us/politics/voting-democracy-wisconsin-senate.html), aided by the voting maps that their party drew heavily in its favor. Just south of Green Bay, for example, three State Senate districts converged in a jigsaw puzzle configuration, allowing three Republican state senators to live within a half-dozen miles of one another.

Then last year, voters [*handily elected a liberal justice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/us/politics/voting-democracy-wisconsin-senate.html) to the State Supreme Court, handing the left a majority. The campaign that elected the justice, Janet Protasiewicz, was driven in large part by a push to prevent a 19th-century abortion ban from snapping back into place with the repeal of Roe v. Wade. But voters also chafed at the draconian gerrymander that ensured that an almost evenly divided state had a Legislature with an overwhelming Republican majority.

Just after Justice Protasiewicz was sworn in, a coalition of voting-rights groups and left-leaning law firms filed a legal challenge to the districts, arguing that new maps [*should be drawn before the 2024 election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/us/politics/voting-democracy-wisconsin-senate.html). The new liberal majority agreed, and now those maps are in place, though the high court has yet to address similarly gerrymandered U.S. House districts.

The state’s Democratic governor, [*Tony Evers, drew up new maps*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/us/politics/voting-democracy-wisconsin-senate.html) that were grudgingly accepted by the Republican Legislature — not heavily weighted to the Democrats but even: 45 Assembly seats are Democratic-leaning, 46 are Republican-leaning and eight are considered tossups, according to [*an analysis from The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/us/politics/voting-democracy-wisconsin-senate.html). In Wisconsin’s Senate, 14 districts out of 33 are Democratic-leaning, while 15 lean Republican.

“Very close, very tight — but it’s fair,” said Duane Shukoski, who worked at the paper giant Kimberly-Clark for 37 years and is now running as a Democrat for a tossup Assembly seat in Neenah, Wis.

The questions remain: Can Democrats pull themselves off the mat after 13 years of futility? Can Republicans reanimate after 13 years of complacency and guaranteed victories? And what impact will the new action at the bottom of the ticket really have?

Doug Reich, the chairman of the Republican Party of Brown County, which includes Green Bay, evinced little worry. The energy, he said, was at the top of the ticket, with Mr. Trump. It will flow down from there.

“Certainly, we’re trying to wake up a lot of people who aren’t aware. I’m sure a lot of people in the old red districts felt these were almost uncontested races,” he said. “But everybody is motivated by the presidential race. The average person sees that as the barometer of the entire culture and where the country is going.”

To an extent, Democrats agree. The voters of northeast Wisconsin do not have the State Legislature top of mind, they concede. But the Wisconsin Democratic Party is contesting 97 of the 99 seats in the Assembly and all 16 State Senate seats up for election, numbers not seen since 2011, the last election before Republicans gerrymandered the Legislature out of contention. Two years ago, Democrats ran in 84 Assembly seats and 12 of the 14 Senate seats up that year.

In contrast, Republicans have given up on contesting five Democratically-held State Senate districts this year. Repeated efforts to reach legislative candidates in the party — and the state Republican Party chairman — went unanswered.

“The Republicans have to work for the first time in a lot of these seats, and they just aren’t,” said Ryan Spaude, a 30-year-old district attorney in Green Bay who only recently became a Democrat and is now contesting a newly competitive Assembly seat that he said was “as purple as a Vikings jersey.”

No question, the Democrats are trying. They have an outside chance of taking control of the Assembly, and though not enough State Senate seats are up to challenge control of that chamber, Democrats will almost certainly cut back the Republicans’ majority.

Mr. Wall, a management consultant and a former Rhodes scholar, admitted he would never have run in the old district, which extended well into the much more Republican rural reaches to the south and east. “That was a fool’s errand,” he said.

This time he is all in. He estimated on Monday night that he had knocked on close to 15,000 doors. His advertisements compete with those of Mr. Trump, Ms. Harris, Ms. Baldwin and her Republican opponent, Eric Hovde, but they have helped his ground presence.

“I see your face on the TV!” enthused one woman who answered his knock at her door.

Dennis Stockwell, 81, a retiree from Pulaski, Wis., suggested the strategy was working when he stopped at the Brown County Democratic headquarters in Green Bay to pick up yard signs.

“Before, I felt like it didn’t make a difference,” he said. “Now, there’s a sense my vote will count.”

In Appleton, about 30 miles southwest of Green Bay, Kristin Alfheim, the Democrat running in the newly formed 18th State Senate district, marveled at the constant flow of volunteers at the Outagamie County Democratic headquarters. The area was once known for Senator Joseph McCarthy, the anti-communist demagogue, and the far-right John Birch Society. Ms. Alfheim ran in the old 19th Senate district two years ago — and lost by eight percentage points.

Now, as the region grows more moderate, Ms. Alfheim, a center-left Democrat, has a real shot at a brand-new district that runs up the west side of Lake Winnebago, linking the sister cities of Oshkosh, Neenah, Menasha and Appleton that the old maps intentionally broke apart. Not only are more Democrats running this year, she said, but they are better, more seasoned and ready to work.

“You’re not going out there to get beat up on,” she said.

Republicans are spending huge amounts of money on advertising. The state’s U.S. Senate race has tightened so much that the nonpartisan Cook Political Report reclassified it this week as a tossup, from leaning Democratic. The presidential race is essentially tied.

“People feel like this could be the end of our country — free speech, a secure border, the size and scope of government, men in women’s sports,” said Mr. Reich, the Brown County Republican chairman, predicting an explosion in turnout for Mr. Trump. “We have a really strong top of the ticket, and we want that to flow down.”

Even Democrats like Mr. Spaude conceded that voter concerns, which were dominated only last year by abortion rights, are now on Republican turf — the cost of living. In that environment, Democrats are hoping shoe leather will make a difference. On Monday, Mr. Spaude was knocking on doors in Ashwaubenon, a Green Bay suburb in the shadows of the Packers’ famed Lambeau Field.

It isn’t easy. For every John Soletski greeting the candidates, there may be 10 who ignore the door bell, send out their dogs or point to the “No Soliciting” signs.

The candidates wedge their campaign literature and pocket-size Packers schedules in door knockers jammed with other political fliers.

“Like anything else in campaigning, it’s really inefficient,” Mr. Wall conceded, “but if you do enough of it, good things happen.”

Like Brad Hooyman, who works at the packaging plant of Saputo, a major cheese and dairy company, and greeted Mr. Spaude on his doorstep, the glow of a lit-up Lambeau competing with the long twilight of Wisconsin’s October evenings.

“I don’t go by party,” Mr. Hooyman, 47, said, declining to say how he was leaning in other races. “And I know local is way different from state, which is way different from national. You’ve got my vote.”

PHOTOS: Jamie Wall, a Democratic State Senate candidate, canvassing in Green Bay, Wis. “Like anything else in campaigning, it’s really inefficient,” he said, “but if you do enough of it, good things happen.”; Democrats mobilize in Wisconsin: Fliers on a doorstep in Ashwaubenon include one from Ryan Spaude, an Assembly hopeful; Kristin Alfheim is running in a newly formed State Senate district. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM VONDRUSKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** October 11, 2024

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[***These Arizona Women Are Keeping Kamala Harris’s Hopes Alive***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5D-TKV1-JBG3-60TG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 11, 2024 Friday 21:36 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1599 words

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

**Highlight:** A conversation among “mom friends” in suburban Phoenix shows the depths of Donald J. Trump’s trouble with a key slice of female voters.

**Body**

A conversation among “mom friends” in suburban Phoenix shows the depths of Donald J. Trump’s trouble with a key slice of female voters.

On Lisa Hoberg’s phone, the group chat with what she calls her “mom friends” is a politics-free zone. In the political hotbed of suburban Phoenix, it seemed safer that way. Why risk ruining 15 years of friendship by bringing up Donald J. Trump?

That meant that some of Ms. Hoberg’s closest friends had no idea she, a lifelong active Republican, had gone through a major political transformation — one that surprised even her sometimes. It meant her friend, Jill Aguirre, a 59-year-old mortgage officer, had never mentioned her worries that immigration was leading to crime at her daughter’s college campus. And she had no idea how strongly Debbie Samartzis, a 57-year-old interior designer who was a registered independent for much of her life, felt about abortion rights.

But it’s hard to hold back in an election year.

When Ms. Hoberg, 50, asked her mom friends to discard the informal politics ban and sit down to talk, they readily agreed to fill up their wine glasses around her table and let a reporter listen in.

Their conversation could have consequences. These are women poised to play a critically important role in this year’s election, a contest that may be remembered for its [*historic gender gap*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/05/magazine/gender-election-trump-harris.html). They are the sort of women — college educated, suburban, moderate — that [*Vice President Kamala Harris is counting on in overwhelming margins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/05/magazine/gender-election-trump-harris.html), hoping their turnout will swamp that of ***working-class*** men who favor Mr. Trump.

They are voters Mr. Trump has, in fits and starts, tried to win over. And they explained clearly why his overtures weren’t working.

With a bit of chagrin, Ms. Hoberg says she voted for Mr. Trump eight years ago because he “had not offended me a fraction of the time that I am offended by him now.”

“How can this person possibly be what we’re trying to teach our children to emulate?” Ms. Samartzis asked her friends, though she was not really expecting an answer.

Ms. Aguirre wearily smiled as she thought of her boyfriend, a devoted Trump supporter who finds the former president entertaining and bold. “With him, it’s not worth arguing,” she said.

“Why did they have to go so extreme?” she later asked of Republicans. Her friends shrugged and nodded in agreement

Shaken by the Court

After filling their glasses and serving themselves pasta, the three women sat down at Ms. Hoberg’s dining room table, surrounded by years’ worth of photos of her son, who was in kindergarten when they all met at the local elementary school.

They slipped into easy shorthand forged over years of ups and downs. Nobody needed to ask what made 2016 so excruciating for Ms. Samartzis — Mr. Trump’s election paled in comparison to her husband’s death. Each of them knew that one of Ms. Hoberg’s prized possessions was a signed photo of Senator John McCain, the Arizona Republican, prominently displayed in her living room.

Yet, they had never sat around and talked about abortion. None of them had ever considered getting one, they said, and they did not know friends who had. They all expressed ambivalence about just how accessible abortion should be.

Even in the spring of 2022, when the Supreme Court ruled to overturn Roe v. Wade, they were not exactly alarmed. But their understanding and frustration crept up in months later.

Ms. Aguirre remembers being shocked when another friend told her last year that she would need to travel to Nevada for a dilation and curettage, a procedure used both for abortions and after some miscarriages, after her doctor advised her that her pregnancy was not viable.

“Thankfully she had the resources, so she could do it, but there aren’t very many people who can just fly to get that done,” she said, remembering that as the moment she started to realize how much she cared about the issue. “That’s awful. You really have to have empathy.”

The women all agreed that they had taken legal abortions and access to birth control for granted, never really factoring that issue into their political choices. As a leader in the local Republican Party, Ms. Hoberg said she was more focused on taxes and education, unaware of just how much other activists were pushing to overturn federal abortion rights.

In fact, her views and education, she realizes now, were not shaped so much by religion or her parents, but by Gen X ethos and pop culture. She noted that her first understanding about abortions came from “Dirty Dancing,” the 1980s blockbuster that included a dramatic scene about an illegal abortion.

“Then, to me, my forever view has just been: Do I like the idea of abortion? No,” she said. “But do I want women going and getting unsafe abortions and dying? No, I really don’t love that.”

All three women had concerns about [*an Arizona ballot measure that would enshrine abortion rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/05/magazine/gender-election-trump-harris.html) in the state constitution and override a state court decision to reinstate an [*1864 law that banned nearly all abortions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/05/magazine/gender-election-trump-harris.html). What if it was too easy to get the procedure? They puzzled over exactly what constituted a viable pregnancy or a threat to a woman’s life. They quickly returned to their consensus: Even if some hypothetical abortions made them uneasy, the decision should be left to a woman and her doctor.

“If I have to decide between a full 1800s ban and, you know, what some people may consider to be a little too far — you all don’t give me much choice,” Ms. Hoberg said.

Scoffing at Trump as Protector

On another major issue, the women, particularly Ms. Aguirre, felt pulled in the other direction.

“I don’t think that abortion is necessarily on the top for me — I’m conflicted because I think that we need tighter border control, I really do,” she said. “It’s not even just the Mexican immigrants coming in or trying to come in illegally. They’re coming from all other countries now. And, you know, we don’t have the resources to have them come in and take care of them.”

Ms. Samartzis nodded. “It is an issue here in Arizona,” she said. “The money has to be funded to put more border security and all that kind of thing.”

They each said they wished Ms. Harris would talk about their concerns more explicitly.

Ms. Aguirre, who raised her daughter largely on her own and now cares for her aging parents, said she worried about drugs, especially fentanyl, coming in over the border. Though she did not know anyone personally struggling with addiction, she said it felt like a constant looming threat in the area. And she is convinced that waves of illegal immigration are to blame for thefts at the University of Arizona in Tucson, where her daughter is a sophomore.

“I mean, honestly, I think that that’s something with the Biden administration,” Ms. Hoberg said. “And quite frankly, my early views of Kamala were very shaped by that because from what I understood it, she was kind of tasked to that.”

At that, Ms. Aguirre again nodded vigorously.

They were all vaguely aware of federal legislation on the border that Mr. Trump helped block. But they were not all that interested in the back and forth. And they did not have specific policy solutions in mind.

They also had not heard about Mr. Trump’s explicit pitch to women like them on this matter: He could “be their protector,” he said at a recent rally. As they watched a video clip of the speech, they shook their heads in disbelief.

“I wouldn’t want to be in a room alone with him,” Ms. Samartzis said.

At that, Ms. Hoberg’s husband, Troy, wandered into the kitchen to pour himself a glass of wine as he watched a Dallas Cowboys game. Like a [*majority of men*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/05/magazine/gender-election-trump-harris.html), Mr. Hoberg plans to vote for Mr. Trump.

“Babe, I’m just going to vote for Trump and then I won’t even need you,” Ms. Hoberg called out sarcastically. “Because he’s going to be my protector. You don’t need to be my protector anymore.”

Mr. Hoberg laughed. He had married a committed Republican more than 20 years earlier. Now, they just agreed to disagree, often by teasing each other.

“That’s really rich,” Ms. Hoberg said as Mr. Trump’s comments ended, rolling her eyes and taking another sip.

Rating Harris

While Ms. Hoberg voted for President Biden in 2020, she did so without any enthusiasm — almost on the flip of a coin. It was not until the Jan. 6 riot at the Capitol that she became a “full blown Never Trumper,” she said.

All three women remembered sitting on their couches watching in disbelief as scenes of chaos unfolded on television.

In 2022, Ms. Hoberg [*publicly criticized her party’s candidates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/05/magazine/gender-election-trump-harris.html) for Senate and governor. The local Republican Party officially censured her for it last month. By then, she had made a cameo in a local advertisement for Ruben Gallego, the Democrat who is now leading Kari Lake.

Still, she says, she does not identify as a Democrat.

“My views haven’t changed, but what it means to be a Republican locally has changed,” she said.

Over the years, Ms. Hoberg has played a game with her friends, asking them to rate their opinion on any given topic — Covid mandates or travel plans — on a scale of one to 10, a playful way of quantifying their views.

The political version of the exercise began with, “How enthusiastic are you about voting for Ms. Harris?”

Seven, Ms. Aguirre said.

Seven, Ms. Samartzis agreed.

Three or four, Ms. Hoberg said.

“Nothing had ever impressed me about her, ever, until the debate,” she said. “Quite frankly, it is more a vote against Trump than it is for anyone else.”

PHOTO: Jill Aguirre, Debbie Samartzis and Lisa Hoberg aren’t aligned with Democrats on all issues. But they say cannot vote for Mr. Trump. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Anna Watts for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2024

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[***What Makes the Far Right Tick?; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXS-KX61-DXY4-X2V6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 10, 2024 Tuesday 11:57 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1226 words

**Byline:** Doug Bock Clark

**Highlight:** In “Stolen Pride,” Arlie Russell Hochschild explores the emotional lives of Americans who vote for Donald Trump.

**Body**

STOLEN PRIDE: Loss, Shame, and the Rise of the Right, by Arlie Russell Hochschild

On an unseasonably hot day in April 2017, a caravan of vehicles full of white supremacists rolled into Pikeville, Ky. The neo-Nazis, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and other self-described racists were emboldened by the election of Donald Trump and dressed to the hilt with jackboots, shields, sunglasses and firearms. They had come to recruit from America’s whitest congressional district, which is also one of its poorest and most conservative.

In “Stolen Pride,” the Berkeley professor emerita Arlie Russell Hochschild uses reactions to the white supremacist march as a window into the political and sociological shifts that have transformed the country. As she writes, “It occurred to me that a close look at this vulnerable patch of red America — Kentucky’s Fifth Congressional District — might offer clues to red America as a whole, and indeed to the winds of white nationalism blowing around the world.”

“Stolen Pride” is a sequel to Hochschild’s lauded “[*Strangers in Their Own Land*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/books/review/strangers-in-their-own-land-arlie-russell-hochschild.html),” which focused on ***working-class*** Louisiana supporters of the Tea Party during the Obama administration. That earlier book arrived in the months before Trump’s 2016 presidential win and was held up as key to understanding the constituency that had sent him to the White House. In her new book, Hochschild delves into Appalachia, the American region featured by Trump’s vice-presidential pick JD Vance in his memoir, “[*Hillbilly Elegy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/books/review/strangers-in-their-own-land-arlie-russell-hochschild.html).”

This means that “Stolen Pride” will almost certainly be used by commentators to decode the sentiments of conservatives this election too. (Indeed, Hochschild herself launched this process with [*a recent essay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/books/review/strangers-in-their-own-land-arlie-russell-hochschild.html) in The Wall Street Journal.) What differentiates “Stolen Pride” from the glut of other commentary on Trump voters is Hochschild’s sustained attention to the economic and cultural factors influencing their emotions — especially their pride and shame. As Hochschild sees it, the residents of Pikeville are trapped in a “pride paradox.”

“On one hand, rural KY-5 Republicans felt fierce pride in hard work and personal responsibility,” she writes. “On the other hand, their beleaguered economy” — hollowed out by the decline of the coal industry, globalization and other economic shifts that favor urban Democratic America — “greatly lowered their chance of success and vulnerability to shame.” Trump, Hochschild theorizes, offered these voters a way out by telling them to be proud of themselves and blame others — liberals, immigrants, the federal government — for their failures.

In “Stolen Pride,” Hochschild updates the core of her previous book, what she calls her subjects’ “deep story” — the emotional narrative that they use to explain their lives. In this story, Hochschild explains, white, blue-collar conservatives feel that they had been waiting in line for the American dream only to have Democratic constituencies — educated women and minorities, for example — cut ahead of them. In “Stolen Pride,” Hochschild elaborates that those voters saw Barack Obama as a bully helping the line-cutters advance. Trump then emerged as the “good bully” who was strong enough to fight back.

Hochschild argues that Trump swindled the people of Pikeville by tapping into their frustrations as Democratic urban areas became more prosperous. Their losses created “a sense of plausibility” that things — Hochschild lists Appalachian land, good jobs, community and, finally, their pride — had been taken from them. The president’s rhetoric, she writes, tilted their “emotional needle from ‘loss’ to ‘stolen,’” and wove their indignation “into a master narrative.”

At its best, “Stolen Pride” has an authority earned through seven years of research. Hochschild knows the class difference between living on a ridgeline and at the bottom of a holler. She cites the lyrics of the subgenre hillbilly rap, academic studies, extensive political polling data and local historical plaques. In profiling subjects from Pikeville’s many social strata — from a white nationalist to a recovering opioid addict to the local imam — Hochschild achieves a kaleidoscopic effect, in which the viewpoints of residents do merge, as she intended, to effectively represent the whole.

Her compassion is tangible. The most effective of her myriad tools is simply listening to those whose life stories don’t often get heard in the national conversation. Letting them work through their complicated circumstances and feelings in interviews that run for pages results in the opposite of sound bites and allows the people of Pikeville to come alive rather than flattening into political tropes.

Ironically, I have to reduce such long passages to a single quote to fit this review, but it’s worth highlighting the shading and nuance her interviews convey even briefly. “If you’re white and poor, people think, ‘What’s wrong with you that you’re stuck at the bottom?’” one financially struggling white man told Hochschild as he grappled with the “pride paradox.” “If I just look at my own life, I came from nothing and I got to nothing and I’m not a victim of racism because I’m white. So, to most Americans, I’m less than nothing. If it’s such a privilege to be born a white male, what could explain me except my own personal failure?”

Hochschild gets a lot right. Still, as an investigative journalist who covers the MAGA movement, her portrayal of Trump’s America sometimes felt incomplete to me. She mentions how a pastor was radicalized by the QAnon conspiracy theory on the Telegram app, but such online worlds, which can become realer for their believers than the physical world, aren’t captured here with the same concrete specificity as what’s happening on the dusty back roads of small-town Kentucky. And her portrayals of the wounded masculine pride and white nationalism that she suggests drive some Trump voters can feel chilly, distanced by sociological and psychological analysis; in person, such emotions are palpably volcanic.

I finished “Stolen Pride” nagged by the sense that she wasn’t giving us the full picture — most of all, of her own place in it as a retired professor from the University of California, Berkeley embedding in Pikeville to explain its residents to themselves and the nation. It’s a position that I suspect triggered at least some stereotypes that conservatives have about liberals thinking they know better. And yet her ethnography is frictionless. There is none of the grinding of opposing viewpoints so common during this contentious political time. There is little sense of what they thought of her and her project.

Instead, Hochschild has produced a seamless election-season-ready explanation of conservatism that might be just a little too neat. What, I kept wondering, would her subjects say was her “deep story”? And would including that viewpoint in her book have destabilized its carefully engineered explanations? If America is increasingly divided into two countries, one liberal and one conservative, what would it have meant to compare their two deep stories in one narrative rather than have one side tell the other how it is?

STOLEN PRIDE: Loss, Shame, and the Rise of the Right | By Arlie Russell Hochschild | The New Press | 383 pp. | $30.99

PHOTO: White supremacists in Pikeville, Ky., in 2017. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Daniel Shular FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

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[***Are Elon Musk and Vladimir Putin Talking?; DealBook Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-XC41-DXY4-X156-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday 02:58 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; dealbook

**Length:** 1999 words

**Byline:** Andrew Ross Sorkin, Ravi Mattu, Bernhard Warner, Sarah Kessler, Michael J. de la Merced and Lauren HirschAndrew Ross Sorkin is a columnist and the founder of , the flagship business and policy newsletter at The Times and an annual conference.

**Highlight:** The billionaire has reportedly been in regular contact with the Russian president, heaping more scrutiny on the power and influence the entrepreneur wields over the U.S. government.

**Body**

The billionaire has reportedly been in regular contact with the Russian president, heaping more scrutiny on the power and influence the entrepreneur wields over the U.S. government.

A Musk-Putin bombshell

Elon Musk has ramped up his campaign to get Donald Trump elected in recent weeks, rallying hard in the battleground state of Pennsylvania, and controversially offering $1 million to registered voters who back one of his pet conservative political initiatives.

Now, a [*new report on his apparent ties to President Vladimir Putin*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) of Russia has renewed questions about his relationships with the U.S. government and with Trump, and what role — if any — Musk should play in politics.

The Tesla C.E.O. has been in regular contact with Putin since late 2022, according to The Wall Street Journal. Their conversations have been wide-ranging, touching on personal issues, business and geopolitics. On one occasion, the Russian president asked Musk not to activate his Starlink satellite service over Taiwan to help China’s leader, Xi Jinping, The Journal reports.

That’s turned the spotlight back on Musk’s lucrative links with the U.S. government. Last year, his companies [*counted almost 100 contracts*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) with 17 federal agencies, promising to pay out $3 billion, The Times has reported. SpaceX, his rocket company, essentially controls NASA’s rocket launch schedule — that was in full view again with [*another successful mission*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) this on Friday — and the Defense Department uses it to get most of its satellites into space. Starlink services are used by U.S. embassies and government departments, like the U.S. Forest Service.

Trump has said Musk could play a role in his administration. Just this week, Musk said he would push to [*change regulations on self-driving cars*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) — a big imperative for Tesla — if he is put in charge of a government efficiency agency.

The Journal reports that Musk’s contact with Putin, and those close to him is “a closely held secret in government.” (Trump’s own [*ties to Putin*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) are under scrutiny after Bob Woodward reported that the former president had spoken to the Russian leader on multiple occasions since leaving office, citing an unnamed source.)

DealBook has questions:

* How much does the government know about Musk’s dealings with Putin?

1. Have the calls been intercepted by U.S. intelligence, or others?
2. Have U.S. officials discussed the matter with Musk?
3. Did Musk share any information about national security? If so, would that open him to prosecution, or do his business ties with the government make any legal investigations especially difficult?

Musk hasn’t commented on the report, but he has said his companies “have done more to undermine Russia than anything.” He’s also rejected claims that he’s an apologist for Putin. When Ian Bremmer said Musk had been in contact with Putin in 2022, Musk [*denied it*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187).

Dmitri Peskov, a spokesman for the Kremlin, said Putin’s only communication with Musk was on a telephone call during which they discussed “space as well as current and future technologies.”

Trump’s campaign was more effusive about Musk. A spokeswoman told The Journal he is a “once-in-a-generation industry leader” and the government would benefit from his ideas.

HERE’S WHAT’S HAPPENING

Fast-food chains make big menu changes after an E. coli outbreak linked to McDonald’s. Brands including [*Taco Bell, Burger King, KFC and Pizza Hut stopped using raw onions*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) at some locations. The decision comes after an outbreak that has killed one person and made 49 ill and that may be linked to onions used at McDonald’s locations. McDonald’s shares are down more than 4 percent this week.

China sets a date for a crucial meeting where investors hope more stimulus measures will be announced. The [*National People’s Congress*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187), a gathering of the country’s top lawmakers, will meet from Nov. 4 to 8, the state news agency reported. The congress has the authority to greenlight a big fiscal stimulus package that many experts say is needed to bolster economic growth.

The top consumer regulator warns companies about surveilling workers. The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau said on Thursday that employers could face legal problems from [*using “invasive” technologies to monitor staff*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187). The warning comes as employers increasingly use artificial intelligence and other tools during hiring processes, and to identify and track inappropriate staff behavior.

Election economics

The U.S. presidential race is in the final stretch, and global markets are already bracing for the fallout. Worries about rising debt, a new trade war, growing geopolitical risks and the booming dollar are all front of mind.

The election took on an [*added importance for business leaders*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) this week at the annual I.M.F. and World Bank summit in Washington. One of the biggest worries: another Trump presidency would upend global commerce and lead to growth-sapping tariffs.

Look no further than the dollar. The greenback has soared recently as polls show the candidates are still in a [*dead heat*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) for the popular vote. Some [*surveys show*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) Donald Trump pulling ahead of Vice President Kamala Harris on managing the economy, and the Republican has edged ahead in [*online betting markets*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187).

It’s all added fuel to the so-called Trump trade. Investors are wagering that Trump’s vision of [*more and higher tariffs*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187), as well as [*big tax cuts*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) would result in higher inflation and a stronger dollar. Goldman Sachs [*sees the dollar soaring*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) against the euro if Trump wins, potentially eating into the profits of U.S. exporters.

Alarm bells are ringing in the bond market, too. A sell-off in 10-year U.S. Treasury notes had sent the yield to a three-month high. Investors have grown antsy about a number of factors, including worries that the Fed will pull back on its pace of rate cuts, and that the next president will heap on more debt.

The deficit has barely been discussed on the campaign trail by either candidate, but market specialists are watching closely. Both candidates’ plans are expected to add trillions to the national debt: Trump’s policies could add [*$7.5 trillion in debt issuance over a decade*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187), more than double the estimate for Harris’s proposals, according to a nonpartisan analysis.

“Whoever is president has to deal with the $36 trillion in debt that’s headed to 40 trillion,” David Bahnsen, the founder and chief investment officer of the Bahnsen Group, a wealth management firm, told DealBook. “I think that has downward pressure on growth expectations,” he added, a consideration that will influence broader investment decisions and the markets.

Slumping Treasuries could be bad news for an already weak housing market. Mortgage rates tend to track the yield on 10-year Treasury bonds. When yields spike, that can push up home financing costs. On Thursday, the rate on a 30-year fixed mortgage rate [*hit 6.54 percent*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187), even as the Fed has begun to lower its benchmark lending rate.

The days of below-3-percent 30-year-fixed mortgage rates are probably over, Bahnsen said.

The race to raise and spend

The presidential campaigns are raising and spending huge sums on advertising and reaching out to voters, with the candidates splashing out [*more than a half-billion dollars*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) in a recent 16-day stretch.

The latest Federal Election Commission filing is out. It shows that Vice President Kamala Harris continues to flex her money-raising clout, adding to her [*record haul*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) and [*out-raising Donald Trump*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) by $97 million to $16 million in the first half of October.

The campaigns are pouring huge sums into advertising. The Harris and Trump teams, and their allied super PACs, are saturating the airwaves and internet with ads, and are investing heavily in get-out-the-vote efforts. That could add up to [*a big surge in ad revenues*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) for the tech and media industries.

Tech billionaires were among the biggest spenders. Elon Musk [*put an additional roughly $44 million*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) into his pro-Trump super PAC in the first half of the month, bringing his total contributions this cycle to more than $118 million.

Dustin Moskovitz is among the notable Harris backers who increased his contribution this month. The Facebook co-founder gave $25 million, bringing his total this cycle to $38 million.

The Harris campaign is planning a big ad buy in key battleground states. The message will focus on the economy, as she tries to reach undecided voters and ***working-class*** families. The ad is expected to talk up her plans to lower taxes on some, and crack down on corporate price gouging, [*according to Bloomberg*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187).

* In other political news: [*Harris will not appear*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) on Joe Rogan’s podcast, her campaign says; [*Miriam Adelson*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) is asking other billionaires to join her in backing Trump; two more editorial board members at The Los Angeles Times [*have resigned*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) over the company’s decision not to endorse a candidate; [*Barack Obama*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) shares the rally stage with Harris for the first time.

“Antitrust has come into fashion”

Lina Khan’s F.T.C. just scored another big win. A federal judge [*blocked Tapestry’s $8.5 billion acquisition of Capri Holdings*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187), putting the brakes on a luxury deal that would have combined the owners of Coach, Kate Spade and a bevy of high-end brands.

A recap: In August 2023, [*Tapestry said it had agreed to acquire Capri*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187), the parent group of Michael Kors. The deal was seen as a way to better compete with European luxury behemoths like LVMH and Kering, which owns Gucci and Saint Laurent.

But the F.T.C. sued, saying the combination would limit competition and create a dominant American player in “accessible luxury,” a more affordable class of products.

Tapestry and Capri pushed back against the idea that “accessible luxury” was a defined category. Instead, they argued that it was a “generalized concept.” But the judge, Jennifer Rochon, disagreed, saying on Thursday that the companies’ documents showed that they, too, had [*frequently used the term*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187).

Combining the companies, she added, would create a company that controlled more than half of the accessible-luxury market. “Antitrust has come into fashion,” she said.

Investors have been watching closely. Hedge funds and others were betting heavily on the trial, sending [*Capri’s shares higher*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) in recent weeks. But Capri’s stock plunged a whopping 45 percent in premarket trading after the ruling.

David Schwartz, a partner at the law firm BCLP, told DealBook that the ruling was persuasive, particularly the internal documents that showed that the companies used the “accessible luxury” term themselves. “I strongly suspect that it was those same compelling documents” that led the F.T.C. to challenge the deal, he said.

The decision also sent a shudder through other companies under F.T.C. scrutiny. The ruling means that the agency [*has won more cases that have been fully litigated under Khan than it has lost*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187), according to Jennifer Rie, an analyst at Bloomberg Intelligence. Investors seem to have noticed: Shares in Albertsons fell after Rochon’s decision, as the grocery chain fights against the agency’s lawsuit to block Kroger from buying it.

Tapestry said it would appeal the decision.

THE SPEED READ

Deals

* TKO Group is expanding into other sports like bull riding with [*a $3.25 billion deal*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) to acquire a trio of businesses from its parent company, Endeavor Group. (CNBC)

1. In the biggest Silicon Valley fund-raising haul in two years, General Catalyst has [*raised $8 billion*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) to broaden into private equity deals and expand overseas. (FT)

Elections, politics and policy

* “The White House [*Bet Big on Intel. Will It Backfire?*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187)” (NYT)

1. BlackRock has emerged as a leading opponent to an F.D.I.C. [*proposal to limit fund managers’ influence on banks*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187), arguing that it would disrupt capital flows. (FT)

Best of the rest

* Prosecutors in Los Angeles have recommended that [*Erik and Lyle Menendez be resentenced*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187) for the 1989 killing of their parents. (NYT)

1. “Vicious Partner Feud [*Roils EF Hutton*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187)” (WSJ)

We’d like your feedback! Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/musk-putin-secret-conversations-37e1c187).

PHOTO: Is Elon Musk in regular contact with Vladimir Putin? (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2024

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[***As a Harris Ally, Walz Is Folksy, Factually Sloppy and Far Less Visible***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3W-PMH1-DXY4-X0DB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas and Katie Glueck

**Body**

The Minnesota governor has brought his charm to the campaign trail, but his debate was uneven and he has so far been scarcely seen on national television. His team says that may be changing.

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota traded the harsh lights of the debate stage for the more comfortable environment of a campaign bus tour on Wednesday through central Pennsylvania.

After his occasionally nervy encounter with Senator JD Vance of Ohio at the vice-presidential debate on Tuesday night in New York, it is not hard to guess which setting Mr. Walz prefers.

The clash with Mr. Vance, after a day of buildup over an inaccurate anecdote he has told often about being in Hong Kong when Chinese troops crushed pro-democracy dissidents in Tiananmen Square 35 years ago, highlighted a tendency to exaggerate his biography and speak imprecisely or inaccurately.

And on the biggest stage of his career, he was plainly an uneven surrogate. The version of the punchy Midwesterner who rocketed onto Ms. Harris's ticket in part by branding former President Donald J. Trump and Mr. Vance as ''weird'' on national television was rarely seen when confronted by two probing moderators and a slick opponent untroubled by frequent twisting of the truth.

In fact, since Mr. Walz joined the ticket, the Harris campaign has almost entirely kept him off national television, negating what was seen as one of his greatest strengths.

That may be about to change, at least to some extent: In the coming days, Mr. Walz is expected to take part in two national interviews, including one with CBS News's ''60 Minutes,'' the nation's most popular television news program; make his late-night television debut as the vice-presidential nominee during a West Coast fund-raising trip; and appear on a prominent pop culture podcast, according to the campaign.

And on Wednesday, Mr. Walz did speak to reporters, seeking to clean up his comments about where he was during the Tiananmen crackdown.

''Yeah, look, I have my dates wrong,'' he said in Harrisburg, Pa. ''It was profound for me -- that was the summer of democracy.''

''I speak like everybody else speaks. I need to be clearer,'' he acknowledged, before seeking to pivot. ''I do understand China a hell of a lot better than Donald Trump. Kamala Harris understands China.''

Off the debate stage, Mr. Walz has been a far more effective surrogate, at least in front of the audiences that see him. With his down-home dialect, fluency in rural issues and ability to package liberal-leaning views in the language of common sense and patriotism, Democrats see him as a walking permission structure for white ***working-class*** men in particular, who often view the Democratic Party as a bastion of coastal elitism.

Heading into the debate, polling showed that voters viewed Mr. Walz more favorably than they did Mr. Vance, whose past comments deriding ''childless cat ladies'' rankled even some fellow Republicans, especially women.

Mr. Walz has also given several interviews to local television stations in battleground states, an attempt to directly reach the voters who the Harris campaign believes will decide the election.

Democrats have sought to downplay Mr. Walz's verbal stumbles, suggesting that voters were unlikely to care about the exact timing of a decades-old anecdote. They have also argued that his missteps are in a different universe from the conspiracy theories promoted by Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance, such as the false and outlandish claim that Haitian migrants are abducting and eating house pets.

In a spin-room interview before the debate, former Senator Claire McCaskill, a Missouri Democrat, noted Mr. Vance's comment that he was willing to ''create stories so that the American media actually pays attention.''

''He is running against two people, one of whom has bragged about creating stories to get attention, and the other one who lies like other people brush their teeth -- I am not worried about Tim Walz's misstatements,'' Ms. McCaskill said. ''Has he said everything perfectly? No.''

''He's not perfect,'' she added. ''He's relatable.''

Still, Mr. Walz has a history of misspeaking, misstating facts and otherwise getting over his skis.

And that was evident onstage on Tuesday.

In perhaps his most uncomfortable moment, he stumbled badly when asked why he had repeatedly misstated his whereabouts during Tiananmen. ''I will get caught up in the rhetoric,'' he offered, calling himself a ''knucklehead at times'' in an explanation that answered not a single question.

When pressed on the discrepancy, Mr. Walz said he misspoke (though he seemed to muddle the timeline again immediately afterward).

The gaffe -- and Mr. Walz's failure to craft a reasonable explanation -- raised questions about the Harris campaign's vetting process and its readiness to deal with such inconsistencies in Mr. Walz's life story, including his false suggestion that he had carried a weapon ''in war'' when he served in the National Guard.

Two people briefed on the Harris campaign's vetting process, who insisted on anonymity to discuss the operation's internal workings, said that to their knowledge, the Tiananmen issue had not surfaced during a review of vice-presidential contenders that had to be rushed after President Biden dropped out of the race. The news of Mr. Walz's misstatements was earlier reported by Minnesota Public Radio and The Washington Free Beacon.

The Harris campaign declined to comment. It previously managed to defuse the controversy over Mr. Walz's military service to the point that Mr. Vance, who had frequently attacked the governor on the campaign trail, did not even mention it at the debate, a possible sign that the Tiananmen issue could also soon blow over.

After the debate, Jen O'Malley Dillon, the Harris campaign chair, expressed confidence in Mr. Walz's performance.

''Governor Walz showed exactly why Vice President Harris picked him: He is a leader who cares about the issues that matter most to the American people,'' she wrote in a statement.

The Trump campaign was quick to try to stir the pot.

''Kamala Harris probably wishes that she picked Josh Shapiro,'' said Jason Miller, a top campaign adviser to Mr. Trump, referring to the Democratic governor of Pennsylvania, an accomplished orator who was seen as the other leading candidate for Ms. Harris's ticket.

Part of the difference on the debate stage may also have come down to preparation. Mr. Walz -- a veteran politician who has participated in many debates -- has effectively been kept in Bubble Wrap from the national news media since joining the ticket.

He has generally stayed far away from the inquiring reporters who travel with him on the campaign trail and generally ignores their daily shouted questions. It is a marked contrast with his approach before joining the presidential ticket: As chairman of the Democratic Governors Association, he was highly accessible, and a ubiquitous surrogate for Mr. Biden. His frequent television appearances this summer helped turned him from a little-known state official to a national name in liberal circles.

Mr. Vance, for his part, regularly engages in back and forths with reporters in front of crowds at his campaign rallies, and often appears on cable news shows. It was easy to tell which candidate seemed more practiced at answering tough questions off the cuff under high pressure.

Of course, Mr. Vance's frequent television appearances -- during which he has made missteps that have taken him out of line with some of Mr. Trump's policy positions -- seem to have done little to improve his ratings with voters. And Mr. Walz performed creditably in interviews he gave to ABC and MSNBC after Ms. Harris's debate last month.

Win or lose, vice-presidential debates have almost never moved the polls. Snap surveys conducted on Tuesday night suggested that voters did not believe that either candidate had scored a decisive victory -- unlike this year's presidential contests, in which Mr. Trump was widely seen as beating Mr. Biden and losing to Ms. Harris.

On Wednesday in Pennsylvania, Mr. Walz campaigned with someone who has proved how little debates can matter: Senator John Fetterman of Pennsylvania. In 2022, Mr. Fetterman was widely seen as bombing his debate performance months after suffering a stroke. But he still strolled to an easy victory over Dr. Mehmet Oz, his Republican opponent, less than two weeks after Dr. Oz ran circles around him onstage.

Democrats took the Fetterman example as evidence that Beltway perceptions of strong or weak debate performances are not always shared by voters.

At the debate, Mr. Walz seemed to grow more comfortable as the night went on. He often came across as earnest, and many voters found him likable.

He also scored some points, as when he cornered Mr. Vance into refusing to answer a question about whether Mr. Trump lost the 2020 election. ''That is a damning non-answer,'' Mr. Walz replied.

The Harris campaign quickly turned the moment into a digital ad.

Reporting was contributed by Kellen Browning, Jazmine Ulloa, Katie Rogers, Reid J. Epstein and Michael C. Bender.Reporting was contributed by Kellen Browning, Jazmine Ulloa, Katie Rogers, Reid J. Epstein and Michael C. Bender.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/walz-debate-campaign.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/walz-debate-campaign.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota stopping for pizza in Manhattan after the vice-presidential debate on Tuesday night. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2024

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[***Why Democrats Have Trouble Winning Over Working-Class Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6410-JDD1-JBG3-6479-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By David Leonhardt

**Body**

By David Leonhardt

Good morning. Democratic struggles with ***working-class*** voters seem to be getting worse.

Culture over money

They are among the most affluent places in America: Arlington, Fairfax and Loudoun Counties, in Northern Virginia; Upper Montclair, N.J.; Scarsdale, N.Y.; Wilmette, Ill.; Palo Alto and Malibu, Calif; and Mercer Island, Wash.

In each, six-figure incomes are the norm, and seven-figure incomes are not rare, which means that many residents would pay higher taxes if Democratic proposals were to become law.

And yet these places vote overwhelmingly for Democrats. Even this week, which did not go well for Democrats, many affluent suburbs were colored blue on election maps. In Arlington, Va., Terry McAuliffe, the Democratic candidate for governor, won about 77 percent of the vote. Last year, President Biden won a similarly large share in Scarsdale and some other high-income towns -- and about 90 percent in several California and New England suburbs. (Look up your town.)

Democrats often lament that so many ***working-class*** Americans vote against their own economic interests, by supporting Republicans who try to cut health care programs, school funding and more. A 2004 book summarized the liberal frustration with the title, ''What's the Matter With Kansas?''

But ***working-class*** conservatives are hardly the only voters who prioritize issues other than their financial situation. The residents of the affluent towns I mentioned above -- and I could have listed dozens more -- also do. Which raises a different question: What's the matter with Scarsdale?

The answer, of course, is nothing. Pocketbook issues aren't the only reasonable ones to decide a person's vote. Other subjects, like climate change, civil rights, religious rights, abortion, immigration, crime, education and Covid-19, are important, too.

As Democrats try to make sense of this week's disappointments and look anxiously ahead to next year's midterms, one problem looms others: the party's struggles with ***working-class*** voters. Defined as people without a four-year college degree, these voters make up a majority of the electorate. And they tend to be more religious, more outwardly patriotic and more culturally conservative than college graduates.

A Virginia trouncing

For much of the 20th century, Democrats were the party of the ***working class***, while Republicans were the party of suburban professionals. In recent decades, however, politics has changed.

People vote based less on their income and more on their cultural attitudes, as my colleague Nate Cohn has explained. Sometimes, these attitudes are related to specific matters of policy, like immigration or abortion. Other times, they involve more personal subjects, like religion or patriotism.

''As they've grown in numbers, college graduates have instilled increasingly liberal cultural norms while gaining the power to nudge the Democratic Party to the left,'' Nate wrote. ''Partly as a result, large portions of the party's traditional ***working-class*** base have defected to the Republicans.''

The defections have increased over the past decade. Barack Obama won voters without a bachelor's degree in both of his presidential victories. Biden lost them narrowly last year. In Virginia this week, McAuliffe was trounced -- by between 10 and 20 percentage points, depending on the exit poll -- among voters without a bachelor's degree. He particularly lost ground with white ***working-class*** women, according to CNN.

Race plays an important role here. Republicans -- including Donald Trump, but not limited to him -- have won more ***working-class*** votes partly by appealing to white identity. In Virginia, Glenn Youngkin, the Republican governor-elect, used a version of this strategy. He went so far as to release an ad in which a white mother complained about her son's high school class reading a classic novel by Toni Morrison.

But many Democrats have made the mistake of believing that the ***working-class*** shift is all about racism. It's not. Consider that the contemporary Democrat who fared best with the white ***working class*** was Obama. Or that some divisive cultural debates, like those involving religion, don't map neatly onto race.

The clearest sign that the shift involves both racial and other causes comes from recent election results: Democrats are no longer doing as well as they once did in Asian, Black and Latino communities. Trump fared better with voters of color in 2020 than in 2016. In Virginia, some of McAuliffe's most disappointing totals came in heavily Hispanic precincts, according to Nate's analysis.

This year's mayoral election in New York offered a similar lesson. Eric Adams beat more liberal Democratic candidates with an anti-crime message that appealed to a multiracial coalition of ***working-class*** voters across the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island. The only borough Adams lost in the primary was affluent, highly educated Manhattan.

Values, not white papers

I don't mean to suggest that there are easy answers for the Democratic Party. The rightward drift of workers has been an international phenomenon. Yet unless Democrats try to address their ***working-class*** slide -- which has room to become worse -- they may struggle to hold power in coming years, especially in the Senate.

What are their options? Democrats can't win over the ***working class*** by talking about only economic issues, any more than Republicans can win Scarsdale simply by saying ''Tax cuts now!'' Policy proposals, of any kind, may not even be the full answer: Some political scientists believe that Democrats talk too much about policy and not enough about values. Regardless, Democrats likely do need to write off some voters because of their racial attitudes.

Still, that would leave tens of millions of ***working-class*** Americans who are open to voting for Democrats without being loyal to the party. These voters span racial groups. They tend to be worried about crime and political correctness, however they define it. They have mixed feelings about immigration and abortion laws. They favor many progressive positions on economic policy. They are skeptical of experts. Most believe in God and in a strong America.

If Democrats are going to win more of these voters, they will probably need to listen to them and make some changes, rather than telling them that they're irrational for voting Republican. Over the past generation, Democrats have won over more college graduates by listening to them -- and then creating a party that reflects their views on almost every issue. Politics is hard, but it is not always mysterious.

More on the elections:

â–  Gov. Phil Murphy of New Jersey won a surprisingly close race.

â–  Republicans, rallying around what they're calling ''parental rights,'' are pouncing on schools as a wedge issue to unite the party.

â–  Democrats, disappointed by election losses, are pushing forward on Biden's social policy and climate bill. Speaker Nancy Pelosi said she hoped for a Friday vote and added four weeks of paid leave to the bill.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

â–  ''We're doing this to protect you, bud.'' The U.S. campaign to vaccinate young children has begun.

â–  The W.H.O. granted emergency authorization to Covaxin, a Covid vaccine developed in India.

â–  Tyson Foods mandated vaccinations. Here's how more than 96 percent of its work force got shots.

Politics

â–  During a Supreme Court argument, questions from justices suggested that a New York gun control law was unlikely to survive.

â–  Biden rejected a proposal for monetary compensation for migrants separated from their families at the border.

â–  Inflation worries led the Federal Reserve to slow a bond-buying program that helped buoy the economy during the pandemic.

Other Big Stories

â–  The Taliban said their takeover would end war in Afghanistan, but attacks by ISIS have thrown that into doubt.

â–  New York will offer financial aid to indebted taxi drivers after a hunger strike.

â–  Damon Galgut won the Booker Prize for ''The Promise,'' a satirical novel about a white family in post-apartheid South Africa.

Opinions

Gail Collins on Election Day's silver linings for Democrats.

Elon Musk has misread science fiction. It's driving his approach to the future, argues Jill Lepore.

MORNING READS

Dance: A new kind of Native American dance troupe. Watch the moves.

Trash talk: Scottie Pippen's new memoir takes aim at Michael Jordan.

Zzz: People had strange dreams during the pandemic. What did they teach us?

Advice from Wirecutter: Clean your sofa.

Lives Lived: Sunao Tsuboi survived the bombing of Hiroshima and used his experience to warn the world about the dangers of nuclear weapons. He died at 96.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Like it's the 1930s

This movie season, black-and-white films are everywhere. Kyle Buchanan spoke with the cinematographers behind three major monochromatic features to examine the trend.

A new spin on Shakespeare, ''The Tragedy of Macbeth,'' is not only leached of color, but also shot in a claustrophobic aspect ratio rarely used since the 1950s. ''It's meant to bring theatricality, and to lose temporality,'' the cinematographer Bruno Delbonnel said.

The technique can also have a narrative purpose, as it does in ''Passing,'' which follows two light-skinned Black women, one who has been passing for white. In a scene where the friends are reunited, the movie's cinematographer, Eduard Grau, flooded the shots with light. ''We didn't want to clearly show to the audience at first whether our characters were white or Black or mixed race,'' Grau said. ''Everything is so bright that it's difficult to tell.''

One of the strengths of black and white ''is not to tell you how a person or place looks, but how they feel,'' said Haris Zambarloukos, the cinematographer for ''Belfast,'' a film about a boy in Northern Ireland during the 1960s. ''It has a transcendental quality to be of the past and the present. It's realistic, but it has a certain magical sense to it as well.'' -- Sanam Yar, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

This savory couscous cake is versatile -- use whatever herbs, cheeses or spices you have.

What to Watch

''Dr. Brain,'' a Korean sci-fi mystery series on Apple TV+, is ''classy and absorbing entertainment,'' Mike Hale writes in a review.

Green Thumb

Appreciate the beauty of lichen.

Late Night

The hosts recapped the election.

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday's Spelling Bee was toughen. Here is today's puzzle -- or you can play online.

Here's today's Mini Crossword, and a clue: Way too energetic (five letters).

If you're in the mood to play more, find all our games here.

\_\_\_\_\_\_

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. -- David

P.S. The Times surpassed more than one million overseas subscribers. Our international correspondents explain how they get the big stories.

Here's today's print front page.

''The Daily'' is about the elections. ''Sway'' features the tech reporter Casey Newton.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti, Ashley Wu and Sanam Yar contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com)

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**Byline:** By Oliver Whang

**Body**

Louisa, Ky., is a small town of about 2,600 on the border of West Virginia with a single pair of railroad tracks running through it. If you follow these tracks south, against the flow of the Big Sandy River, you'll go between the public library and the Main Street Park and over Lick Creek, one of the manifold creeks that web eastern Kentucky like capillaries. Follow Lick Creek past a baseball diamond and a pawnshop and you'll arrive behind an ordinary gray mobile home in a small lot of grass where Ingrid Jackson was living in the fall of 2023. The days were still long and the afternoon sun settled gently on nearby mountains, turning leaves a lambent red. Reedy gospel music played from inside the trailer, announcing Jackson's presence as she opened the door. Her hair, normally figured in light brown curls, was packed into a shower cap. She smiled from the entryway. It was a smile difficult not to smile back at.

Jackson had never lived in a trailer before, or a small town. She was born in Louisville, the daughter of a man with schizophrenia who, in 1983, decapitated a 76-year-old woman. Jackson was 1 at the time. In 2010, at 27, she was in a car accident and was prescribed pain pills. Not long after that, she began using heroin. Over the next decade she went through nine rounds of addiction rehab. Each ended in relapse. Her most recent one came in 2022 after her son was sentenced to life in prison for murder; he was 21. In Louisville on Christmas Day she called a residential rehab company named Addiction Recovery Care, which has its headquarters in Louisa. So now she was here, in Appalachian coal country, in a trailer along Lick Creek, in a town a tiny fraction the size of her home city, working as a nursing assistant in a nearby nursing home, sharing a trailer with Latasha Kidd, a local woman 12 years her junior with a mountain accent, a fade and blood-orange bangs. ''This is culture shock,'' Jackson said. ''I'm a city girl, and there's not a lot of us around, and I'm like: Mama!''

Jackson and Kidd were about as different as you could make them. Jackson was Black, Kidd white; Jackson outgoing, Kidd reserved; Jackson neat, Kidd messy; Jackson devout, Kidd agnostic; Jackson straight, Kidd queer. Still, they became fast friends in rehab and now, five months out, inhabited a somewhat fragile existence together, in the period of addiction recovery that many people in long-term recovery say is the most difficult: the space between leaving rehab and getting back on your feet. More than a million people in the United States are arrested every year on drug-related charges, and for them, finding a steady job, consistent housing and reliable transportation can be even more difficult than the tremors, hallucinations and nausea of detox. Studies have shown that relapse rates for people in recovery may be as high as 85 percent within the first year. Another woman with whom Kidd and Jackson went through recovery, who was supposed to live with them, relapsed and overdosed the day before moving in.

Jackson often worried that something similar might happen to Kidd, who had struggled with addiction so long that, until recently, she didn't know how to pay her bills. At 29, Kidd hadn't yet held a full-time job. ''So I have to push her sometimes,'' Jackson said. '' 'Cause when I want to go in my own direction, I don't want Tasha to be left upside-down.''

In eastern Kentucky, a region plagued by poverty and at the heart of the country's opioid epidemic, the burden of addressing this treatment gap has mainly been taken up by addiction-rehab companies. Many stand more like community centers or churches than medical clinics, offering not just chemical but also spiritual and logistical services with the aim of helping people in addiction find employment and re-enter society. And in the two five-year periods between 2008 and 2017, eight of the 10 counties in America with the steepest decline in overdose mortality rates were in eastern Kentucky. The state now has more residential treatment beds per person than any other state in the country, and provisional data show that, in the 12 months ending on June 30 this year, the number of overdose deaths dropped by 20 percent over the previous 12-month period. Eastern Kentucky is one of the places where you're most likely to die of a drug addiction but also the place where you're most likely to receive treatment for it.

Among the rehab companies around, none have taken this holistic recovery philosophy further than Addiction Recovery Care. ARC, whose motto is ''Crisis to Career,'' has treated tens of thousands of people in addiction since its founding in 2008. In the 2010s, as the power utility moved away from coal energy, the area lost hundreds of mining jobs, and ARC began buying up abandoned buildings and turning them into businesses staffed by clients in recovery. There is an event-planning brick-and-mortar, a cafe, a bakery, a small gallery, an old theater that the company renovated, a pharmacy, a welding company, an accredited Christian college, a private Christian school, a landscaping company and an auto-body shop. All are owned and run by ARC and its chief executive, Tim Robinson.

About half of the company's 1,000 current employees in the state are in recovery from some kind of substance-use disorder, and one-third have gone through one of the company's more than 30 residential-rehab programs themselves. ARC has formed relationships with several accredited colleges and trade schools and in 2023 received $130 million from Medicaid, making it the state's largest provider of treatments for substance-use disorders; that year, ARC bought a psychiatric hospital in Russell, Ky., and began planning to open centers in Ohio and Virginia.

The company's rapid growth may have helped draw the attention of the F.B.I., which in August made public an investigation into ARC for potential health-care fraud. In Louisa, there was skepticism about the company's place in town, which turned on rumors of exploitation and brainwashing and greed. ''It's like ARC has taken over everything,'' a resident told me once. ''People joke that it's a cult.'' Around town, the company's logo, a drawing of an ark, popped up on buildings and lawn signs and brick walls, often next to images of Noah Thompson, a young country singer from town who, in 2022, won ''American Idol.'' He had worked for ARC, in construction.

Jackson and Kidd, both of whom had criminal records, were among the first group of ARC graduates to complete their nursing-assistant training while in recovery, as part of a new collaboration between the company and a local nursing home. Their co-workers described them as the most beloved caretakers on staff, and neither had missed a day of work since starting there in July. David McKenzie Jr., the nursing home's sandy-haired owner and administrator, was one of their biggest proponents. ''They're ready to run through walls,'' he said. ''I see tremendous effort, tremendous willpower, determination, grit. They have transformed my view.''

McKenzie first approached Robinson in February 2021 amid a labor shortage caused by the pandemic. Like other supporters of ARC, he sees the potential of a combined humanitarian-commercial approach to addiction treatment: Not only can it be used to address a systemic health issue in the region, not only can it return meaning to people who have lost their way, but, in doing so, it can bring life back to the region. ''We were a coal community,'' McKenzie told me. ''And that's disappeared over the past few decades; it's by and large gone now. And now we have a new industry, and it's addiction recovery. And it's revitalized our town.''

Tim Robinson moved to Louisa in 2005. He grew up about 30 miles south of town and came back after completing his law degree to work as an assistant county prosecutor. His docket, he quickly found, was grim. Nearly every case had something to do with opioids -- use, trafficking, theft, abuse, assault -- and most defendants ended up in jail. Kevin Mullins, who was the district-court judge in nearby Letcher County for 15 years before his death in September, told me there were so few treatment centers in 2009 in eastern Kentucky that, if someone came into court wanting to go to rehab, they would have to wait several weeks for a bed a hundred miles away. ''Our knee-jerk reaction was, we're going to incarcerate ourselves out of this problem,'' Mullins said. ''That approach has continued to haunt us.'' In 2021, Kentucky was found to have the second-highest jail incarceration rate and the 10th-highest prison incarceration rate in the country.

Robinson himself was an alcoholic and was arrested twice for public intoxication. One day in the winter of 2006, he came to work hung over and, on running into a local pastor, prayed with him. ''When I stood from my praying, I felt like the burdens of my life literally fell off my back,'' he said. ''That started the process of me forgiving myself.'' He got sober. A few months later, in the summer of 2007, he quit his job and began trying to open an addiction-treatment center for women in Louisa -- what would later become Addiction Recovery Care.

It was difficult to get the business off the ground. ''I had people come up to me in restaurants, wherever, say, 'We don't want what you're trying to do, we don't want those people,''' Robinson told me. Financially, there were other restrictions. Most people in eastern Kentucky could not afford private insurance, and federal insurance plans didn't cover addiction treatment. When Robinson finally opened his first rehab as a nonprofit in 2010, much of his funding came from family, friends and church donations. A vast majority of the revenue came from treatment vouchers issued by Operation UNITE, a state-funded nonprofit group formed in 2003 in response to Kentucky's opioid epidemic. Everyone on staff was a volunteer.

Then in 2013, Kentucky's governor, Steve Beshear -- father of the state's current governor, Andy Beshear -- expanded Medicaid's addiction-treatment benefit under the Affordable Care Act to cover residential care for people in addiction. A new funding model appeared. Though the state paid for only 30 days of residential care, its coverage of treatments was comprehensive, which allowed Robinson to take in more insured clients, charge for more services and open more rehabs. This tracked a statewide trend that began with the Medicaid expansion. In 2014, there were 347 qualified addiction-treatment centers or hospitals in the state, 170 of which accepted Medicaid. By 2020, there were 477 treatment centers, 382 of which accepted Medicaid.

I first spoke to Robinson in his office in 2021. It was a spacious room on the top floor of ARC's headquarters in Louisa, between the Food City and the county courthouse, filled with mementos to the mid-20th-century Los Angeles Dodgers. Robinson was large behind his desk, cutting the image of a lay preacher, with lively hazel eyes and a well-trimmed dark beard. By that point ARC owned more than two dozen treatment centers and had helped turn Kentucky into what Mullins called a ''treatment on demand'' state: Most people in addiction could get a bed in rehab within 24 hours of asking for one, regardless of their insurance. Lawn signs dotted the town, advertising the company's ''telecare'' rehab effort, called ARC Anywhere.

Over the years, as I spent more time getting to know people who went through rehab at ARC, I began to notice a certain archetypal story that drifted down from Robinson to his executives to his employees and clients. It opened with horror. One man I spoke to struggled with addiction since his teens, was in and out of jail and was still trying to put his life back together when his daughter went into the hospital for surgery and died. He overdosed in the parking garage of the hospital, then spent more than a year using heavily until he was ordered to rehab by a court. Kayla Parsons, who was born 45 minutes north of Louisa, was sexually assaulted at 19, after which she turned to drugs. She became pregnant with her first daughter at 21, was arrested for drug trafficking, went to rehab, relapsed, lost custody of her daughter, was arrested again, went to jail, got sober, relapsed again. In 2016, her family sent her, dope-sick, to an ARC treatment center. ''I didn't see a way out,'' she told me. ''I thought the only way out of that was going to be death. So every single time I got high, my one and only goal was to overdose.''

At some point, there would come an intimation of hope. For Parsons, it was when she heard about ARC's commitment to find jobs for clients. Many workers at ARC facilities are interns, paid a small stipend for half a year while they transition from clients to employees. They train to be peer-support advisers at outpatient clinics and work as receptionists at residential centers and cashiers at Masterpiece Café, which is ARC's coffee shop in downtown Louisa. Freedom Fabrication, Robinson's welding shop, trains people in addiction for a welding career. His auto-body shop, Second Chance Auto, employs almost exclusively people in recovery. Many of the company's outpatient and residential-treatment centers are lined with framed testimonials from clients turned employees, each a journey starting at a nadir, each one its own miracle. Parsons is now the senior vice president of administration at ARC and married to a man she met through recovery. ''That is a huge part of it, changing that narrative -- Oh, I can have a career,'' she told me. ''But on the other side of it is: I don't have to be that awful human, but that awful human isn't wasted, either.''

Robinson recapitulates these points when talking about his business. His experience as assistant prosecutor, his ***working-class*** childhood, his history of addiction, his baseball obsession -- which began in elementary school as a trading-card business and led to a mentorship from the local bank president and now serves as inspiration for the company's vocational and peer-support specialist training -- combine to describe an almost holy struggle against social injustice to bring a depressed region back from the brink. Since the days of coal companies, the regional economy has largely been run from afar, often to poor effect. Mineral rights were systematically signed away by unsuspecting landowners; black lung continues to plague miners and their families in the area; an accelerated phase of the opioid epidemic began in Central Appalachia when Purdue Pharma promoted OxyContin to doctors serving poor laborers. Dispatches in the national news often cite high poverty rates, overdose rates, obesity rates and widespread emigration -- ''Go look at any bad list, we're toward the top, and all the good lists, we're toward the bottom,'' Robinson told me.

In a region whose destiny had long been determined by outsiders, ARC's success was Louisa's redemption in Robinson's telling; he recast the story of the town. ''We've not been part of writing the next part of the narrative,'' Robinson said, picking up a printed map of ARC's treatment centers. ''But when I look at this,'' he said, shaking the paper, ''this is one thing we've done. This has been us.''

When I first met Jackson and Kidd, they had been living in their trailer together for nearly half a year. They met at a small ARC recovery center in Louisa in late 2022. Jackson was the only Black woman in the facility, and one of the most garrulous, often saying things like ''Every day is a good day'' and ''My greatest asset is my alcoholism.'' She was the loudest woman in church, praising wildly, flinging her arms about her. ''I had to sit six feet back,'' said Kidd, who grew up about 45 minutes west of town in a county where 99 percent of the population was white.

Kidd was more reserved than Jackson, sometimes spending much of her nonworking day on the couch under a blanket. She had entered rehab after a seven-month stint in jail, so she was used to the daily limitations -- 6 a.m. wake-up time, reading material restricted to faith-based literature, punishments for breaking house rules. But she found it difficult to buy into the treatment itself. She had been using pain pills since she was 9, she told me, and her parents were addicted to opioids, but she had never spoken at length about her addiction. She lost custody of her four children after being arrested on child-endangerment charges relating to her stepson; the older two were in Alabama with her grandmother, and the younger two, twins, were in Kentucky with her aunt. Now, in treatment, Kidd was constantly being asked to reflect on these facts, which she found almost unbearable. ''For a long time I thought that my Mamaw had took them,'' she said of her children. Eventually she realized that she had abandoned them. Sometimes she would shove the center's door open and sprint toward the road. She would stop at the pavement each time, turn around and walk back inside.

Jackson entered treatment three months after Kidd, but she made progress quickly. A model patient, she adhered to a precise schedule even by rehab standards. She rose at 4:30 a.m. every day to write in her journal, composed letters to her incarcerated son and sat in front of small books full of devotions, whispering them over and over, folding down the corner of the page when she was done. As two of the oldest patients in the center, Kidd and Jackson began spending more time together, acting like the elder statesmen of the group. The other women in the center started calling them the older sisters, and Kidd started taking on some of Jackson's confidence. She came out as a lesbian and began wearing a rainbow pride shirt that Jackson had ordered for her online. She was baptized and began praying with Jackson in church.

Eventually the pair began training at David McKenzie's nursing home together. They worked constantly, excited by the prospect of getting out. Coming from poverty, with criminal records, finding employment without ARC's help was a dubious prospect. ''Multiple times throughout my life, I'd go to prison, get out, there's nothing to do,'' said Michael Clark, who was addicted to opioids for two decades before going through treatment elsewhere and landing a job at ARC in 2018. When money got tight, Clark's grandmother crocheted blankets for sale, but with no similar skill to fall back on, Clark would resort to dealing. ''The worst time in my life wasn't when I was using; it was when I was clean but I couldn't find a job,'' he told me.

Kidd and Jackson moved through the program in only a few months. After graduating, in July of 2023, they rented a trailer from McKenzie's father, and each morning walked together across the creek for 12-hour shifts. Jackson, who had just turned 42, was saving up to buy a car, and Kidd, who didn't have a license, was studying for her permit.

By the time I met them, the thrill of their new independence had worn off, and a mundane reality had set in. ''Right now it's just work and back, work and back,'' Kidd said. The boredom felt more dangerous than anything. This is something that many people in recovery realize. No matter how much you change in treatment, whether you find a new religion or a new partner, you'll find your old self waiting for you back in the real world. Beneath the promises of peer-support specialists, the gleam of vocational programs and the excitement of a new job in a new town where few people know your name are the same impulses, the same issues, that drove your addiction.

In response, Jackson leaned into her structure and her faith. Her bed was always made with a floral quilt, prayer books stacked neatly in a bag, certificates spaced regularly along her dresser. She made daily calls to her daughter in Louisville. Everything became a sign of deliverance: the first month's rent, which McKenzie covered while she and Kidd were getting on their feet; the furniture that employees at the nursing home had provided, the Section 8 housing vouchers she was in the process of applying for. ''When I say God provided all this, I mean God provided this,'' Jackson told me. ''I called my mom and I said, 'God is going to put me up on an Appalachian mountain!'''

For Kidd, every day seemed to present some new complication. The caseworker from the Department for Community Based Services was difficult to reach, one of her children fell ill and she wasn't able to go for her weekly visit, a new client at the nursing home wouldn't stop screaming. She had been receiving injections of naltrexone in rehab to help with her withdrawal, but transitioned off them. One day, feeling suffocated, she walked to an ARC outpatient clinic and obtained Suboxone, a mild opioid often used to help people remain sober. Scared of getting high, she later flushed the tablets. ''I have days where I come back and I just cry, because I'm trying to be an adult, and it's tough,'' she said. ''Sometimes I just wish I could go back to being a kid.''

On a sunny day in the fall of 2023 I walked to a pawnshop in downtown Louisa. Leaves were on the ground outside, their dry tips curling inward, and the sidewalk was gritty with dust. Inside, the shelves were mostly barren, a few loose wires dangling off old kitchen appliances. In the far corner a man with short white hair stood behind a glass case filled with pistols and knives, packing dip into his bottom lip. His name was Mike Hudson, and he was the store's owner. When I asked him about Addiction Recovery Care, he began speaking broadly about the state of the addiction epidemic nationwide: Federal officials weren't doing enough to target gangs moving contraband across the border; law enforcement was too soft on drug use. Locally, he said, there seemed to be a better balance between support and punishment. ''Tim Robinson, he gives them every chance,'' he said, of people in addiction. ''They put them through the program, they give them a job. But he won't stand for you peeing dirty. They got to want it themselves.''

The door creaked open, and a man and a woman walked in. The woman had red hair and thick foundation on her face; the man was large and square. They were both carrying Big Gulps. As Hudson continued speaking, I could see the woman glancing our way. She sidled closer, then said, ''What you say about ARC is right.'' She had been sober since 2014, she said, and her partner had been sober five and a half years -- he had just been released from prison. The woman said that he had been addicted to heroin and meth. I saw his teeth, which were few and rotten, elongated like thin dominoes. ''I tried to get him in two rehabs, he didn't want it, he didn't do it,'' she said.

''I just walked out,'' the man said. That changed after he was locked up, with no other option but to face his recovery. ''The main thing is, if you don't want it, you aren't going to do it.'' He sipped the drink in his hand.

''We got to have stronger punishment systems,'' the woman said. ''Used to be, if you had two grams of meth, you'd get eight, 10 years. Now you can get out in 48 hours.''

Hudson interjected: ''My biggest problem is, we got hundreds of thousands of people sitting on death row, costing us. Go ahead and execute them, and then you have space for the rest.''

As I had found in the years since I first visited town, this kind of pontificating was inescapable. People's opinions about addiction treatment in general were often mixed with their personal struggles with addiction -- or the struggles of those they knew -- and their opinions about addiction in general were often conflated with their opinions about Addiction Recovery Care. A result was a muddle of criticism. There was the company-as-offering-salvation narrative from people like Robinson, but among other Louisans, there was at best a charged ambivalence toward the company and its mission, and, at worst, outright hostility. Complaints were varied: ARC was attracting addicts; it was dominating smaller businesses, running them into the ground; it was increasing crime in the area; it was profiting off vulnerable people.

''A lot of good things came from them being there, you can't deny that,'' said one Louisan, who asked to remain anonymous out of fear of retaliation from the company. ''I still don't like them. I don't like Robinson. I think he uses religion and addiction to make himself rich. I don't trust him.''

''They do not have a good reputation, they do not,'' someone else from town told me. ''But I wish they had come a little sooner, for my brother.'' He died, addicted, a decade ago.

The more enmeshed ARC became with Louisa, the more complicated the recovery dynamics grew. The company and town formed a polychrome ball of altruistic idealism, entrepreneurial ambition and small-town drama. To analyze, for example, the financial benefits of ARC without factoring in the stigma around addiction or the politics of religion or the sentimental attachment lifelong residents formed with their hometown would be like trying to extract the blue Play-Doh out of the brown blend you get after massaging all the colors together. When Lisa Robertson, a real estate agent with an office in downtown Louisa, praised the company and offered me two extra tickets to ''Little Shop of Horrors,'' showing at the ARC-run Garden Theater, was it because ARC had been good for her business or because she was happy that they were ''saving a lot of people'' or because she had her lawn mowed by ARC's Second Chance Lawn Care or because she sent her two children to the ARC-run private school? When Tracie Cavins, who owns a novelties store off South Main Cross Street, told me that she saw a lot more homeless people around town than she did 10 years ago and that she didn't feel it was safe to ''come here by myself at night,'' was that because she was frustrated that ARC has been buying up all the neighboring properties? Or because the company brought more people in addiction to town for treatment or because she distrusted a corporation, with a single man at the helm, exerting outsize influence over her town?

ARC's packaging of addiction recovery as a community-centered activity could be seen as a progressive initiative, creating an environment where addiction is normalized and people in recovery have support. It could also be seen as a profit-driven strategy, exerting economic power to shape a town and its people to a company's benefit. ''They make you feel like you either do things in their way, believing in God and working for them, or you're failing,'' one former ARC client told me. Another former client told me about a friend of hers who went through recovery at ARC and then relapsed while working for the company. ''An addict in recovery or who's gotten sober, they tend to be the hardest worker,'' she said. ''And to take advantage of that -- I told Tim Robinson to his face that money replaced God for him.'' One ARC employee told me, ''You can easily let work become your new drug.''

ARC's expansion enabled more people to gain access to treatment, which brought in more money from insurance claims and more ways to cut costs through scaling: larger treatment centers, more efficient kitchens and food services and more employment opportunities for graduates. Over the past decade, as Kentucky has sought to address the addiction and mental-health crises, funding has flowed loosely. ''You would struggle to find anything that's not reimbursed in behavioral health,'' said Stephanie French, the former executive director of communications and public affairs for the Kentucky Cabinet for Health and Family Services. At ARC, this money is used to help pay for beds for patients beyond their normal 30-day allotment but also to support its other businesses -- and to pay Robinson and his wife a total of more than $500,000 a year. The couple have donated generously to state political campaigns (both for the conservative governor Matt Bevin in 2019 and his progressive successor Andy Beshear in 2023) and built a large, gated house on the edge of town that some people called the Mansion.

This past summer, the F.B.I. issued a call for information from former patients of ARC, asking in a questionnaire whether ''any medical procedures, exams or services from ARC'' were ''not adequately rendered.'' When I walked around town soon after that, people were amused to see me. The sentiment seemed to be that the company had it coming. The F.B.I. declined to comment directly on the investigation, but one local conjecture was that it was spurred by Robinson's frequent campaign contributions. Another was that the company was continuing to bill insurers after patients left treatment or was skimping on care. (In a statement, the company acknowledged that it had potentially overcharged for services and said that it is cooperating with the investigation.) Online, when a resident posted about the investigation on Facebook, someone commented, ''Finally some good news.'' But over the next few months, blaming significant Medicaid reimbursement cuts, the company laid off about a quarter of its work force, more than 300 employees, including schoolteachers, peer-support specialists and human-resources representatives, and a few residents reached out to me, conflicted.

''My main worry is what might happen if something major goes down, like a shutdown,'' one texted. ''That'll be a major blow to the community.'' That is, if Robinson was in trouble, ARC was too, and the town could be reclaimed -- but, maybe, if ARC collapsed, Louisa would also collapse.

When I first spoke to Louisa's mayor, Harold Slone, in 2020, he seemed hesitant to say anything of substance about ARC, suggesting that I direct questions to Matt Brown, ARC's chief administration officer (now president), who was serving on the six-member City Council at the time. I figured this had something to do with the fact that ARC sponsored nearly every event in town and that anything Slone said would get around. But one evening in late 2023, we talked in his backyard. Smoke from a wildfire in West Virginia floated across the river and glazed the sky.

''I find it hard to say a lot bad about ARC, I really do,'' Slone said. ''We used to see people lined up down the street waiting to get their prescriptions. We knew what was happening and didn't say anything about it.'' I brought up the fact that some people in town saw Robinson as an opportunist, using the addiction crisis for financial gain and personal power. ''Do you think the hospital benefits from us being sick?'' Slone asked. ''The more accidents, wrecks, the more Covid, the more we show up at the E.R., the more profit it makes. ARC's the same thing. There are some people who talk to me, they say that nobody should be profiting from what they're doing. Well, we know in America that it just doesn't happen that way.''

In November 2023 I visited Kidd and Jackson in their trailer. Outside, the sun was setting, casting the river valley in a slow blue shadow, the trees shuddering a deep orange. Jackson was eating reheated Taco Bell and Kidd was curled on the couch. She seemed transparent, like a glass bead with bright red hair. She told me that she had a tough day at work. Sometimes, she said, when she gets home, she puts her face in her pillow and screams.

Jackson left her quesadilla and walked over to the middle of the living room. She had recently showered and had pulled a cap over her curls, her skin dewy from the water. She reminded Kidd how much she had changed since entering rehab. ''I remember when we first met, you couldn't really read good, and now you read like a champ,'' she said. She brought up the ARC-wide convocations that they attended, which feature employees who have remained in recovery long term. ''Somebody's story is always going to be up there,'' Jackson said. ''Tasha, our story is going to be up there one day.''

Recovery narratives follow an appealing arc, always with the promise of closure. The person remains sober, the town bounces back, the region battles the addiction crisis from the ground up. But reality is more confounding. In late November, a week after I last saw her, Jackson went back to Louisville for Thanksgiving. It was her first time visiting home in more than a year, and she stayed with her daughter, Charlye. ''That was literally the best day of my life,'' Charlye told me. ''It was like a hug I'd been needing.'' On Sunday, Jackson went to her mother's house, where her son had been arrested four years earlier, and relapsed. She overdosed and died in the early morning. Kidd heard the news later that morning and informed me in the afternoon. ''My heart is crushed,'' she texted. There was a vigil held for Jackson in town and someone from ARC stayed with Kidd through the night.

When I saw Kidd again a few months later, she had started dating a woman, Brittany, who had moved into the trailer and began working at the nursing home with her. Kidd told me that sometimes when she's stressed, she imagines finding a Xanax or Valium lying around. She would never act on such thoughts, she said, but they have become a kind of dark joke that helps her cope with the urge. The world seemed to move faster than when she was in rehab or in jail, and going back to where she grew up didn't feel the same anymore. ''Ingrid was the exact same way,'' she said. ''We were destined to be together.''

A year after Jackson's death, Kidd told me that she still thought about her friend every day. When she was spiraling while thinking of the future, she said, Jackson would take her hand and say, ''We're going to finish this out together, buddy.''

Stacy Kranitz is a photographer in Smithville, Tenn., and a 2020 Guggenheim fellow. Her monograph ''As It Was Give(n) to Me'' was shortlisted for a 2022 Paris Photo-Aperture first photobook award.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/magazine/opioid-addiction-recovery-kentucky-louisa.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/magazine/opioid-addiction-recovery-kentucky-louisa.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (MM24-MM25)

Above: Louisa has suffered with the contraction of the coal industry, but Addiction Recovery Care, in addition to its treatment centers, has opened a number of businesses in town, staffed in part by clients in its treatment programs. Opening pages: Welding trainees in the kitchen of their shared home, Stone Lodge. (MM27)

An intern at Freedom Fabrication, an ARC business that trains clients in recovery. (MM28)

Latasha Kidd completed an ARC treatment program in Louisa and now works in a local nursing home. (MM29)

Tim Robinson, the chief executive of Addiction Recovery Care. A recovering alcoholic, he opened his first treatment center in 2010 after getting sober. (MM30)

A 12-step recovery meeting at Karen's Place Maternity Center in Ashland, Ky., which is run by ARC. (MM32)

In the 2010s, as the power utility moved away from coal energy, the area lost hundreds of mining jobs, and ARC began buying up abandoned buildings in town and turning them into businesses staffed in part by clients in recovery. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STACY KRANITZ) (MM33) This article appeared in print on page MM24, MM25, MM26, MM27, MM28, MM29, MM30, MM31, MM32, MM33.

**Load-Date:** December 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***These Voters Aren't Exactly Undecided. They're Cringing.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0TF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 20, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 6; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1810 words

**Byline:** By Megan K. Stack

**Body**

Cindy Jager was the lone worker on duty in the crammed aisles of an old-fashioned variety store overflowing with hardware and party supplies and fake pumpkins.

When I came across her, she was carefully rearranging cleaning products on a back shelf of the shop in Walker, Mich. When I brought up the election, she pulled herself into a full-body cringe, bending at the waist and grimacing, fluttering in nervous laughter, hands flying to touch her frosted hair.

''It's embarrassing,'' Ms. Jager, 56, said. ''Everything's a joke. I don't even watch the news anymore.''

I asked if she planned to vote. Definitely, she replied. ''For whom?'' I asked. She cringed again.

''That's the question,'' she said. ''Out of millions of people, why do we have these two?''

Walker is a onetime farming district thick with peach orchards, now a city on the western flank of Grand Rapids. It has made national news at least twice -- once in the 1980s, when a couple of health care workers were smothering their charges in a nursing home, and again when Donald Trump went there to speak in late September.

Mr. Trump stood on a loading dock of a manufacturing plant there and told the crowd that Vice President Kamala Harris had allowed droves of violent criminals to cross the border illegally and carry out crime sprees in U.S. communities. ''Blood is on her hands,'' he said floridly.

''What Kamala Harris has done is unforgivable,'' Mr. Trump said. ''It's a crime what she did. There's no greater act of disloyalty than to extinguish the sovereignty of your own nation.''

Ms. Jager was not convinced by Mr. Trump's theatrics. She found them unnerving. ''I like what he says most of the time, but then sometimes it's embarrassing,'' she said. ''And you're like, 'What did he say?'''

I asked her, then, if she would end up voting for Ms. Harris.

''But ... I'm not Democrat!'' she exclaimed.

It was a simple cry, but it contained the germ of the matter. Ms. Jager has simply always thought of herself as a Republican, and she was not prepared to stop thinking of herself that way. Her favorite president was Ronald Reagan. She talked about Democrats as if they were another species; she heard they were trying to force everybody to drive electric cars. And while she seemed torn over Mr. Trump, even a little undecided, it was not really that. I think that, like a lot of voters I met, she was just pained by and a little incredulous at the choice she'd probably make.

Ms. Jager worked for years driving a trash truck, and she loved it. She spent her days out on her own, independent, driving the streets. When her boss retired, she ended up finding work as a shopkeeper. Rattling off these details lightly, she came across as scrappy and optimistic -- the kind of person who would always land on her feet. The election has left her discouraged.

''It's not exciting,'' she said grimly, ''to be a voter right now.''

I'd stopped in Walker while driving a slow, winding path across Michigan's Lower Peninsula, from Grand Rapids to Detroit, pulling over to chat with people in some of the swingiest spots of this notoriously swingy state. I was looking for undecided, or at least conflicted, voters -- a hazily understood group that has taken on tremendous significance in tossup states like Michigan, where polling suggests 15 electoral votes still hang within reach of either Ms. Harris or Mr. Trump.

I met plenty of people who, in their first breath, told me they were undecided -- only to admit or make plain, the longer we talked, that their presidential choice had already come together in their minds, even if they weren't exactly saying it aloud. Many people seemed reluctant to admit -- even perhaps to themselves -- that they were really going to vote for that person.

Most of the time, that person was Mr. Trump, but not always. A pleasant, middle-aged woman working the register of a small-town sandwich shop told me she had generally been a Republican voter. This election, though, she was balking. She talked loudly and freely about her indecision before finally whispering to me, so that her co-workers and customers couldn't hear, that she was probably going to end up voting for Ms. Harris because she really, really couldn't stand Mr. Trump. Then she grimaced, as if to say: What have we come to? Then she declined to tell me her name.

These exchanges suggest that ''undecided'' is not the best word for many of these voters. They are uncomfortable, even disgusted. They described the election as presenting an unpleasant choice that must be made. Mr. Trump's image, full of chaos and invective, has clearly soured, even in the minds of voters who voted for him before and are likely to vote for him again. As for Ms. Harris, I heard over and over again that people didn't know who she was or what she wanted to do. There was an unfamiliarity so vast that for some, it gave way to distrust.

I am familiar, of course, with the indignant howls of colleagues, neighbors, television pundits: Who could be undecided at a moment like this? The conflicted voters I met seemed unlikely to be won over -- they are too far gone for that -- but were instead bobbing back and forth on the eddies of their own revulsion. That, too, creates movement, albeit an uninspiring movement.

This election may be an experiment in the power of the negative -- the inverse of the charismatic politician whose gravitational pull tugs voters across party lines and assembles them in a formerly improbable bloc. That was Barack Obama in the optimistic flush of 2008, rallying a broad coalition in which independents and some Republicans joined the Democrats.

This moment is not that. American optimism is, at least for now, in short supply. The public's view of politics and elected officials is ''unrelentingly negative,'' a Pew Research Center study concluded last year. More than a quarter of the respondents (28 percent) had unfavorable views of both parties; 63 percent had little or no confidence in the future of the political system.

But, as the researchers at Pew pointed out, the general unhappiness with politics coincided with historically high levels of voter turnout. People may take a jaundiced view of the candidates and the resulting governance, but many of them still vote.

Consider the contrast between two young Michigan women who planned to vote specifically in the hopes of advancing their views on abortion -- although on opposite sides.

Joy Johnson was strolling along the main drag of Howell with a baby balanced snugly on her hip. At 23, Ms. Johnson is a stay-at-home mom. She and her husband went to high school together; after graduation, he got a solid job working on power lines for an electric company. The couple bought a house shortly before interest rates went up. She doesn't think they'd be able to buy now. Her brother has been house hunting for over two years, with no luck.

She seemed to attribute both the housing squeeze and what she felt to be a high tax burden to the Biden administration and believed her family would fare better under Mr. Trump's tax plan, but that's not what was deciding her vote.

Ms. Johnson is a Christian and is firmly opposed to abortion. There was no other issue that she viewed with the same degree of seriousness. ''I'm looking for abortion and what I believe lines up more with God,'' she said. ''It's not if I like him. I don't necessarily like Trump.'' Still, she seemed at peace with casting a vote for him. ''You always wish you had stronger choices,'' she added cheerfully. ''I don't think you'll ever feel good about it.''

Then there was Nina Brown, a 22-year-old psychology student who, as evening fell over the far northern suburbs of Detroit, was hunched over her books in the student center of her community college. She would vote for Ms. Harris because she wanted to protect women's rights, she told me -- but she was utterly nonplused about it.

Ms. Brown mentioned the economy, which she considered dismal. She was barely getting by. She'd vote because it needed to be done, but at the same time, she didn't believe it would make much difference. She didn't have much, if any, faith in politicians across the board. ''I'm basically one of those going for the lesser evil,'' she said with a shrug.

The most conflicted voters I came across tended to be middle-class or ***working-class*** women. Naydelin Lucas, who at 18 is looking forward to voting for the first time, was a study in conflicted impulse. A curbside supercenter worker who takes classes at a community college in Grand Rapids in hopes of becoming an ultrasound technician, she found the presidential choice confounding. Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump both, Ms. Lucas contended, have ''a lot of cons and pros.''

Stuck in her parents' house because she couldn't afford a place of her own, she was worried constantly about the state of the economy, high prices and her earning potential. She was troubled by the general possibility of war (she didn't closely follow foreign policy), especially because her long-term boyfriend just enlisted in the military.

Ms. Lucas approached the election with an accumulated outlook of skepticism tinged with grievance. Her generation came of age under the constant threat of school shootings, distant wars raging in the background, harsh warnings of climate collapse and fascism pouring from screens. Her education and mental health were badly damaged, she said, by pandemic lockdowns and distance learning. Having been told all her life that disaster lurks just over the horizon, she has grown disenchanted.

She was simply not convinced by the grandiose framing of the election as a crossroads leading us to national collapse on the one hand or the salvation of our collective soul on the other. She told me that mostly, she wants a better job.

Ms. Lucas didn't always agree with Mr. Trump. But he was critical of U.S. involvement in foreign wars and, when he talked about inflation, it sounded to her as if he knew what he was doing. To her, that was something. Ms. Harris never kept her attention. Ms. Lucas watched a few videos of Ms. Harris's speeches online but came away somewhat unmoved, she said, without a clear idea of the Democratic candidate's goals or priorities. In short, neither of them struck Ms. Lucas as an unambiguously better choice.

''I might just put 'undecided' for that race. I don't think either one of them is necessarily going to ....'' She trailed off, and I recognized a note of disappointment in her voice. ''I'm feeling some type of way about it.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/opinion/michigan-voters-trump-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/opinion/michigan-voters-trump-harris.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris, Before CNN Interview Runs, Presses Attack Against Trump in Georgia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CV9-80W1-JBG3-602T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 29, 2024 Thursday 19:01 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 985 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Maya King Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris. More about Nicholas Nehamas Maya 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:** At a rally in Savannah, the vice president hit her rival over familiar topics like abortion rights and Project 2025, saying he represented a “full-on assault” on basic freedoms.

**Body**

At a rally in Savannah, the vice president hit her rival over familiar topics like abortion rights and Project 2025, saying he represented a “full-on assault” on basic freedoms.

Vice President Kamala Harris, who has spent the last few weeks trying to define herself and her life story for voters, turned on Thursday to describing the version of former President Donald J. Trump that she wants Americans to see, saying his candidacy represented a “full-on assault on hard-fought, hard-won freedoms and rights.”

At a campaign rally in Savannah, Ga., Ms. Harris accused him of wanting to curtail abortion access, cut Social Security and Medicare, and give tax breaks to big corporations and billionaires. She said his plan for [*across-the-board tariffs on imported goods*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) amounted to an unfair tax on working families.

“Unlike Donald Trump, I will always put the middle-class and ***working-class*** families first,” Ms. Harris said to a crowd of thousands at a basketball arena. She added, “We’ve got some work to do, because we know Donald Trump has a very different plan.”

Her audience broke into chants of “We’re not going back,” which has quickly become a favorite slogan at her rallies.

Ms. Harris made her appearance hours before her first major interview since becoming the presumptive Democratic nominee was set to be broadcast on CNN. She had faced rising pressure to hold an interview with a top journalist, with Republicans accusing her of hiding from tough questions.

In early clips of the interview [*released by CNN*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) on Thursday afternoon, Ms. Harris pledged to appoint a Republican to her cabinet and curtly rejected Mr. Trump’s [*recent questioning of her racial identity*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas).

After unexpectedly rising to the top of the Democratic ticket last month, Ms. Harris has used the early days of her campaign to tour the battleground states and reintroduce herself to voters, capping off her whirlwind ascent at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

She has focused on her immigrant parents, her middle-class upbringing and her time as a prosecutor and attorney general in California. Her policy agenda has been light so far, but she has [*unveiled a series of economic proposals*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) aimed at lowering costs on housing, food and health care.

Her attempts to contrast herself with Mr. Trump have been aided by [*Project 2025*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas), the conservative governing blueprint written by allies of the former president that includes radical proposals to overhaul the federal government. Among them: eliminating the Education Department, eroding the independence of the Justice Department and “explicitly rejecting the notion that abortion is health care.”

“They are out of their minds,” Ms. Harris said in Savannah, name-checking Project 2025 twice during her speech as she tries to make it common currency with voters.

The Harris campaign [*released an ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) this week that called Project 2025 “a 922-page blueprint to make Donald Trump the most powerful president ever” and said Americans would “pay the price.” It also has a website devoted to the plan.

Mr. Trump has disavowed the document, although some of its policies track with his own.

Voters at the rally said they were aware of Project 2025. Linda Lea Walker, a Harris supporter and organizer with Savannah’s longshoreman’s union, said the policy blueprint was a chief concern. Al Purvis, a fellow union organizer who attended the rally with her, summed up his feelings about the election succinctly.

“We don’t have a choice,” he said, suggesting that voting for Mr. Trump was unthinkable.

Ms. Harris’s rally follows what her campaign had billed as a bus tour through rural South Georgia but that instead focused on Savannah, a Democratic stronghold where the party is hoping to lift turnout, with a brief stop in the small city of Hinesville about an hour away.

Democrats in Georgia say they are [*newly optimistic*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) that she could hold on to the state, which President Biden narrowly won in 2020. The Democratic ticket’s standing in polls there has increased significantly since Mr. Biden dropped out, although Ms. Harris still [*trails*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) Mr. Trump, according to a New York Times polling average.

Ms. Harris had been scheduled to appear in Savannah in early August, but a tropical storm forced her to reschedule. She also visited the city in February to deliver a speech on abortion rights — one of her signature issues — when she was still the No. 2 on the ticket.

Although Ms. Harris has proved herself a far more polished orator than Mr. Biden, she did stumble over one of her signature attacks on Mr. Trump on Thursday, momentarily confusing the Supreme Court for the Constitution.

“He even called for termination of the United States Supreme … the court, the supreme land of our nation, the United States Constitution,” she said.

At one point during her rally, Ms. Harris faced a shouted protest that was quickly drowned out by her supporters. Both she and Mr. Biden have been frequently interrupted by protesters angry about the war in Gaza, which the leading Democrats have handled with varying degrees of sternness and empathy.

As she has done in the past, Ms. Harris said that everyone had a right to be heard but that she “was speaking now” before reiterating her call for a cease-fire between Israel and Hamas and moving on with her speech.

And she also shut down chants of “Lock him up” from the crowd, which Trump supporters once shouted about Hillary Clinton at his 2016 rallies. Democrats have now turned that taunt against Mr. Trump, who was convicted this year of 34 felonies.

“The courts are going to take care of that,” Ms. Harris said.

Tim Balk and Reid J. Epstein contributed reporting.

Tim Balk and Reid J. Epstein contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris’s speech on Thursday in Savannah, Ga., touched on broad themes of democracy and increasing access to affordable health care and child care. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 29, 2024

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[***To Win Votes, Trump Floats an Array of Expensive Tax Cuts***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0J-84T1-JBG3-62VX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2024 Wednesday 21:27 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1244 words

**Highlight:** Whether he is speaking to retirees, corporate executives or tipped workers, former President Donald J. Trump has made a habit of promising tax cuts that could cost trillions.

**Body**

Whether he is speaking to retirees, corporate executives or tipped workers, former President Donald J. Trump has made a habit of promising tax cuts that could cost trillions.

When it comes to tax policy, former President Donald J. Trump has appeared in recent weeks to channel Oprah Winfrey, the television legend whose audience giveaways became a cultural sensation.

But instead of free cars, Mr. Trump, the Republican presidential candidate, is offering his audiences bespoke tax cuts. For restaurant and hotel employees in Nevada, a swing state, Mr. Trump offered [*“no taxes on tips.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html) For the retired Americans who vote in great numbers, he said he would end taxes [*on Social Security benefits*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html). For business executives at the Economic Club of New York, Mr. Trump offered a cut in the corporate tax rate to 15 percent, from 21 percent, for domestic manufacturers.

And for his fellow New Yorkers, whom Mr. Trump addressed at a rally in Long Island on Wednesday, he said he would bring back a prized deduction for state and local taxes, [*known as SALT*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html), a tax break that he once limited.

“Going to restore SALT,” he said during his rally, adding that the move would “save thousands of dollars for residents of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.”

Earlier in the night, he promised that “if you vote for me, I’m going to reduce your taxes.”

The plans, so far offered as pithy one-liners without detailed explanations, have proven politically popular, energizing crowds at his rallies and in one instance even prompting his Democratic rival to [*adopt a version of his idea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html). They have also scandalized tax and budget experts in Washington, who balk at the mounting cost of Mr. Trump’s anti-tax crusade.

“The pattern is, you show up somewhere, you think about what that person wants and you propose it without regard to cost,” said Marc Goldwein, the senior policy director for the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, which advocates lower deficits. “I do think this is really troubling.”

Mr. Trump has not been shy about the political goals of his tax cut proposals, telling attendees at a rally in Tucson, Ariz., last week that not taxing Social Security benefits would be a “big deal.” He added, “You remember that, seniors, when you go to vote.”

Republicans are trying to hold on to several House seats on Long Island, where Mr. Trump spoke on Wednesday and where lifting the $10,000 cap on the state and local tax deduction is popular. After reading out a list of House Republicans in attendance at his rally, Mr. Trump pointed to that group, including Representative Anthony D’Esposito of New York, saying: “SALT, Anthony. Remember, fellows, SALT.” Mr. D’Esposito stood and gave Mr. Trump a thumbs-up.

More broadly, Mr. Trump has been trying to rebrand his tax agenda, long attacked by Democrats as a giveaway to big companies and the rich, as helping the ***working class***.

“It’s time for the working man and woman to finally catch a break,” Mr. Trump said as he discussed his idea to [*not tax overtime pay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html).

Mr. Trump has waved away concerns about the cost of his proposed tax cuts by pointing to his plans to raise tariffs, arguing that the United States would have “no deficits within a fairly short amount of time.” The Tax Policy Center, a think tank, estimated that a 10 percent tariff on all imports, as well as higher tariffs on Chinese goods, could raise $2.8 trillion in revenue over 10 years.

But that would still come nowhere near covering the cost of all the tax cuts Mr. Trump has proposed during the presidential campaign. His most expensive proposal is to simply extend the tax cuts he signed into law in 2017, many of which expire after next year. Including higher debt service costs, continuing those tax cuts would cost roughly $4.6 trillion over a decade, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office.

He wants to pile even more tax cuts on top of that, while his running mate, JD Vance, has floated a dramatic expansion of the child tax credit.

All told, the cost of Mr. Trump’s tax cuts could be nearing $10 trillion over 10 years, according to Andrew Lautz, an analyst at the Bipartisan Policy Center. “The numbers are mind-boggling,” he said.

The deficit has been growing in recent years, even as the economy has remained strong, alarming some economists. Governments are generally expected to run smaller budget deficits during periods of strong growth than in downturns, when the economy often needs juicing. The cost of financing America’s debt has soared as interest rates have remained elevated, and rating agencies have said they are worried about the ability of the U.S. government to pay back its debts.

That dire fiscal outlook will weigh on lawmakers next year when they consider whether to extend the 2017 tax cuts. They will also have to face a decision about whether to raise the [*nation’s debt limit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html), which caps how much money the United States is authorized to borrow.

Republicans have long embraced tax cuts even when they are projected to widen the deficit, hoping to jump start economic growth. Some of Mr. Trump’s allies view his ideas as a way to encourage more work and therefore boost the economy. But Erica York — an analyst at the Tax Foundation, which generally favors lower tax rates — said that Mr. Trump’s current collection of ideas, targeted at relatively small groups of Americans, would not generate broad-based economic growth.

“There is no policy rationale driving this thing, this is political considerations taking the wheel,” Ms. York said.

Ms. York and other economists generally favor a tax system that does not tax Americans differently based on differences in where they live, how they earn money, or whether they rent or own a home. By that measure, Mr. Trump’s 2017 tax law helped clean up the tax code, narrowing deductions for state and local taxes, as well as mortgage interest, while vastly expanding the standard deduction.

Mr. Trump’s suite of campaign tax proposals would take the tax code back in the other direction, slicing open new carve outs for workers based on whether they earn tips or overtime pay — and for Americans who live in high-tax states like New York and New Jersey.

“This is poking more holes in the tax code, in particular poking holes for blue states which aren’t voting for us,” said Casey Mulligan, an economist who worked in the White House during the Trump administration. “I don’t really see the economic or political sense for it.”

Of course, Mr. Trump’s tax ideas would need to pass Congress to become law. And even if Republicans end up controlling both the House and Senate next year, Mr. Trump may not find them willing to go along with all of his ideas. Senator Michael D. Crapo, Republican of Idaho, would become the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee if Republicans win the chamber in November. Asked if he was concerned about the cost of Mr. Trump’s ideas, he demurred.

“I get that question a lot on every single proposal that he mentions, and the answer is, we’re dealing with a multitrillion-dollar tax code issue next year, and every single provision of it raises that question,” he said. “I’ll decide what my position is on it when we see what the whole picture is next year.”

Simon J. Levien contributed reporting.

Simon J. Levien contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump’s promises to cut a range of taxes have energized the crowds at his rallies. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page B4.

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2024

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[***Among Black Voters, Adams Sees Defenders And Disappointment***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3N-SH11-JBG3-61MP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 3, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1442 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Nate Schweber

**Body**

Some Black New Yorkers are sticking by the mayor's side after he was charged with bribery. Many expressed disappointment in him.

He danced to gospel-tinged music as the churchgoers sang in unison. The crowd cheered as he told a story about growing up poor in Queens, about six miles from the church event on Monday evening.

The pastor singled him out in his prayers, saying, ''Help him, Lord, during this challenging time.'' And when he left the stage, his departure was greeted by a shout from the audience.

''We love you, Eric Adams!'' a woman said.

Since his indictment last week, Mayor Adams has frequently sought refuge and support from his strongest backers: Black and brown ***working-class*** New Yorkers drawn to his message of faith, charm and empathy.

He appeared at a Harlem senior center on Friday; at an A.M.E. church in Queens on Saturday; a Presbyterian Reformed church in the Bronx on Sunday; and at Aliento de Vida Church in Corona, Queens, on Monday, where gatherers celebrated ''An Evening of Faith With Mayor Adams.''

And it was here that pockets of New Yorkers could be found who had not soured on the mayor since a five-count corruption indictment accused him of soliciting illegal foreign campaign donations from the Turkish government.

Latricia T. Davis, 58, a former correctional captain who said she voted for Mr. Adams three years ago, said the indictment did not change her intention to vote for him again.

''It does not stop my support for him,'' said Ms. Davis, the woman who shouted her love for the mayor at the church. ''We've all had some challenges. We've all had some situations that we may not be most proud of.''

Mr. Adams, the city's second Black mayor, seems to recognize that he will need voters like her to help save or extend his mayoralty. On the morning his indictment was unsealed, the mayor surrounded himself at a news conference with Black supporters, including the Rev. Herbert Daughtry and Hazel Dukes, the president of the N.A.A.C.P. New York State Conference. The event, however, was disrupted by protesters, some of them Black, who called on Mr. Adams to resign.

His hopes of finishing his first term and winning re-election next year could depend on support from Black voters, who have been at the center of the mayor's coalition and who account for roughly 30 percent of Democratic primary voters.

In the days after the mayor's indictment, The New York Times visited five neighborhoods across New York City where Mr. Adams has enjoyed broad support and conducted more than two dozen interviews. Roughly half of those interviewed defended the mayor or believed he was being unfairly targeted. Many still expressed disappointment in him and worried about the city's future.

In South Jamaica, Queens, where the mayor grew up, Akahnni Delgado, a 25-year-old mail carrier, said over the weekend that he was frustrated that Mr. Adams appeared to have behaved recklessly, and he was concerned that the mayor had not learned his lesson.

''He should resign,'' Mr. Delgado said. ''Or who's to say he wouldn't do it again and do it another way?''

Older voters were more likely to defend the mayor. As Stephanie Bloodsaw, 54, a human services worker, caught the bus in Queens, she said she thought the mayor was being treated unfairly, comparing his treatment with that given to former President Donald J. Trump, who has been charged in several criminal cases and convicted in one.

''Donald Trump has all these felonies and they're letting him run for president?'' she said.

''What's the difference?'' she asked, pointing to the shade of skin on the back of her hand and lifting her eyebrows.

Michael Totten, 65, a retired firefighter who owns Lock and Roll Locksmith in Queens, said he was proud when Mr. Adams was elected and shared many similar life experiences with him.

''I was sad that he was indicted,'' he said. ''I hope he fights it right to the end.''

Mr. Totten said he saw an ugly connection between the treatment of Mr. Adams and David N. Dinkins, the city's first Black mayor. Mr. Adams has often compared himself to Mr. Dinkins and said they faced unfair discrimination.

''Both guys are stand-up guys,'' Mr. Totten said. ''Dinkins was undermined. The same thing's happening to him,'' he said, referring to Mr. Adams.

Kevin Sealy, 63, who works for the Department of Citywide Administrative Services and said he went to high school with the mayor, said he voted for Mr. Adams and liked that he was a centrist. But he said the indictment was concerning.

''When you hear so many of his top officials and advisers are resigning and getting investigated, you begin to think something is going wrong,'' he said.

Mr. Sealy took issue with the idea that Mr. Adams was similar to Mr. Dinkins.

''David Dinkins wasn't indicted,'' Mr. Sealy said.

A poll from last December suggested that even as the mayor's poll numbers fell to record lows, Mr. Adams kept a relatively positive rating among Black voters. Only 28 percent of white voters approved of the mayor, compared with 48 percent of Black voters. There has not been any new polling since the indictment.

As a lifelong New Yorker, Mr. Adams has deep ties to many neighborhoods. He was born in Brownsville in Brooklyn and raised in South Jamaica in Queens. He was a police officer for 22 years and then served as a state senator and Brooklyn borough president.

Mr. Adams often says, ''I'm not new to this, I'm true to this,'' to remind New Yorkers about his longstanding ties to various constituencies. The mayor also has close ties to faith leaders and frequently visits churches and speaks about his faith. He often says that God told him he would be mayor.

Susan Green, a parishioner at the Greater Allen A.M.E. Cathedral in South Jamaica, where the mayor appeared on Saturday, said she worked on his campaign for Brooklyn borough president and was surprised by the indictment.

''Stay and fight the charges,'' she said. ''Innocent until proven guilty. That's what's great about America.''

Nicole Ottley, a minister who attended the service in South Jamaica, said she voted for Mr. Adams and liked his background in the Police Department. She does not think he is guilty.

''I'm more angry to see people pressuring him to step down,'' she said. ''I think it's very irresponsible, it's wrong.''

Some Black elected officials have called on Mr. Adams to resign, while others are taking a wait-and-see approach. The City Council speaker, Adrienne Adams, stopped short of urging him to resign, but expressed concern about his ability to manage the city.

Christopher Banks, a City Council member from East New York in Brooklyn, said the mayor should step down. The mayor's legal problems could have a negative impact on his district, he said, which is grappling with poverty, gun violence and a rise in stop-and-frisk policing.

''Obviously he has the right to due process, but I think elected officials are held to a higher standard,'' he said.

Joanna Allen, 62, a member of the Changing Lives Christian Center in East New York, which Mr. Adams visited recently, said she had supported the mayor and now believed he should resign. She said she did not think prosecutors would charge him without sufficient evidence.

''I was just very disappointed to hear what's going on, and it's a real shame,'' she said.

Kathryn Price, 39, a secretary who lives in South Jamaica, said she thought Mr. Adams had been doing a good job as mayor, but she was worried about his ethical issues.

''I think once he took the job, he should've known all the rules and ethics,'' she said. ''He should've been more careful, especially in this city.''

Bernadelle Boateng, 21, a recent college graduate who attended the Bronx church service where the mayor spoke, said she believed Mr. Adams should stay in office, at least for now.

''I think he should continue to lead now until, you know, things are a little bit more resolved, because we need a leader in the moment,'' she said.

In Harlem in Manhattan, Amin Shabazz, 67, said he had voted for Mr. Adams and was heartbroken. The amounts of money that the mayor was accused of accepting were relatively small, he said, and the allegations could have been worse considering what other politicians have been convicted of doing.

Mr. Shabazz said he still believed that Mr. Adams was a ''good man,'' but he said he could not vote for the mayor again and believed he should resign.

''He wouldn't be able to be effective,'' he said. ''That's gone.''

Anusha Bayya, Molly Longman and Julian Roberts-Grmela contributed reporting.Anusha Bayya, Molly Longman and Julian Roberts-Grmela contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/nyregion/eric-adams-black-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/nyregion/eric-adams-black-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Mayor Eric Adams at Emmanuel Presbyterian Reformed Church in the Bronx on Sunday. Left, ''An Evening of Faith With Mayor Adams'' at Aliento de Vida Church in Corona, Queens, on Monday. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ADAM GRAY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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[***The Ohio Steel Town That Shaped Vance Struggles to Regain Its Footing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH1-Y6K1-JBG3-6013-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Campbell Robertson, Kevin Williams and Madeleine Hordinski

**Body**

His memoir, ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' told the down-at-the-heels story of Middletown, Ohio. It's a depiction that has stuck.

Middletown, Ohio, a small city of tree-lined streets surrounding a sprawling steel mill, seems as far from the towering skyscrapers of New York as it gets.

But on Monday, they were suddenly linked: Donald Trump, a real estate heir, tapped Middletown's most famous son, J.D. Vance, as his running mate.

Millions of people first learned of Middletown from ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' Mr. Vance's best-selling memoir and the Hollywood movie that followed.

Mr. Vance, 39, wrote about his chaotic upbringing there, raised in the intermittent care of a single mother struggling with addiction. In his depiction, Middletown was ''little more than a relic of American industrial glory,'' a place ''hemorrhaging jobs and hope.''

His bleak portrait of the city just north of Cincinnati, was initially held up as reference guide for urbanites on the coasts desperate to understand Mr. Trump's appeal among the struggling white-***working class***.

Mr. Vance's explanation was a stark one: some of Middletown's woes were caused by the damaging decisions of government and big business, but the deeper problems lay in the fatalism, indolence and victim mentality of the city's white ***working class***.

The problems in his community ''run far deeper than macroeconomic trends and policy,'' Mr. Vance wrote in his book. ''There is a lack of agency here -- a feeling that you have little control over your life and a willingness to blame everyone but yourself.''

Middletown, which has begun to stabilize after decades of decline, was at its lowest point in the years that Mr. Vance chronicled. Some people in the nicer parts of town thought Mr. Vance had been unfair, said Jason Moore, 39, a truck driver who was a year behind Mr. Vance in high school. But he said, ''people in this part of town would say he nailed it.''

When Mr. Vance's grandparents moved to Middletown from eastern Kentucky in the 1940s, the city was in what most people say were its golden years. A half-dozen paper mills ran alongside the Armco steel mill, and the business owners lived in grand houses in town, bankrolling cultural festivals and a local symphony.

Most of the steelworkers -- a mix of first and second-generation European immigrants, Black families who had moved up from the Deep South and white families from Appalachia -- were represented by an independent and locally run union.

Middletown was, as Look Magazine declared in 1957, an ''All-America City,'' and many of its residents thought of it that way.

Mr. Vance's grandfather, who worked at the mill, had been among those who found a foothold of economic security in Middletown, moving his family into a two-story house across from a neighborhood park. But that stability was fleeting. Mr. Vance's mother had a child as a teenager, divorced, remarried and in 1984, gave birth to Mr. Vance, just as the city's prosperity was beginning to founder.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the U.S. steel industry collapsed across the Midwest. The Middletown steelworks were no exception. In 1985, Armco's corporate leadership decamped for the East Coast, draining the city of money, while the steel mill went through round after round of layoffs. Those who kept their jobs, some former employees said, found it an ever more miserable and more dangerous place to work.

Middletown struggled. Government-subsidized rentals began proliferating in the empty houses at a rate the city's social services were not equipped to handle. Shopping centers were boarded up and the city pools were filled with concrete. Many residents turned to drugs, including Mr. Vance's mother, who became addicted to narcotics. Her life became erratic as she cycled among boyfriends, and Mr. Vance sought refuge with ''Mamaw,'' his hard-edge but protective grandmother.

This was the Middletown Mr. Vance knew in his childhood.

''That was how most of us lived,'' said Rodney Muterspaw, 55, who spent decades on the city's police force, five of them as chief.

Mr. Muterspaw went on to describe some of the larger context of the city's distress. He recalled with regret that law enforcement responded to the growing drug epidemic by focusing disproportionately on low-income neighborhoods. And he remembered being sent as a police officer to monitor locked-out workers picketing the steel mill, essentially ordered, he said, to spy on ''our dads, our brothers, our uncles.'' Once an All-America city, Middletown appeared to have turned against itself.

Various attempts to lift the city's fortunes failed, reinforcing a pessimism among many residents. In his book, Mr. Vance mentioned that efforts to revive the downtown were ''futile,'' a cynicism about government intentions that is far from rare.

''I've never seen a city that loves to hate itself as much as Middletown does,'' Mr. Muterspaw said.

Some of Mr. Vance's teachers did not recall any signs of Mr. Vance's struggles at home, though by high school, he wrote in his memoir, he had found some stability living with his grandmother.

At least one teacher remembered his growing political consciousness.

''His grasp and understanding of government and politics was extraordinary,'' said Mike Stratton, 79, who taught Mr. Vance's Advanced Placement English class at Middletown High.

When class discussion turned to politics, Mr. Stratton recalled, Mr. Vance was an outspoken Republican: supporting limited government and then-President George W. Bush. Mr. Vance's views were fairly standard Republican fare at the time, said Mr. Stratton, a Democrat.

''Middletown was a hotbed of conservative Republicanism back then, but J.D. Vance was a moderate,'' he said.

Mr. Stratton said that these days, Mr. Vance's political rhetoric, with its hard-right populism, seems quite different from what he heard in his classroom more than two decades ago.

Mr. Vance graduated from high school in 2003, when the city was still at its nadir, and joined the Marines. He built from there -- degrees from Ohio State and Yale Law School, a job at a Silicon Valley venture capital firm, election to the U.S. Senate and now a place on a presidential ticket.

This rapid rise was fueled in large part by the success of ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' which attributed his community's woes in large part on ''a culture that increasingly encourages social decay instead of counteracting it.''

Mr. Vance speaks differently now, blaming the ills of his community on immigration and elites, a far more populist tone.

Last year, after a freight train carrying hazardous chemicals derailed and burned in the industrial town of East Palestine, Ohio, Mr. Vance excoriated the ''bicoastal elite,'' saying that they use places like East Palestine ''for cheap propaganda,'' while reserving their sympathy for ''Ukrainians, extreme sexual minorities, and criminals.''

Elites, Mr. Vance said, ignored the fact that their prosperity was only possible because of ''heartland labor, heartland sweat, and heartland peril.''

That labor never stopped in Middletown, even in the grim years that Mr. Vance described in his book.

The steel mill's current owner, Cleveland-Cliffs, announced this spring that it was investing nearly $2 billion to upgrade the plant, with $500 million of that coming through a grant from the Biden administration. The plan was cheered by the local of the International Association of Machinists, the union that now represents workers at the mill.

Attempts to turn the city's fortunes around have continued, and some major projects have gotten underway, including Renaissance Pointe, described as a $200 million ''epicenter'' for stores, restaurants and hotels.

But reversing four decades of declining fortune is hard work. Downtown, there are brew pubs and a wine bar, but also plenty of empty storefronts.

Ami Vitori, 50, left Middletown after high school. But she came back in 2015, and in recent years has renovated an abandoned building downtown, attracting a restaurant, retail and even a boutique hotel. Mr. Vance praised her efforts in a 2017 New York Times opinion piece, which explained his decision to return to Ohio and open a nonprofit.

That nonprofit has since folded; Mr. Vance now lives in Cincinnati.

''Vance left Middletown behind a long time ago,'' Ms. Vitori said. To her, his interest in his hometown nowadays seemed limited to using it as symbol of what he has overcome.

George F. Lang, a Republican state senator who represents Middletown, pushed back on that notion. He pointed out that Mr. Vance had announced his 2022 run for Senate in the city and also opened his regional senate office there. ''The most important thing he can do for Middletown,'' Mr. Lang said, ''is be the example that he is.''

Given Mr. Vance's ongoing rise to prominence, Ms. Vitori said she hoped for more.

''I honestly hope he's done what he's had to do to get where he is,'' she said. ''And once he's there, he may actually try to do some good for people and places like Middletown.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/jd-vance-middletown-ohio.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/jd-vance-middletown-ohio.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Millions of people first learned of Middletown, Ohio, from ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' Senator J.D. Vance's best-selling memoir. Below left, the city's steel mill, owned by Cleveland-Cliffs, which plans a nearly $2 billion upgrade. Below right, a storefront window downtown.

RODNEY MUTERSPAW, above, a former police chief of Middletown.

The home where Mr. Vance lived growing up, center. The stability Mr. Vance's grandfather sought in moving there was fleeting. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADELEINE HORDINSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

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[***What I’m Thinking at the End of 2024; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DR5-PW63-RY6N-41HV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 8168 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 fatherhood, ‘normalizing’ Trump and his outlook on 2025.

**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: Happy holidays. Welcome to “Ask Me Anything” and the near end of a year that has felt like many, many, many years.

We thought before it all ends, we would answer a couple more questions — hopefully slightly more fun ones than those that are more election focused. And then we’re going to be back with new episodes in the new year and have some stuff that I’m pretty excited about in the pipeline.

But thank you to everybody who’s been listening this year. It has been a ride.

Thank you to Claire Gordon, who’s here with me and has been an amazing partner in building the show this year and editing it and getting things out at the last minute. To her and to the team. They’ve all been incredible about getting the show out the door. With as fast as news was moving, it was no small thing and took no small number of long nights.

So thank you to you.

Claire Gordon: Oh, thank you, Ezra. It has been a year. I am not yet quite ready to process it all. And these aren’t all fun questions. People are here for your political analysis.

Klein: I thought you told me this one was going to be lighter.

Gordon: Well, there will be some fun at the end when I’m going to continue the tradition from last year of a rapid-fire round.

Klein: OK.

Gordon: But to start with — short, simple, sweet from Juna Elena Ahmia: “Why are you a liberal and not a democratic socialist?”

Klein: Are all of my AMAs going to start with very complicated definitional questions? [Klein and Gordon laugh.]

Gordon: Isn’t that a good table setting?

Ezra Klein: Good Lord! OK. I think it really depends what you mean by liberal and democratic socialist. Because those things mean different things in Europe, where there are deeper traditions of both.

And I think here the liberal democratic socialist and left dimensions overlap — but are different and are referred to as different by different people. I will say — let me try to do this in stages. I’m a liberal because I believe life is fundamentally unfair. I believe both life is fundamentally unfair, and I believe we deserve partial credit at best for how we do in it.

Not our fault that we were born to poorer parents. Not our fault we were born with dyslexia or without the iron will somebody else might have had. And also, on the other side of that, often not our fault that we were such hard workers, that our particular mix of intelligence and capacity was the right fit for the society we were in at the right time, and we had the resources or good luck to take advantage of it.

I am very well suited to a society that highly values abstract communication and not that well suited to a society that requires you to know where you’re going or to work a lot with your hands.

Gordon: I’m just curious, because I’ve heard you say that before: Is there a particular moment or something you read or a life experience where you felt this click for you as a sort of a philosophical worldview?

Klein: I did really badly in school, and then I did really well as an adult. And I don’t think I was more or less responsible for either one. The things that have made me successful, in some ways, were the same things that made me unsuccessful before: My monomania around things I’m interested in and difficulty with things I’m uninterested in. My desire to be in a quiet room reading and writing by myself all the time.

I don’t think when I was 14 and couldn’t get it together, that was a moral failing. Some part of my mental software was different. So, my own life, I just, I did not, on some level, deserve how badly I did when I was younger — and I don’t deserve how well I’ve done as I’ve been older.

I do my best with what I have, but the what I have — and frankly, even the doing my best — doesn’t even feel like something I chose. It feels compulsive.

There are many times when I’d frankly like to do a worse job, and it’s not in me. It’s more anxiety producing in me not to work than to work.

It won’t have come out yet, but I’m about to tape with Oliver Burkeman, the self-help author. In his book, he’s quoting somebody saying: Most successful people are an anxiety disorder harnessed for productivity.

I don’t think that’s entirely wrong. So that’s a lot of why I’m a liberal.

And then you get into this question of democratic socialists or liberal. The place I find that I tend to be different than a lot of democratic socialists in America, people I know who are more in the Bernie Sanders camp, has a lot to do with what I think is politically possible.

It’s not that we disagree necessarily on the ideal health care system, but we disagree on: Can you get there from here? Can you abolish the private health insurance people currently have — and will people trust the American government enough to do that? Can you raise taxes to the extent you need to fund that set of programs? Is that what people want? Is that possible?

And I probably am just simply more open to the idea that corporations do bad things — but also do great things. I was hearing an interview Bernie gave on “The Daily,” and he talked about how nothing Elon Musk has done at Tesla did anything for ***working-class*** people.

And I thought that was such a weird comment. Because if you believe as Bernie Sanders does, and as I do, in the importance of the electric vehicle transition and how good cleaning up that air pollution and reducing those emissions would be for working communities — then Elon Musk has done a tremendous amount for those people, whatever else you think about his politics or his tendencies.

Harnessing the genius of the private sector is probably more important to me, and I value it more highly than a lot of people who call themselves democratic socialists. So there’s probably an affective dimension to that around capitalism and —

Gordon: It sounds like maybe you’re more into capitalism.

Klein: I’m probably more into capitalism. But I think a lot of them are, too. I think if you look at how a lot of my friends who are more on that side live, the purchasing patterns don’t look that different, and what technology they’re using doesn’t look that different.

So there’s a bit of what you’re willing to credit the market with doing and being able to do.

Let’s take nothing away from Bernie Sanders, or frankly, from democratic socialists. Which is why I feel like I tend to end up on this side of the debates. I think probably one place I’m different from a lot of liberals and democratic socialists is I would like to put invention and innovation and technology much more at the center of any kind of social justice agenda.

It is now seems like a million years ago in American politics, and we are elevating or Trump is elevating to the various health agencies, people who opposed a lot of this. But I think Operation Warp Speed is one of the greatest public health achievements ever.

And the work behind it. It’s really amazing. And it allowed something that no other policy could have done if we had not invented the mRNA technologies that could have gotten us to those vaccines so quickly. We couldn’t have just kept lockdowns going.

And I think a lot of things are like that. We’re not going to be able to hit our decarbonization goals without clean cement, without clean jet fuel.

We just don’t have that yet — at least not in anything that we can afford at scale. And so there are all kinds of problems we just cannot solve effectively or affordably with the technology we have today. But we could with technology we see right over the horizon. And I would put that much more at the center.

So I am maybe not just a liberal, but I am an abundance liberal.

Gordon: And a techno-utopian.

Klein: No, I’m an abundance liberal. Because I’m not utopian about it. I think technology is really important. But if you don’t embed it in good policy, it can also be a driver of inequality, of illness, of war, of social fracture.

Believing you can solve problems with technology is not the same as not believing you can create problems with technology. I hate when people say — I’m not blaming you for this, but I am a little pushing on it — that anybody who believes you can solve problems with technology is a techno-utopian.

No. You want to solve the problems you can solve and then not create problems that don’t need to be created. Which is like how you want to use any tool. You can hammer in a nail or you can crack somebody’s skull.

To believe in the possibility of technology is not to believe that it is utopian.

Gordon: Well, speaking of technology that is ambivalent, Travis Roberts wrote in with a question about Bluesky: “I’m curious to hear your thoughts on Bluesky’s burgeoning postelection popularity.”

But I want to add on to that: You’ve recently rejoined Twitter. You asked the journalist Ann Applebaum how she felt being on Twitter now that Elon Musk is using it in a more obvious political way.

Yeah, how do you feel about being on Twitter now?

Klein: I’m not sure. I’m not sure how I feel about Bluesky. I’m not sure how I feel about Twitter.

We are recording this some weeks before it’s going to come out. So it is possible I will feel differently about both of them by the time it comes out.

I have very negative feelings about the way Elon Musk is using and controlling the platform, that he controls. That does not mean I think that liberals abandoning it en masse will destroy it.

To a large extent, I think Elon Musk destroyed it sufficiently that I feel better being on it. I think it wields a lot less power than it once did. I think it is much less a generator of at least left-wing groupthink. It might be more of a generator of right-wing groupthink under him because he has such a megaphone on it and is using it in such purposeful ways. But that is sort of less true among the liberals.

Gordon: Did he kill the woke-mind virus?

Klein: [Laughs.] That’s a good question. I think, as I said in the other AMA, I do not think that happened on Twitter. I think that happened in society over the last couple of years, so to speak. And I think that he would say it hasn’t happened — that the woke-mind virus is out there spreading, and that that’s why you need Donald Trump on the wall to stop it.

Bluesky, I think, has a selection problem. It’s pulling liberals who are upset about the state of Twitter into one place. And so I’m a little more worried about it being a generator of groupthink and in-group policing and dynamics that I think make it harder to think independently.

I’m not sure I should be on any of them. I’m not sure it’s good for the way I think. I’m not sure it’s good for the books I want to read. I’m not sure it doesn’t have a tendency to pull me into stupid controversies — not even my own, just whatever is obsessing the platforms at the moment.

And on the other hand, it feels like a moment of factional conversation among sort of people on the left. Which has been interesting to me.

I’m certainly trying to make some arguments around abundance and where the Democratic Party should go and what has gone wrong in blue state governance that do not all feel like podcasting columns. So some of it is coming out in those places. But I try to make sure I am using these things — and not being used by them.

And pretty quickly, I tend to feel I’m being used by them as they colonize my mind more and more. And so if that happens in the next few weeks, you probably won’t see me there anymore.

And that I’m making no claims about personal virtue. I don’t clink my glass when I leave and make an announcement. I’m there when it feels like it’s a useful thing for what I’m trying to do. And I try to leave when it feels like it harms what I’m trying to do.

And I’m right now in the bubble between those conditions. And I’m not 100 percent sure which side I’m going to fall on.

Gordon: Is there a sign that any of us outside who care about your mental well-being should know to stage an intervention?

Klein: [Laughs.] If you see me getting in fights, in real fights, on X or Bluesky, you should pull me out.

Gordon: Or being in a bad mood because something happened.

Klein: Yeah, that kind of thing. Yeah, that’s when I tend to leave.

If one of these platforms is harming your day-to-day quality of life, so you can micropost at other digital avatars, then you’re making a mistake. I have made that mistake many times.

I did an interview for The Wall Street Journal piece with some podcasters after the election, and I said a line there that I think I might have said here in the past: that the thing that I always notice is that Twitter makes me dislike people I like, and podcasts make me like people I dislike.

And it’s still kind of true. But I’m not sure I want to be in a place where I feel like it makes my view of other people less sympathetic and makes them more simplistic to me. Because the constraints of the place make everybody, including me, more simplified.

Gordon: Well, on podcast-making, you like people you dislike.

I wanted to ask this question from David Lieberman, because I know that you have thoughts about this. He writes:

I find your hosting of insiders in the MAGA/Trump world extremely enlightening. I would be much less informed without it. Yet at the same time, your treatment of these insiders as representatives of just one more segment of opinion, while no doubt … an admirable model of open-mindedness … casts the current political scene as “normal” in a way that it isn’t.

Normalizing MAGA, normalizing Trump by having certain people on the show: Do you have any thoughts on, on that and that charge?

Klein: I don’t know what counts or doesn’t count as normal. On the one hand, do I think Donald Trump is a normal or even a very stable genius? I don’t. On the other hand, he has been elected or almost elected president three times now.

So who’s more normal, your glasses-wearing Brooklyn podcast host that you’re listening to right now —

Gordon: You don’t wear glasses on YouTube —

Klein: On a lot of days. But for my stereotyping of myself, I do. [Laughs.]

Or Donald Trump? I think the effort to treat him as continuously abnormal is a way of trying to not see other people, including him.

That doesn’t mean you don’t oppose things he does or that his world of people do. And I think that my show with Anne Applebaum and shows that will be still to come will be pretty — there are lines that feel very clear to me. Particularly weaponizing the government. And I want to be very alert to that.

But I want to be pretty clear: Don’t expect this show to be a resistance show. I don’t do this or have these interviews because I’m open-minded. I am a reporter. I am curious. I’m trying to understand things so I can make up my own mind.

Gordon: I think that’s the definition of open-minded.

Klein: I don’t, actually. I’m not trying to be open-minded about the Trump administration.

I’m trying to understand it. Not because I’m not sure where I’ll fall on certain things. In some cases, the things I most need to understand and develop a more-textured picture of are the things I know I hate the most. But feeling in deep opposition to something is not a license to not, certainly in my line of work, to not try to understand it.

And I’ve been thinking a lot, as we think about programming the show next year, about how to balance this. I think there are going to be things inside the Trump administration that are directly on the authoritarian pathway. That are him actually trying to do what gets called academically an authoritarian breakthrough. And they’re going to be other things — maybe the Department of Governmental Efficiency or things that happened on Marco Rubio’s secretary of state tenure or tariffs — that are not like that and that need to be simply reported on as normal politics.

And so this is another dimension that I think the effort to make normal a binary — things are or are not normal — makes hard. It’s an administration. It’s going to govern the country for the next four years. And parts of it are just going to be politics and policy.

And parts of it might be something else entirely. An effort to change or corrupt the system itself.

And I intend to try to take everything at its level and the fact that one thing is happening doesn’t mean you have to cover the other thing — in either direction. I think this is going to be really hard to balance. I did less of this in the first Trump administration, to be honest.

And I think liberals, in general, treated more of the first Trump administration as illegitimate. He didn’t win the popular vote. There was this whole Russia investigation. It was all crazy. His administration is full of normal Republicans leaking about what a maniac he was.

It was much easier, even for the people reporting on it, to treat him as aberrant. Because in some ways his own administration treated him as aberrant.

And it seemed possible this was just a one-time fluke in American politics: The butterfly flapped its wings, and we got this.

And that’s not what it is anymore. It wasn’t in a way what it was then.

And my first job on this show is to be a good reporter. I understand the show is an act of continuous reporting, and I’m not being a good reporter and not doing a good job if I’m not actively reporting on this administration.

So we’ll see what shape that takes. Many of them don’t want to talk to me, but it is not going to be a closed-door policy because Trump goes over some line in one area — and then there’s no more talking about the tariffs or something. It’s not the way I’m going to do my job.

Gordon: Last question on politics, from Matthew Davidoff:

I’ve heard you argue very convincingly against the filibuster.…

Now we’re set to have a Trump-controlled or Trump-friendly majority in all three branches. Has your opinion changed at all?

Klein: It hasn’t changed. Obviously, my ideal world is not that the filibuster goes away at the exact moment that people who I think have the worst views on society are in power.

I wish Democrats had gotten rid of the filibuster. And maybe if — they had such a thin majority, they probably couldn’t have done much with it, because Senator Joe Manchin would have stopped what they were going to do anyway.

But there have been different moments over the past decade when I think Democrats could have delivered a lot better if they didn’t have the filibuster to worry about. They could have built the Inflation Reduction Act quite differently because they wouldn’t have been using the weird rules of budget reconciliation.

Now do I want Republicans to unwind the filibuster and pass anything they want? No. In the sense that I don’t want things I think are bad to happen ever. Will I declare it somehow unfair or illegitimate if they do that? I won’t.

I have been saying for years we should get rid of the filibuster. And interestingly, I do think getting rid of the filibuster will present them with some really difficult problems.

One thing I don’t like about the filibuster — and I’ve made this point many times: The way I think democracy is supposed to work is people elect their representatives, their representatives deliver more or less what they promised, and people then decide if they like what got delivered.

And the filibuster is often a way that political movements avoid accountability for what they are trying to do.

And it’s a very useful tool for someone like Senator Mitch McConnell to hide behind the filibuster so that his more MAGA-drenched or more conservative colleagues can’t pass things that he thinks will be unpopular: Oh, we tried. The filibuster can’t pass a national abortion ban. I don’t want a national abortion ban.

But I think it’s going to be a real difficult situation for John Thune, the Senate majority leader, if there’s no filibuster, and you see Republicans wanting to legislate on reproductive rights. And to the extent the public sees that, that gives them information about what Republicans are about and what they really want to do.

And I think this is true for sort of every area you might think about in American politics. I do think the public does respond to one degree or another to the results of governance. — particularly if there’s a lot of governance happening.

So my point is not that it would be great for Republicans to get the filibuster because it’s better for things to be worse. Because that can create more electoral backlash.

But I don’t think getting rid of the filibuster would be an unalloyed good — for Republicans or for Democrats — because all of a sudden, they’re playing with live ammunition for the things they promise. When they have a trifecta, they don’t really have a great excuse for not doing. And so then there’s the question, Are you promising things people actually want?

That would be an interesting thing to see how they handle.

Gordon: Moving on from politics. No more politics! That was great.

This question is from Matt Holmes: “What are the things you enjoy about being a father?”

The context is he’s 33. He’s never had the desire to have kids. He says that he’s listened to three of our episodes on the topic of children. And he heard the things that you said about the way children are wonderful: that your son is the nicest person to you — all this touching stuff.

But he still can’t see how the pros outweigh the cons for his life. But he — it seems like he really just wants to be persuaded. He says, “I want to be wrong. Please help.”

Klein: Oh, this is not the position I want to be in. In some ways it’s making me feel like JD Vance. Because I do think there’s something wrong with this discourse where the question of whether or not to have kids is so similar to the question of whether or not to take a vacation to Costa Rica or the question of whether or not to go wine tasting this weekend. Like, Do the pros outweigh the cons for my personal life?

But I do understand a lot of what is true about having kids as: It is amazing that my children get to experience life. Not because it makes my life better in every respect, though I can talk about the ways it does, but because their lives are precious things.

And my parents gave up a lot to have me here. And my life has been a precious thing to me, and on and on and on, backward down the line. So even if I felt that having kids was less rewarding than it is for me, I don’t love the discourse around this.

There are people who can’t have kids. There are people who wanted to have kids and weren’t able to. My point is not that there are never conditions. There are people who have genetic conditions they don’t want to pass on the kids. There are a lot of reasons people don’t have or were not able to have had children. This is not what I’m talking about here.

But I do find the kind of weighing the ledger thing a little — I find it to be distinctive to our era. And I’m not sure I think it is an ethos that speaks superwell of our era.

Because I do think human life is really precious and amazing.

Gordon: Did you always want kids?

Klein: I used to have this joke: Do I want kids? Definitely. When do I want them? Never.

So not in the sense that I thought parenting was going to be superfun.

I actually thought I would be very bored by parenting — and I sometimes am very bored by parenting. But I always felt having kids was important.

Gordon: Well, I get the framework of just if you’ve never had that kind of conviction, or it’s always been muddled, it’s more than: Oh [expletive], I’m at the age where I need to make a decision. Can someone just nudge me?

Klein: Yeah, I understand that that’s not what he’s asking. But because I hear this question so often. It’s a very old AMA question for us. I just sort of want to note that.

I just think it’s a kind of an extraordinary element of our time. Because again, like for most of human history, we didn’t have birth control in any significant way.

It’s so new to think about the choice this way. And I don’t only want to say that the important thing in the choice is your experience as a parent — because such an important thing is your child’s experience as a human being. And that’s also an amazing thing about being a parent is getting to see that.

I’ve been playing “Angry Birds” with my older son lately. And when we play it, I don’t think anybody enjoys anything as much as he enjoys playing “Angry Birds” with me. He just cackles. And it’s really beautiful. It’s really fun. We’re going back to the Jia Tolentino episode. There’s real pleasure in it.

Kids are connection. Watching consciousness unfold is an extraordinary thing. My younger child is 3, and his language is just coming online in a very different way now. And he’s talking about the past, and he’s imagining things. And it is an interesting, amazing thing to watch language happen.

It’s now so hard for me to imagine not having my kids that I almost feel like it’s hard for me to make the arguments. It is really meaningful to be involved in other people’s lives to that degree. And then to see their life become something that is not yours and that you support but you do not control. And to recognize that they are growing in ways that you can’t imagine.

They will have some experience that has nothing to do — not nothing to do —but is not yours. And that’s part of it. You’re just part of this human chain and putting aside this question of, Are my Saturdays better? — in some ways they are, and in some ways they’re worse. And they’re not going to be the way they are forever.

I have a 3- and a 5-year-old. One day I’ll have a 15-year-old and an 18-year-old. And according to the testimony of every other older parent I know, I will wish they wanted to sit around playing “Angry Birds” and have me take them to the playground all day.

And I guess I would just keep on saying that what makes parenting beautiful is not that it is fun. Sometimes it’s fun. A lot of times it’s not. I just had a weekend where I didn’t feel that good. I really did not want to do a lot of parenting.

But think about someone you love and how happy you are for the experiences they have. The sympathetic joy you have for them. I think about the way how excited my mom is for the experiences I have.

A lot of the joy of parenting is not the joy of parenting. It’s the joy of your child’s existence.

There’s a really beautiful quote about this in the book “Gilead,” by Marilynne Robinson, which is, I think, my favorite book. And the book is this letter from an older man to his young son. And he says:

You see how it is godlike to love the being of someone. Your existence is a delight to us. I hope you never have to long for a child as I did, but oh, what a splendid thing it has been that you came finally, and what a blessing to enjoy you now for almost seven years.

Gordon: Yeah.

Klein: Yeah — it’s not all about you. And that’s, I guess, maybe one of the really great joys of parenting. It makes you see that it’s not all about you.

Gordon: Final question before rapid-fire round. It’s been a long year. It’s been a weird year. Many ups, many downs.

What is something significant you’ve changed your mind about this year?

Klein: What I’ve changed my mind about?

People have heard me working through the election results. I’m not sure that they’ve completely changed my mind. I guess —

Gordon: About Harris definitely winning?

Klein: I didn’t say she would definitely win.

Gordon: Money on winning. That she was the likely victor in the 2024 election.

Klein: I never said this publicly — for a good reason.

Gordon: You admitted to it in our — maybe you were in a vulnerable and tired moment in our postelection —

Klein: Oh, did I?

Gordon: Mm-hmm. And someone texted me how admirable it was.

Klein: [Laughs] Sure, I changed my mind from thinking at some point that Harris was going to win — to then seeing that she lost.

But I wouldn’t say I changed my mind. I would say the reality clicked the probabilities into focus —

Gordon: [Laughs.] That’s a lot of what changing someone’s mind is.

Klein: I guess the thing I would say this may be even over a couple of years —but it’s going to be a big part of my coming book. I think the thing I’ve changed my mind most on in politics in recent years is how destructive bad regulations can be and how seriously I take it now when I hear that regulations or rules are ill constructed.

I think I used to have what in my view is a pretty standard liberal response. I was saying, Of course, some regulations could be bad, but look at these studies: We made the air a lot cleaner. We do a cost-benefit analysis. There’s always exceptions to the rule, but I sort of assume most of this stuff works.

And now I don’t. I have followed up, and really dug in, on the details of how enough projects have worked or not worked in government — what happened with California high-speed rail, what it takes to modernize digital government — that I am much more skeptical — not of regulation but of a lot of existing regulations.

My belief about how much stupidity and procedural crust can exist now in government in places for very long periods of time, that people are just laboring under. And it’s not gotten to the point that creates a crisis, but it eventually could. Housing being a good example of this.

I’ve really changed the way I approach that. I think that a lot of liberals, and certainly a lot of the politics I came up in, kind of felt like the right attacks government and so you have to defend it — and you look for ways to defend it. And it’s not where I am now. And I think I found myself more frustrated and then ultimately quite angry at the way the Democratic Party became just the defenders of institutions — and not the reformers of them — in a way that required not really admitting how badly they were working.

And now we have Donald Trump who wants to burn institutions down, who does not want to make government work well. He wants to corrupt it to his own purposes. So we have thesis and antithesis, and I’m interested in synthesis.

And that the point of politics is to create the state capacity, create the public capacity that we can have great things and we can have enough of them. That’s obviously a big part of the coming book, which is on my mind.

Gordon: Derek Thompson, your co-author — is he as angry as you are about all of this?

Or is he like: Geez, Ezra, calm down.

Klein: Derek is probably a more temperamentally gentle person than I am. But I don’t think he feels differently about this. I think his chapters have a lot of righteous frustration. In the way the book was split up, I did more backward-looking pieces. So I have more of the things about why this project didn’t work.

So I really immersed in some things where, when I came out the other side, I was like, Oh my God.

And I just maintain a level of fury about the California high-speed rail system that maybe other people feel is a little bit ridiculous. But to me it is a signal failure of liberalism that it could not be built in a blue state when the federal government was giving them billions of dollars, when the state was putting in billions of dollars.

And, by the way, what they’re actually doing is building a leg of it right now that nobody really wanted — this Merced to Bakersfield leg. They don’t have the money to finish that leg. The people working on it have told me, on the record, that it doesn’t make sense to build that really, unless you can do the full San Francisco to Los Angeles line. That’s the only way California high-speed rail really makes sense.

But they don’t have money to build that at all. They have no sightline on that money. That money is like — [laughs] they’ll need like $85 billion or something. Probably more over time. They have no idea how to get any of it.

So they’re just building in the hopes that building this thing that they don’t have the money to finish — and then don’t have the money to expand into its final form — that it will lead to some kind of political upheaval that leads to the money appearing.

And I don’t fault the people who are there in the California High-Speed Rail Authority — it’s not up to them. But the entire thing is such a disaster.

And liberalism should be furious. Like, this should not be allowed to happen. And they should figure out how to make it not happen. But nobody has.

Gordon: If this is built, how long would the trip be between San Francisco and L.A.?

Klein: I’d have to go back and get the exact number but short enough that I would take that well and happily over flying.

Which is really not as convenient between the two as you would think. And driving certainly sucks. I like taking the Amtrak. [Klein and Gordon laugh.]

Gordon: I love trains.

Klein: Trains are a solved problem. You can go to other countries and board them. This is not futuristic technology. Go to Europe. You could go to Japan. They work.

Gordon: So much more legroom than a plane.

Klein: It’s not even about the train. It is about the broad issue here. That it’s —like, you hear about the big dig and how expensive that became, the Second Avenue subway. And it’s like: Well, I bet something went wrong on that project. No, it’s just how they go now.

By the way, it’s not like it’s so great in some other countries. The United Kingdom is not proving able to build new high-speed rail, either.

But I really have a different sense of how poorly government works. And I do not have the conclusion on that. My libertarian friends or my conservative friends have. Because I think we need government. Nobody’s building this. It’s not government.

And by the way, it’s not like California has employed all these engineers and mechanics. This is built by private companies, by contractors.

It doesn’t matter if the person is a contractor who’s getting paid through government grants or they’re employed by the government or it’s a private developer who needs government permissions. If you don’t make this stuff possible at the level of rules, nobody can do it. And so you can’t just say, like, get the government out of the way, either. Because then you’re not going to get things you need that are public goods.

So, yeah, I have really changed my mind on how suffocating government rules can be in the real world.

And the fact that you can build homes in Houston and Austin, and it’s so hard in San Francisco and L. A. isn’t an interesting fact about the world. It is infuriating to me.

Gordon: Is any part of you excited or hopeful that there could be a bulldozing of regulations in a Trump second term that could have positive effects?

Klein: I’m not — because what I’m interested in is outcomes. And I don’t want to bulldoze regulations in order to make it possible to pump much more oil and pollute streams. That’s not my end goal. Regulations are a tool.

Gordon: Trump loves clean air.

Klein: He does love clean air.

The end goal, the endpoints, matter. In some ways, I do think that Republicans and Democrats have very similar pathologies on this — which is both become process obsessed and not outcome oriented.

I think the biggest problem around liberal governance is it is obsessed by process, and it mistakes process for outcomes. It is not connected enough to what is actually happening once the money gets spent or the grant goes out or the contract is awarded. And among Republicans, too often, they treat government as an abstraction, and they are also not trying to achieve anything except the removal of regulations, except the shrinking of government, except the hampering of government agencies.

So liberals often hobble government. Conservatives try to weaken and starve it. Neither is connected to an outcome I want.

The process I am interested in is one that says: How do we make it easy and fast to cite and build clean energy? How in places where we have a housing crunch do we make it easy to build housing?

Work backward from the goal you want to achieve to the rules you need. You can’t have a regulations good or regulations bad view. You have to ask, Are you getting the outcomes you want? And then work backward.

Gordon: I think that’s a good place to end because that, I think, really captures where your mind has been most of the year.

Rapid-fire round. Should we say 30 seconds? From Clarke Hill: “Who are your Top 3 favorite X-Men?”

Klein: Ooh! When I was a kid, I loved Gambit. I don’t think that would be my answer now, but I think I have to say it given how much I loved Gambit.

What a hard question to give me in a 30-second round. Yeah, Dark Phoenix era: Jean Grey.

And Krakoa era: White Queen.

Gordon: I wish I knew enough to comment or judge you.

Klein: [Laughs.] And Magneto. I mean, Magneto is an extraordinary villain. Yeah, I’ve got to put Magneto above White Queen.

Gordon: Well, when you ask people for three books they’d recommend to the audience, you never let them go over like this.

Klein: I always let them go over. [Laughs.]

Gordon: From Dylan Smith, who noticed that we have a new intro song that we dropped with no public acknowledgment and that is by the wonderfully talented Pat McCusker, The New York Times’s very own audio engineer and composer.

The question is, Why did you want to change the theme song? What kind of moods and emotions — what did you want people to feel?

Klein: These are your 30-second questions?

Gordon: That’s right.

Klein: Lord. So I wanted to change the theme song because I didn’t like it that much. And it didn’t feel to me, at this point, like me or like the show.

And we had a bunch of composers around The Times create songs built on a sort of mood board that we created and we would — me and Claire and Jeff and Isaac and Aman — would do these listening sessions and listen to everything and talk about it.

Pat’s was just — I loved it from the moment I heard it. And it has this sort of wonderful quality of having curiosity in it, of having a sense of calm, a sense of interest.

There’s a little bit of anxiety there. I feel like our previous song had too much anxiety — and sort of nothing else.

Gordon: Oh, so you’re being very hard on the old theme song. I have great affection for the old theme song. If I ever hear it, one bar of it, for the rest of my life, it’ll flood me with feelings.

Klein: And it just fits the kind of music I like.

It’s interesting. It’s a little bit neoclassical.

I was talking to Pat about music, and we just have huge overlap in musical tastes. We are both listening to a fair amount of Kiasmos. We are both listening to the Photay album that came out this year — “Windswept,” which is really great. So it’s not a shock that he created something I loved.

Gordon: Thematically connected — a question from Jamie Racanelli: What was your favorite band when you were younger?

Klein: Michael Franti &amp; Spearhead.

Gordon: What?

Klein: Michael Franti &amp; Spearhead. I loved the album “Stay Human,” which is just very hippie music. But when I was in late high school, loved that. Saw them a lot. I would just go around listening to “Stay Human,” which is this, like, bouncy — it’s all a little slam poetry inflected.

It was a different time. I went to University of California Santa Cruz. But I still love that album, and I used to play a lot of it for my older son when he was young. I would particularly play a lot of “Skin on the Drum,” which is this more spoken-word, slower track on it.

Archived audio from Michael Franti &amp; Spearhead’s “Skin on the Drum”: In the heat of the sun / I bring shade for everyone / Like the beat on the one / I’m the skin on the drum.

It is one of those things you loved when you were young that I actually still love now that I’m old. [Laughs.] Or at least middle-aged.

Gordon: Paraphrasing a question from Nick O’Brien: Will there be a free and fair election in four years?

Klein: I hope so.

Gordon: From Sam Maxwell: You’ve got a stressful job. How do you unwind?

And no saying reading a book or working out. No high-achiever answers.

Klein: [Laughs.] Although reading is a big part of how I unwind. I listen to a lot of music. And that’s a big piece of it.

And I have trouble with it right now, to be honest. Unwinding, resting, kind of like letting the nervous system down-regulate is a thing that as this year has gone on has become a much more significant struggle.

There’s not been a new show in a few weeks. I’ve been taking some time off. And I would like to be better at it next year.

I sort of at a certain point this year decided that the work was more important than the well-being, and we just went for it — which has been a lot on the whole team too, not just me. And I would like to be in better balance than I’ve been.

But friends — I have friends. I go for walks. It’s all the normal stuff, but there’s no magic. If you’re living a really imbalanced life, you’re going to feel really imbalanced. And I lived in a really imbalanced way this year.

Gordon: Yeah. Extended periods of lack of balance really take a minute to unwind —

Klein: Yeah. And we’re going into administration — it’s not going to be calm. There’s something about being at the end of what you thought was maybe a sprint and seeing how much it’s going to be a marathon. I felt this way in 2016, too.

And yeah, it will take some real protection of the nervous system.

Something that has been helpful recently, has been every morning: I keep my to-do list for the day and all the things that come into my head on a little piece of paper. I have one of these little pocket-size notepads and a pen that is on me all the time.

And I now try to have at the top of it, every single day, things that nourish me. It’s like eating good food or movement or meditation. It’s like six of them usually. So that before I see all the things I have to do, I’m reminded of things I could do that actually feel good on my system — as opposed to cause me more harm —

Gordon: Wait, so it’s just like reading them makes you feel good or a reminder to do a reminder to do them —

Klein: The reminder to do them.

Gordon: OK.

Klein: So that every time I look back at this piece of paper where I keep all the things that come into my head to do — every person to email, every house task, I have to write the intro, I have to look at the edit — there is before that these are like the pillars of me feeling better.

Gordon: And so it’s not like Governor Gretchen Whitmer when she had on that piece of paper before she gives a speech to remind her to like be a boss [expletive]. Some like something about Aunt Flo. Some like empowering period thing.

It’s not that.

Klein: No, it’s — I think there’s a tendency, at least for my mind, to only see all the things you need to do and to almost give no attention to the things that balance that out.

And the list of things I certainly could do is always longer than what I can get done. And I am really trying to push myself in the other direction.

So when I see it, it’s like: Oh, maybe I don’t need to do anything here. Maybe actually have 20 minutes. I should take a walk.

I don’t take enough vacations. for rest to be just a thing that happens on vacation. It has to happen more times a day. And there’s like, bluntly, like, I don’t want to keep feeling the way I felt at the end of this year.

So I am trying to change the way I look at the day-to-day.

Gordon: I remember you saying a very similar thing to me around the end of last year.

Klein: Yeah, it’s a consistent problem. [Klein and Gordon laugh.] I do have a tendency to burn myself out by the end of the year.

Gordon: Yeah.

Klein: I would say that since Oct. 7, a year ago, the show has been a lot harder.

Gordon: I’m sorry.

Klein: We are not the ones suffering the most from that. I don’t mean to —there’s no stolen valor. It has just been a it has been a very intense period of news. Look, you’re in this, too. You started right around then.

Gordon: Yes, this is my normal —

Klein: But bouncing between that and the election and everything else going on in the world.

It requires more than having like a hobby. [Laughs.]

Gordon: Although I could use a hobby.

Klein: You have lots of hobbies.

Gordon: Do I?

Klein: You just staged a play.

Gordon: Well, I wrote a play that my husband staged without telling me.

Klein: Yeah, you’re like an interesting person with a well-rounded set of views. [Gordon laughs.]

You belong to clubs. Everybody knows you have a fun and interesting life. [Laughs.]

Gordon: I’m glad I’m giving off that impression. That’s important for my self-esteem. Last question of the year, from Elizabeth Taylor —

Klein: The?

Gordon: The Elizabeth Taylor,

Klein: I guess we don’t know she’s not —

Gordon: Came back from the dead. The ghost of Elizabeth Taylor —

Klein: Oh right, she died.

Gordon: The ghost of the most beautiful person who’s ever lived [laughs] came back to say the 2020s have been wack so far.

Klein: [Laughs.] That does sound like her.

Gordon: “Vibe check for 2025?”

What do you think the vibes are going to be? What’s your feeling?

Klein: Ooh [laughs], I don’t really want to end on what I think about this.

Yeah — this is what we’re doing? You don’t have another one?

Gordon: Probably cool things are going to happen with A.I.

Klein: Maybe. We’re in a, people — Tyler Cowen and others — made the point that there had been a big vibe shift around Trump. And we’re in the Trump vibe era right now. That I don’t think is what it was like in 2017. In 2017 the vibe was resistance, not Trump.

I think now we are going to experience truly the Trump vibe. Like it is not just a political phenomenon but a cultural phenomenon. It has much more media power than it did then. So we’re about to really feel what it is like to be in Trump’s America.

For some people, it’ll be really thrilling. For some people, it will not be.

But I think that is the way the vibe is shifted in 2025. Which is very different than the first time he won. He has real agenda-setting capacity that he didn’t before. And Elon Musk is on the team and many, many more people in media and in technology. And so he’s going to have much more capacity to shape sentiment at a time when I think the opposition to him is much less coherent and empowered.

So take this for what you will, but — and I think this may not in the end be good for him or his movement — but 2025 is going to be the year of the Trump vibe.

Gordon: I don’t think a lot of our listeners will love ending on that answer, so a final question or actual —

Klein: Went from my burnout to [laughs] —

Gordon: Final question of 2024, from Holly Hamilton, who noticed in the new album art that we also dropped this year with no public acknowledgment, a tattoo popping out from your sleeve.

What does your tattoo mean?

Klein: I do want to note that was a photo choice made by our editors — not by me.

That tattoo is of redwoods. I love redwoods. They’re my favorite tree. I’m a Californian. There are particular parts of California, particularly in the Sierra Nevadas, that are really important to me and sort of sit in my mind as the most beautiful places in the world, but also the places I feel best in the world myself. And it is a tattoo of a scene built around redwoods.

Gordon: So much better, trees. [Klain laughs.] So much better.

Klein: And I will say that the theme music by Pat McCusker is called —

Gordon: “Magical Tree Creatures.”

Klein: “Magical Tree Creatures.” And it was inspired by the little forest spirits in Hayao Miyazaki movies. So one of the reasons I liked that music so much when I heard it was it does have a bit of a feeling of being in the forest. And here in the concrete jungle of New York, there is nothing I miss like a redwood forest.

Gordon: Way better vibe for 2025: trees — tree vibe.

Klein: Thank you, Claire. Thank you to everybody who has worked on the show so hard this year. They’ve done amazing, amazing work. And thank you to everybody in the audience who’s been with us on the show this year. Which is not always been the easiest show to listen to — and you’ve all been wonderful.

Gordon: Your voice, so much.

Ezra Klein: Yeah, it’s a lot of time to spend with me. Even I find it to be a lot of time to spend with me. So I can’t imagine what it’s like for everybody else.

But thank you. And, yeah, hopefully the 2025 vibes will be — I don’t know how to end that —

Gordon: Wind rustling leaves, roots growing in the ground.

Ezra Klein: And hopefully the 2025 vibes will feel more like this.

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).

This episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” was fact-checked by Michelle Harris. Mixing by Isaac Jones, with Efim Shapiro and Aman Sahota. Our supervising editor is Claire Gordon. The show’s production team also includes Rollin Hu, Elias Isquith, Kristin Lin and Jack McCordick. Original music by Pat McCusker. Audience strategy by Kristina Samulewski and Shannon Busta. The executive producer of New York Times Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Photo Illustration by The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 13, 2025

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[***What Black Voters Are Saying About Eric Adams Since His Indictment***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3H-7H81-JBG3-60KF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1473 words

**Highlight:** Some Black New Yorkers are sticking by the mayor’s side after he was charged with bribery. Many expressed disappointment in him.

**Body**

Some Black New Yorkers are sticking by the mayor’s side after he was charged with bribery. Many expressed disappointment in him.

He danced to gospel-tinged music as the churchgoers sang in unison. The crowd cheered as he told a story about growing up poor in Queens, about six miles from the church event on Monday evening.

The pastor singled him out in his prayers, saying, “Help him, Lord, during this challenging time.” And when he left the stage, his departure was greeted by a shout from the audience.

“We love you, Eric Adams!” a woman said.

Since his indictment last week, Mayor Adams has frequently sought refuge and support from his strongest backers: Black and brown ***working-class*** New Yorkers drawn to his message of faith, charm and empathy.

He appeared at a Harlem senior center on Friday; at an A.M.E. church in Queens on Saturday; a Presbyterian Reformed church in the Bronx on Sunday; and at Aliento de Vida Church in Corona, Queens, on Monday, where gatherers celebrated “An Evening of Faith With Mayor Adams.”

And it was here that pockets of New Yorkers could be found who had not soured on the mayor since a [*five-count corruption indictment*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indicted-news) accused him of soliciting illegal foreign campaign donations from the Turkish government.

Latricia T. Davis, 58, a former correctional captain who said she voted for Mr. Adams three years ago, said the indictment did not change her intention to vote for him again.

“It does not stop my support for him,” said Ms. Davis, the woman who shouted her love for the mayor at the church. “We’ve all had some challenges. We’ve all had some situations that we may not be most proud of.”

Mr. Adams, the city’s second Black mayor, seems to recognize that he will need voters like her to help save or extend his mayoralty. On the morning his indictment was unsealed, the mayor [*surrounded himself*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indicted-news) at a news conference with Black supporters, including the Rev. Herbert Daughtry and Hazel Dukes, the president of the N.A.A.C.P. New York State Conference. The event, however, was disrupted by protesters, some of them Black, who called on Mr. Adams to resign.

His hopes of finishing his first term and winning re-election next year could depend on support from Black voters, who have been at the center of the mayor’s coalition and who account for roughly 30 percent of Democratic primary voters.

In the days after the mayor’s indictment, The New York Times visited five neighborhoods across New York City where Mr. Adams has enjoyed broad support and conducted more than two dozen interviews. Roughly half of those interviewed defended the mayor or believed he was being unfairly targeted. Many still expressed disappointment in him and worried about the city’s future.

In South Jamaica, Queens, where the mayor grew up, Akahnni Delgado, a 25-year-old mail carrier, said over the weekend that he was frustrated that Mr. Adams appeared to have behaved recklessly, and he was concerned that the mayor had not learned his lesson.

“He should resign,” Mr. Delgado said. “Or who’s to say he wouldn’t do it again and do it another way?”

Older voters were more likely to defend the mayor. As Stephanie Bloodsaw, 54, a human services worker, caught the bus in Queens, she said she thought the mayor was being treated unfairly, comparing his treatment with that given to former President Donald J. Trump, who has been charged in several criminal cases and [*convicted in one*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indicted-news).

“Donald Trump has all these felonies and they’re letting him run for president?” she said.

“What’s the difference?” she asked, pointing to the shade of skin on the back of her hand and lifting her eyebrows.

Michael Totten, 65, a retired firefighter who owns Lock and Roll Locksmith in Queens, said he was proud when Mr. Adams was elected and shared many similar life experiences with him.

“I was sad that he was indicted,” he said. “I hope he fights it right to the end.”

Mr. Totten said he saw an ugly connection between the treatment of Mr. Adams and David N. Dinkins, the city’s first Black mayor. Mr. Adams has often compared himself to Mr. Dinkins and said they faced unfair discrimination.

“Both guys are stand-up guys,” Mr. Totten said. “Dinkins was undermined. The same thing’s happening to him,” he said, referring to Mr. Adams.

Kevin Sealy, 63, who works for the Department of Citywide Administrative Services and said he went to high school with the mayor, said he voted for Mr. Adams and liked that he was a centrist. But he said the indictment was concerning.

“When you hear so many of his top officials and advisers are resigning and getting investigated, you begin to think something is going wrong,” he said.

Mr. Sealy took issue with the idea that Mr. Adams was similar to Mr. Dinkins.

“David Dinkins wasn’t indicted,” Mr. Sealy said.

A [*poll from last December*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indicted-news) suggested that even as the mayor’s poll numbers fell to record lows, Mr. Adams kept a relatively positive rating among Black voters. Only 28 percent of white voters approved of the mayor, compared with 48 percent of Black voters. There has not been any new polling since the indictment.

As a lifelong New Yorker, Mr. Adams has deep ties to many neighborhoods. He was born in Brownsville in Brooklyn and raised in South Jamaica in Queens. He was a police officer for 22 years and then served as a state senator and Brooklyn borough president.

Mr. Adams often says, “I’m not new to this, I’m true to this,” to remind New Yorkers about his longstanding ties to various constituencies. The mayor also has close ties to faith leaders and frequently visits churches and speaks about his faith. He often says that God told him he would be mayor.

Susan Green, a parishioner at the Greater Allen A.M.E. Cathedral in South Jamaica, where the mayor appeared on Saturday, said she worked on his campaign for Brooklyn borough president and was surprised by the indictment.

“Stay and fight the charges,” she said. “Innocent until proven guilty. That’s what’s great about America.”

Nicole Ottley, a minister who attended the service in South Jamaica, said she voted for Mr. Adams and liked his background in the Police Department. She does not think he is guilty.

“I’m more angry to see people pressuring him to step down,” she said. “I think it’s very irresponsible, it’s wrong.”

Some Black elected officials have [*called on Mr. Adams to resign*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indicted-news), while others are taking a wait-and-see approach. The City Council speaker, Adrienne Adams, stopped short of urging him to resign, but expressed concern about his ability to manage the city.

Christopher Banks, a City Council member from East New York in Brooklyn, said the mayor should step down. The mayor’s legal problems could have a negative impact on his district, he said, which is grappling with poverty, gun violence and a rise in stop-and-frisk policing.

“Obviously he has the right to due process, but I think elected officials are held to a higher standard,” he said.

Joanna Allen, 62, a member of the Changing Lives Christian Center in East New York, which Mr. Adams visited recently, said she had supported the mayor and now believed he should resign. She said she did not think prosecutors would charge him without sufficient evidence.

“I was just very disappointed to hear what’s going on, and it’s a real shame,” she said.

Kathryn Price, 39, a secretary who lives in South Jamaica, said she thought Mr. Adams had been doing a good job as mayor, but she was worried about his ethical issues.

“I think once he took the job, he should’ve known all the rules and ethics,” she said. “He should’ve been more careful, especially in this city.”

Bernadelle Boateng, 21, a recent college graduate who attended the Bronx church service where the mayor spoke, said she believed Mr. Adams should stay in office, at least for now.

“I think he should continue to lead now until, you know, things are a little bit more resolved, because we need a leader in the moment,” she said.

In Harlem in Manhattan, Amin Shabazz, 67, said he had voted for Mr. Adams and was heartbroken. The amounts of money that the mayor was accused of accepting were relatively small, he said, and the allegations could have been worse considering what other politicians have been convicted of doing.

Mr. Shabazz said he still believed that Mr. Adams was a “good man,” but he said he could not vote for the mayor again and believed he should resign.

“He wouldn’t be able to be effective,” he said. “That’s gone.”

Anusha Bayya, Molly Longman and Julian Roberts-Grmela contributed reporting.

Anusha Bayya, Molly Longman and Julian Roberts-Grmela contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Above, Mayor Eric Adams at Emmanuel Presbyterian Reformed Church in the Bronx on Sunday. Left, “An Evening of Faith With Mayor Adams” at Aliento de Vida Church in Corona, Queens, on Monday. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ADAM GRAY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** October 3, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Tim Walz as a Harris Ally: Folksy, Factually Sloppy and Far Less Visible; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3H-JPV1-JBG3-60PV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1555 words

**Highlight:** The Minnesota governor has brought his charm to the campaign trail, but his debate was uneven and he has so far been scarcely seen on national television. His team says that may be changing.

**Body**

The Minnesota governor has brought his charm to the campaign trail, but his debate was uneven and he has so far been scarcely seen on national television. His team says that may be changing.

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota traded the harsh lights of the debate stage for the more comfortable environment of a campaign bus tour on Wednesday through central Pennsylvania.

After his [*occasionally nervy encounter with Senator JD Vance of Ohio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) at the vice-presidential debate on Tuesday night in New York, it is not hard to guess which setting Mr. Walz prefers.

The clash with Mr. Vance, after a day of buildup over [*an inaccurate anecdote he has told often about being in Hong Kong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) when Chinese troops crushed pro-democracy dissidents in Tiananmen Square 35 years ago, highlighted a tendency to exaggerate his biography and speak imprecisely or inaccurately.

And on the biggest stage of his career, he was plainly an uneven surrogate. The version of the punchy Midwesterner who rocketed onto Ms. Harris’s ticket in part by branding former President Donald J. Trump and Mr. Vance as “weird” on national television was rarely seen when confronted by two probing moderators and a slick opponent untroubled by [*frequent twisting of the truth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html).

In fact, since Mr. Walz joined the ticket, the Harris campaign has almost entirely kept him off national television, negating what was seen as one of his greatest strengths.

That may be about to change, at least to some extent: In the coming days, Mr. Walz is expected to take part in two national interviews, including one with CBS News’s “60 Minutes,” the nation’s most popular television news program; make his late-night television debut as the vice-presidential nominee during a West Coast fund-raising trip; and appear on a prominent pop culture podcast, according to the campaign.

And on Wednesday, Mr. Walz did speak to reporters, seeking to clean up his comments about where he was during the Tiananmen crackdown.

“Yeah, look, I have my dates wrong,” he said in Harrisburg, Pa. “It was profound for me — that was the summer of democracy.”

“I speak like everybody else speaks. I need to be clearer,” he acknowledged, before seeking to pivot. “I do understand China a hell of a lot better than Donald Trump. Kamala Harris understands China.”

Off the debate stage, Mr. Walz has been a far more effective surrogate, at least in front of the audiences that see him. With his down-home dialect, fluency in rural issues and ability to package liberal-leaning views in the [*language of common sense and patriotism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html), Democrats see him as a walking permission structure for white ***working-class*** men in particular, who often view the Democratic Party as a bastion of coastal elitism.

Heading into the debate, [*polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) [*showed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) that voters viewed Mr. Walz more favorably than they did Mr. Vance, whose past comments deriding “[*childless cat ladies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html)” rankled even [*some fellow Republicans, especially women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html).

Mr. Walz has also given several interviews to local television stations in battleground states, an attempt to directly reach the voters who the Harris campaign believes will decide the election.

Democrats have sought to downplay Mr. Walz’s verbal stumbles, suggesting that voters were unlikely to care about the exact timing of a decades-old anecdote. They have also argued that his missteps are in a different universe from the conspiracy theories promoted by Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance, such as the [*false and outlandish claim*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) that Haitian migrants are abducting and eating house pets.

In a spin-room interview before the debate, former Senator Claire McCaskill, a Missouri Democrat, noted [*Mr. Vance’s comment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) that he was willing to “create stories so that the American media actually pays attention.”

“He is running against two people, one of whom has bragged about creating stories to get attention, and the other one who lies like other people brush their teeth — I am not worried about Tim Walz’s misstatements,” Ms. McCaskill said. “Has he said everything perfectly? No.”

“He’s not perfect,” she added. “He’s relatable.”

Still, Mr. Walz [*has a history*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) of [*misspeaking*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html), misstating facts and otherwise getting over his skis.

And that was evident onstage on Tuesday.

In perhaps [*his most uncomfortable moment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html), he stumbled badly when asked why he had repeatedly misstated his whereabouts during Tiananmen. “I will get caught up in the rhetoric,” he offered, calling himself a “knucklehead at times” in an explanation that answered not a single question.

When pressed on the discrepancy, Mr. Walz said he misspoke (though he seemed to muddle the timeline again [*immediately afterward*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html)).

The gaffe — and Mr. Walz’s failure to craft a reasonable explanation — raised questions about the Harris campaign’s vetting process and its readiness to deal with such inconsistencies in Mr. Walz’s life story, including [*his false suggestion that he had carried a weapon “in war”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) when he served in the National Guard.

Two people briefed on the Harris campaign’s vetting process, who insisted on anonymity to discuss the operation’s internal workings, said that to their knowledge, the Tiananmen issue had not surfaced during a review of vice-presidential contenders that had to be rushed after President Biden dropped out of the race. The news of Mr. Walz’s misstatements was earlier reported by [*Minnesota Public Radio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) and [*The Washington Free Beacon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html).

The Harris campaign declined to comment. It previously managed to defuse the controversy over Mr. Walz’s military service to the point that Mr. Vance, who had frequently attacked the governor on the campaign trail, did not even mention it at the debate, a possible sign that the Tiananmen issue could also soon blow over.

After the debate, Jen O’Malley Dillon, the Harris campaign chair, expressed confidence in Mr. Walz’s performance.

“Governor Walz showed exactly why Vice President Harris picked him: He is a leader who cares about the issues that matter most to the American people,” she wrote in a statement.

The Trump campaign was quick to try to stir the pot.

“Kamala Harris probably wishes that she picked Josh Shapiro,” said Jason Miller, a top campaign adviser to Mr. Trump, referring to the Democratic governor of Pennsylvania, an accomplished orator who was seen as the other leading candidate for Ms. Harris’s ticket.

Part of the difference on the debate stage may also have come down to preparation. Mr. Walz — a veteran politician who has [*participated in many debates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) — has effectively been kept in Bubble Wrap from the national news media since joining the ticket.

He has generally stayed far away from the inquiring reporters who travel with him on the campaign trail and generally ignores their daily shouted questions. It is a marked contrast with his approach before joining the presidential ticket: As chairman of the Democratic Governors Association, he was highly accessible, and a [*ubiquitous surrogate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) for Mr. Biden. His frequent television appearances this summer helped turned him from a little-known state official to a national name in liberal circles.

Mr. Vance, for his part, regularly engages in back and forths with reporters in front of crowds at his campaign rallies, and often appears on cable news shows. It was easy to tell which candidate seemed more practiced at answering tough questions off the cuff under high pressure.

Of course, Mr. Vance’s frequent television appearances — during which he has made [*missteps*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) that have taken him out of line with some of Mr. Trump’s policy positions — seem to have done little to improve his ratings with voters. And Mr. Walz performed creditably in interviews he gave to ABC and MSNBC after Ms. Harris’s debate last month.

Win or lose, vice-presidential debates have almost never moved the polls. [*Snap surveys*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) conducted on Tuesday night suggested that voters did not believe that either candidate had scored a decisive victory — unlike this year’s presidential contests, in which Mr. Trump was widely seen as beating Mr. Biden and losing to Ms. Harris.

On Wednesday in Pennsylvania, Mr. Walz campaigned with someone who has proved how little debates can matter: Senator John Fetterman of Pennsylvania. In 2022, Mr. Fetterman was widely seen as [*bombing his debate performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) months after suffering a stroke. But he still strolled to an easy victory over Dr. Mehmet Oz, his Republican opponent, less than two weeks after Dr. Oz ran circles around him onstage.

Democrats took the Fetterman example as evidence that Beltway perceptions of strong or weak debate performances are [*not always shared by voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html).

At the debate, Mr. Walz seemed to grow more comfortable as the night went on. He often came across as earnest, and many voters [*found him likable.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html)

He also scored some points, as when he [*cornered Mr. Vance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html) into refusing to answer a question about whether Mr. Trump lost the 2020 election. “That is a damning non-answer,” Mr. Walz replied.

The Harris campaign quickly turned the moment [*into a digital ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/02/us/politics/vp-debate-takeaways-vance-walz.html).

Reporting was contributed by Kellen Browning, Jazmine Ulloa, Katie Rogers, Reid J. Epstein and Michael C. Bender.

Reporting was contributed by Kellen Browning, Jazmine Ulloa, Katie Rogers, Reid J. Epstein and Michael C. Bender.

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota stopping for pizza in Manhattan after the vice-presidential debate on Tuesday night. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** October 3, 2024

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[***The Ohio Steel Town That Shaped J.D. Vance’s Life and Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGV-7PD1-JBG3-600G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1581 words

**Byline:** Campbell Robertson, Kevin Williams and Madeleine Hordinski Campbell Robertson reports on Delaware, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia, for The Times.

**Highlight:** His memoir, “Hillbilly Elegy,” told the down-at-the-heels story of Middletown, Ohio. It’s a depiction that has stuck.

**Body**

His memoir, “Hillbilly Elegy,” told the down-at-the-heels story of Middletown, Ohio. It’s a depiction that has stuck.

Middletown, Ohio, a small city of tree-lined streets surrounding a sprawling steel mill, seems as far from the towering skyscrapers of New York as it gets.

But on Monday, they were suddenly linked: Donald Trump, a real estate heir, tapped Middletown’s most famous son, J.D. Vance, as his running mate.

Millions of people first learned of Middletown from “Hillbilly Elegy,” Mr. Vance’s best-selling memoir, and the Hollywood movie that followed.

Mr. Vance, 39, wrote about his chaotic upbringing there, raised in the intermittent care of a single mother struggling with addiction. In his depiction, Middletown was “little more than a relic of American industrial glory,” a place “hemorrhaging jobs and hope.”

His bleak portrait of the city, just north of Cincinnati, was initially held up as a reference guide for urbanites on the coasts desperate to understand Mr. Trump’s appeal among the struggling white ***working class***.

Mr. Vance’s explanation was a stark one: some of Middletown’s woes were caused by the damaging decisions of government and big business, but the deeper problems lay in the fatalism, indolence and victim mentality of the city’s white ***working class***.

The problems in his community “run far deeper than macroeconomic trends and policy,” Mr. Vance wrote in his book. “There is a lack of agency here — a feeling that you have little control over your life and a willingness to blame everyone but yourself.”

Middletown, which has begun to stabilize after decades of decline, was at its lowest point in the years that Mr. Vance chronicled. Some people in the nicer parts of town thought Mr. Vance had been unfair, said Jason Moore, 39, a truck driver who was a year behind Mr. Vance in high school. But, he said, “people in this part of town would say he nailed it.”

When Mr. Vance’s grandparents moved to Middletown from eastern Kentucky in the 1940s, the city was in what most people say were its golden years. A half-dozen paper mills ran alongside the Armco steel mill, and the business owners lived in grand houses in town, bankrolling cultural festivals and a local symphony.

Most of the steelworkers — a mix of first and second-generation European immigrants, Black families who had moved up from the Deep South and white families from Appalachia — were represented by an independent and locally run union.

Middletown was, as Look Magazine declared in 1957, an [*“All-America City,”*](https://www.ourmidland.com/news/article/Middletown-commemorates-1957-All-America-City-6940275.php) and many of its residents thought of it that way.

Mr. Vance’s grandfather, who worked at the mill, had been among those who found a foothold of economic security in Middletown, moving his family into a two-story house across from a neighborhood park. But that stability was fleeting. Mr. Vance’s mother had a child as a teenager, divorced, remarried and in 1984, gave birth to Mr. Vance, just as the city’s prosperity was beginning to founder.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the U.S. steel industry collapsed across the Midwest. The Middletown steelworks were no exception. In 1985, Armco’s corporate leadership decamped for the East Coast, draining the city of money, while the steel mill went through round after round of layoffs. Those who kept their jobs, some former employees said, found it an ever more miserable and [*more dangerous place*](https://www.ourmidland.com/news/article/Middletown-commemorates-1957-All-America-City-6940275.php) to work.

Middletown struggled. Government-subsidized rentals began proliferating in the empty houses at a rate the city’s social services were not equipped to handle. Shopping centers were boarded up and the city pools were filled with concrete. Many residents turned to drugs, including Mr. Vance’s mother, who became addicted to narcotics. Her life became erratic as she cycled among boyfriends, and Mr. Vance sought refuge with “Mamaw,” his hard-edge but protective grandmother.

This was the Middletown Mr. Vance knew in his childhood.

“That was how most of us lived,” said Rodney Muterspaw, 55, who spent decades on the city’s police force and five years as police chief.

Mr. Muterspaw went on to describe some of the larger context of the city’s distress. He recalled with regret that law enforcement responded to the growing drug epidemic by focusing disproportionately on low-income neighborhoods. And he remembered being sent as a police officer to monitor locked-out workers picketing the steel mill, essentially ordered, he said, to spy on “our dads, our brothers, our uncles.” Once an All-America city, Middletown appeared to have turned against itself.

Various attempts to lift the city’s fortunes failed, reinforcing a pessimism among many residents. In his book, Mr. Vance mentioned that efforts to revive the downtown were “futile,” a cynicism about government intentions that is far from rare.

“I’ve never seen a city that loves to hate itself as much as Middletown does,” Mr. Muterspaw said.

Some of Mr. Vance’s teachers did not recall any signs of Mr. Vance’s struggles at home, though by high school, he wrote in his memoir, he had found some stability living with his grandmother.

At least one teacher remembered his growing political consciousness.

“His grasp and understanding of government and politics was extraordinary,” said Mike Stratton, 79, who taught Mr. Vance’s Advanced Placement English class at Middletown High.

When class discussion turned to politics, Mr. Stratton recalled, Mr. Vance was an outspoken Republican: supporting limited government and then-President George W. Bush. Mr. Vance’s views were fairly standard Republican fare at the time, said Mr. Stratton, a Democrat.

“Middletown was a hotbed of conservative Republicanism back then, but J.D. Vance was a moderate,” he said.

Mr. Stratton said that these days, Mr. Vance’s political rhetoric, with its hard-right populism, seems quite different from what he heard in his classroom more than two decades ago.

Mr. Vance graduated from high school in 2003, when the city was still at its nadir, and joined the Marines. He built from there — degrees from Ohio State and Yale Law School, a job at a Silicon Valley venture capital firm, election to the U.S. Senate and now a place on a presidential ticket.

This rapid rise was fueled in large part by the success of “Hillbilly Elegy,” which attributed his community’s woes in large part on “a culture that increasingly encourages social decay instead of counteracting it.”

Mr. Vance speaks differently now, blaming the ills of his community on immigration and elites, a far more populist tone.

Last year, after a freight train carrying hazardous chemicals derailed and burned in the industrial town of East Palestine, Ohio, Mr. Vance excoriated the “bicoastal elite,” saying that they use places like East Palestine “for cheap propaganda,” while reserving their sympathy for “Ukrainians, extreme sexual minorities, and criminals.”

Elites, Mr. Vance said, ignored the fact that their prosperity was only possible because of “heartland labor, heartland sweat, and heartland peril.”

That labor never stopped in Middletown, even in the grim years that Mr. Vance described in his book.

The steel mill’s current owner, Cleveland-Cliffs, announced this spring that it was investing nearly $2 billion to upgrade the plant, with $500 million of that coming through a grant from the Biden administration. The [*plan was cheered*](https://www.ourmidland.com/news/article/Middletown-commemorates-1957-All-America-City-6940275.php) by the local of the International Association of Machinists, the union that now represents workers at the mill.

Attempts to turn the city’s fortunes around have continued, and some major projects have gotten underway, including Renaissance Pointe, described as [*a $200 million “epicenter”*](https://www.ourmidland.com/news/article/Middletown-commemorates-1957-All-America-City-6940275.php) for stores, restaurants and hotels.

But reversing four decades of declining fortune is hard work. Downtown, there are brew pubs and a wine bar, but also plenty of empty storefronts.

Ami Vitori, 50, left Middletown after high school. But she came back in 2015, and in recent years has renovated an abandoned building downtown, attracting a restaurant, retail and even a boutique hotel. Mr. Vance praised her efforts in [*a 2017 New York Times opinion piece, which explained his decision to return to Ohio*](https://www.ourmidland.com/news/article/Middletown-commemorates-1957-All-America-City-6940275.php) and open a nonprofit.

That [*nonprofit has since folded*](https://www.ourmidland.com/news/article/Middletown-commemorates-1957-All-America-City-6940275.php); Mr. Vance now lives in Cincinnati.

“Vance left Middletown behind a long time ago,” Ms. Vitori said. To her, his interest in his hometown nowadays seemed limited to using it as symbol of what he has overcome.

George F. Lang, a Republican state senator who represents Middletown, pushed back on that notion. He pointed out that Mr. Vance had announced his 2022 run for Senate in the city and also opened his regional senate office there. “The most important thing he can do for Middletown,” Mr. Lang said, “is be the example that he is.”

Given Mr. Vance’s ongoing rise to prominence, Ms. Vitori said she hoped for more.

“I honestly hope he’s done what he’s had to do to get where he is,” she said. “And once he’s there, he may actually try to do some good for people and places like Middletown.”

PHOTOS: Millions of people first learned of Middletown, Ohio, from “Hillbilly Elegy,” Senator J.D. Vance’s best-selling memoir. Below left, the city’s steel mill, owned by Cleveland-Cliffs, which plans a nearly $2 billion upgrade. Below right, a storefront window downtown.; RODNEY MUTERSPAW, above, a former police chief of Middletown.; The home where Mr. Vance lived growing up, center. The stability Mr. Vance’s grandfather sought in moving there was fleeting. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADELEINE HORDINSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2024

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[***Road Trips, Pushed Limits and Upended Lives***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTS-MXV1-DXY4-X0MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 27, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 977 words

**Byline:** By Devika Girish

**Body**

In this month's picks, a yoga teacher in Argentina adjusts to life after divorce, a young woman in London struggles to move past her painful past and more.

'The Practice'

Rent or buy it on major platforms.

The Argentine director Martín Rejtman has accumulated a body of deceptively profound comedies over the last four decades, the likes of which are hard to find in American cinema. Often spiraling out of absurd premises, they are low-key but whip-smart dramas about the tragicomedy of everyday human relations, which sneak up on you with their sharp analysis of life under modern-day capitalism. His latest, ''The Practice,'' follows in this vein.

The central premise almost sounds like a sketch or a gag: Gustavo (Esteban Bigliardi), a yoga teacher in Chile, has separated from his wife and has lost custody of his home and his studio. As he tries to find a new apartment and continue his yoga practice on-the-go, a series of comical complications pile up. He tears his meniscus; a new student (with possible substance-abuse issues) seems to be stealing from his class; another student, who accuses Gustavo of inappropriate behavior, is injured during an earthquake and loses her memory. Multiple other plot and character threads emerge and intertwine, each satirizing with rich detail a world in which self-mastery is all the fashion, yet people exert little control over their lives or circumstances.

'Pilgrims'

Stream it on Tubi.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

A pair of friends, Paulius (Giedrius Kiela) and Indre (Gabija Bargailaite), meet on a summer afternoon and somberly, with few words exchanged, embark on a strange expedition. They drive to several spots around their provincial Lithuanian hometown, and Paulius narrates pieces of a gruesome story that unfolded at each location, sometimes re-enacting scenes. It takes a little while for all the details to add up, but when they do, the full picture lands like a punch to the gut. Paulius's brother was kidnapped, raped and murdered, and Paulius and Indre -- whose relationship with the victim is revealed late in ''Pilgrims'' -- are retracing his final days. Why are they doing this exercise? It's never stated explicitly in Laurynas Bareisa's stark, matter-of-fact film, which simmers with unspoken -- perhaps unspeakable -- feelings. We follow along with the protagonists, hoping for an explanation, a sudden twist or a revelation, but all there is to find are the hard facts of an irrevocable loss.

'The Visitor'

Stream it on Ovid.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

There's a picture-perfect prettiness to Martín Boulocq's ''The Visitor.'' The movie is set in small-town Bolivia, amid mountains dotted with colorful homes and winding streets, and each frame has a breathtaking sense of symmetry and precision to it. Yet this aesthetic beauty provokes a sense of uneasiness, too, as if it is concealing the messiness of reality. Indeed, ''The Visitor'' is about what lies underneath seemingly perfect facades. Humberto (Enrique Aráoz), the protagonist, has just been released from prison, and is trying to get back on his feet and reconnect with his daughter. She is in the custody of Humberto's wealthy, white in-laws, who are pastors at an Evangelical church. They are, by all appearances, pious and beneficent, but there is an undercurrent of violence to their condescending and evasive niceties. As a quiet power struggle ensues, Boulocq sculpts a rich drama of class, race and religion from his modest, melancholic premise.

'The Hypnosis'

Stream it on Mubi.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Herbert Nordrum from the acclaimed 2022 film ''The Worst Person in the World'' stars in this strange little Swedish satire that milks the performativity of start-up culture to excellent cringe-comedy effect. Andre (Nordrum) and Vera (Asta Kamma August) are preparing to attend Shake Up, a three-day coaching retreat for start-up founders. Their idea is an app that helps, vaguely, with women's health, and their pitch hinges on a personal appeal made by Vera (though clearly scripted and directed by Andre) to the pains of growing up female.

Right before the pitch, Vera tries out hypnotherapy to help her quit smoking, and emerges changed, though not in the ways she expected. No longer meek or eager to please, she's uninhibited and unpredictable. Her behavior initially proves an asset at Shake Up -- she's authentic! -- but when she starts to cross all manner of social boundaries, chaos ensues, especially for the buttoned-up Andre, whose desperation to be liked generates its own squirm-inducing humor. What starts as a somewhat straightforward tale about a woman's self-actualization becomes something uncomfortably, gloriously weirder, committed more to the bit than to any moralistic message.

'Silver Haze'

Stream it on Tubi.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Each frame of Sacha Polak's film pulsates with rage, grief and pain, and yet makes room for remarkable tenderness. The story traces Franky (Vicky Knight), a nurse in her 20s, who lives in a dysfunctional home in ***working-class*** London with her siblings and mother. Years ago, a fire left Franky with burns all over her body and killed her older brother. Her parents split over the incident, while its mysterious circumstances continue to torment Franky. ''Silver Haze'' traces a volatile love story in the midst of Franky's tumultuous everyday: When she meets the suicidal Florence at her hospital, the two are drawn together like magnets, each of them yearning to be loved and held. But romance is sometimes hard to watch, as the characters flail for answers and escapes that don't exist. But it's also beautiful, bathed in glowing light and colors, and unfolding with an effervescent naturalism. At its center is a raw performance by Knight, whose real-life experiences of being scarred in a fire as a child inform the narrative.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/23/movies/international-movies-streaming.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/23/movies/international-movies-streaming.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Right, Esteban Bigliardi as a yoga teacher adjusting to life after divorce in ''The Practice,'' from Argentina. Below, Asta Kamma August and Herbert Nordrum as start-up founders at a retreat in the Swedish film ''The Hypnosis.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GRAVITAS VENTURES

MUBI) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** August 27, 2024

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[***These Undecided Michigan Voters Really Aren’t All That Undecided; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6W-GY41-JBG3-62D4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1796 words

**Byline:** Megan K. StackMegan K. Stack is a contributing Opinion writer and author. She has been a correspondent in China, Russia, Egypt, Israel, Afghanistan and the U.S.-Mexico border area. Her first book, a narrative account of the post-Sept. 11 wars, was a finalist for the National Book Award in nonfiction.

**Highlight:** Many people I spoke to seemed reluctant to admit — even, perhaps, to themselves — that they were really going to vote for that person.

**Body**

Cindy Jager was the lone worker on duty in the crammed aisles of an old-fashioned variety store overflowing with hardware and party supplies and fake pumpkins.

When I came across her, she was carefully rearranging cleaning products on a back shelf of the shop in Walker, Mich. When I brought up the election, she pulled herself into a full-body cringe, bending at the waist and grimacing, fluttering in nervous laughter, hands flying to touch her frosted hair.

“It’s embarrassing,” Ms. Jager, 56, said. “Everything’s a joke. I don’t even watch the news anymore.”

I asked if she planned to vote. Definitely, she replied. “For whom?” I asked. She cringed again.

“That’s the question,” she said. “Out of millions of people, why do we have these two?”

Walker is a onetime farming district thick with peach orchards, now a city on the western flank of Grand Rapids. It has made national news at least twice — once in the 1980s, when a couple of health care workers were smothering their charges in a nursing home, and again when Donald Trump went there to speak in late September.

Mr. Trump stood on a loading dock of a manufacturing plant there and told the crowd that Vice President Kamala Harris had allowed droves of violent criminals to cross the border illegally and carry out crime sprees in U.S. communities. “Blood is on her hands,” he said floridly.

“What Kamala Harris has done is unforgivable,” Mr. Trump said. “It’s a crime what she did. There’s no greater act of disloyalty than to extinguish the sovereignty of your own nation.”

Ms. Jager was not convinced by Mr. Trump’s theatrics. She found them unnerving. “I like what he says most of the time, but then sometimes it’s embarrassing,” she said. “And you’re like, ‘What did he say?’”

I asked her, then, if she would end up voting for Ms. Harris.

“But … I’m not Democrat!” she exclaimed.

It was a simple cry, but it contained the germ of the matter. Ms. Jager has simply always thought of herself as a Republican, and she was not prepared to stop thinking of herself that way. Her favorite president was Ronald Reagan. She talked about Democrats as if they were another species; she heard they were trying to force everybody to drive electric cars. And while she seemed torn over Mr. Trump, even a little undecided, it was not really that. I think that, like a lot of voters I met, she was just pained by and a little incredulous at the choice she’d probably make.

Ms. Jager worked for years driving a trash truck, and she loved it. She spent her days out on her own, independent, driving the streets. When her boss retired, she ended up finding work as a shopkeeper. Rattling off these details lightly, she came across as scrappy and optimistic — the kind of person who would always land on her feet. The election has left her discouraged.

“It’s not exciting,” she said grimly, “to be a voter right now.”

I’d stopped in Walker while driving a slow, winding path across Michigan’s Lower Peninsula, from Grand Rapids to Detroit, pulling over to chat with people in some of the swingiest spots of this notoriously swingy state. I was looking for undecided, or at least conflicted, voters — a hazily understood group that has taken on tremendous significance in tossup states like Michigan, [*where polling suggests*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-michigan.html) 15 electoral votes still hang within reach of either Ms. Harris or Mr. Trump.

I met plenty of people who, in their first breath, told me they were undecided — only to admit or make plain, the longer we talked, that their presidential choice had already come together in their minds, even if they weren’t exactly saying it aloud. Many people seemed reluctant to admit — even perhaps to themselves — that they were really going to vote for that person.

Most of the time, that person was Mr. Trump, but not always. A pleasant, middle-aged woman working the register of a small-town sandwich shop told me she had generally been a Republican voter. This election, though, she was balking. She talked loudly and freely about her indecision before finally whispering to me, so that her co-workers and customers couldn’t hear, that she was probably going to end up voting for Ms. Harris because she really, really couldn’t stand Mr. Trump. Then she grimaced, as if to say: What have we come to? Then she declined to tell me her name.

These exchanges suggest that “undecided” is not the best word for many of these voters. They are uncomfortable, even disgusted. They described the election as presenting an unpleasant choice that must be made. Mr. Trump’s image, full of chaos and invective, has clearly soured, even in the minds of voters who voted for him before and are likely to vote for him again. As for Ms. Harris, I heard over and over again that people didn’t know who she was or what she wanted to do. There was an unfamiliarity so vast that for some, it gave way to distrust.

I am familiar, of course, with the indignant howls of colleagues, neighbors, television pundits: Who could be undecided at a moment like this? The conflicted voters I met seemed unlikely to be won over — they are too far gone for that — but were instead bobbing back and forth on the eddies of their own revulsion. That, too, creates movement, albeit an uninspiring movement.

This election may be an experiment in the power of the negative — the inverse of the charismatic politician whose gravitational pull tugs voters across party lines and assembles them in a formerly improbable bloc. That was Barack Obama in the optimistic flush of 2008, rallying a broad coalition in which independents and some Republicans joined the Democrats.

This moment is not that. American optimism is, at least for now, in short supply. The public’s view of politics and elected officials is “unrelentingly negative,” a Pew Research Center [*study*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-michigan.html) concluded last year. More than a quarter of the respondents (28 percent) had unfavorable views of both parties; 63 percent had little or no confidence in the future of the political system.

But, as the researchers at Pew pointed out, the general unhappiness with politics coincided with historically high levels of voter turnout. People may take a jaundiced view of the candidates and the resulting governance, but many of them still vote.

Consider the contrast between two young Michigan women who planned to vote specifically in the hopes of advancing their views on abortion — although on opposite sides.

Joy Johnson was strolling along the main drag of Howell with a baby balanced snugly on her hip. At 23, Ms. Johnson is a stay-at-home mom. She and her husband went to high school together; after graduation, he got a solid job working on power lines for an electric company. The couple bought a house shortly before interest rates went up. She doesn’t think they’d be able to buy now. Her brother has been house hunting for over two years, with no luck.

She seemed to attribute both the housing squeeze and what she felt to be a high tax burden to the Biden administration and believed her family would fare better under Mr. Trump’s tax plan, but that’s not what was deciding her vote.

Ms. Johnson is a Christian and is firmly opposed to abortion. There was no other issue that she viewed with the same degree of seriousness. “I’m looking for abortion and what I believe lines up more with God,” she said. “It’s not if I like him. I don’t necessarily like Trump.” Still, she seemed at peace with casting a vote for him. “You always wish you had stronger choices,” she added cheerfully. “I don’t think you’ll ever feel good about it.”

Then there was Nina Brown, a 22-year-old psychology student who, as evening fell over the far northern suburbs of Detroit, was hunched over her books in the student center of her community college. She would vote for Ms. Harris because she wanted to protect women’s rights, she told me — but she was utterly nonplused about it.

Ms. Brown mentioned the economy, which she considered dismal. She was barely getting by. She’d vote because it needed to be done, but at the same time, she didn’t believe it would make much difference. She didn’t have much, if any, faith in politicians across the board. “I’m basically one of those going for the lesser evil,” she said with a shrug.

The most conflicted voters I came across tended to be middle-class or ***working-class*** women. Naydelin Lucas, who at 18 is looking forward to voting for the first time, was a study in conflicted impulse. A curbside supercenter worker who takes classes at a community college in Grand Rapids in hopes of becoming an ultrasound technician, she found the presidential choice confounding. Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump both, Ms. Lucas contended, have “a lot of cons and pros.”

Stuck in her parents’ house because she couldn’t afford a place of her own, she was worried constantly about the state of the economy, high prices and her earning potential. She was troubled by the general possibility of war (she didn’t closely follow foreign policy), especially because her long-term boyfriend just enlisted in the military.

Ms. Lucas approached the election with an accumulated outlook of skepticism tinged with grievance. Her generation came of age under the constant threat of school shootings, distant wars raging in the background, harsh warnings of climate collapse and fascism pouring from screens. Her education and mental health were badly damaged, she said, by pandemic lockdowns and distance learning. Having been told all her life that disaster lurks just over the horizon, she has grown disenchanted.

She was simply not convinced by the grandiose framing of the election as a crossroads leading us to national collapse on the one hand or the salvation of our collective soul on the other. She told me that mostly, she wants a better job.

Ms. Lucas didn’t always agree with Mr. Trump. But he was critical of U.S. involvement in foreign wars and, when he talked about inflation, it sounded to her as if he knew what he was doing. To her, that was something. Ms. Harris never kept her attention. Ms. Lucas watched a few videos of Ms. Harris’s speeches online but came away somewhat unmoved, she said, without a clear idea of the Democratic candidate’s goals or priorities. In short, neither of them struck Ms. Lucas as an unambiguously better choice.

“I might just put ‘undecided’ for that race. I don’t think either one of them is necessarily going to ….” She trailed off, and I recognized a note of disappointment in her voice. “I’m feeling some type of way about it.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-michigan.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/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-michigan.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-michigan.html).

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This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

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[***Harris Struggles to Win Over Latinos, While Trump Holds His Grip, Poll Shows***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5T-MXK1-DXY4-X4S1-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1715 words

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

**Highlight:** Latino voters said they were open to Donald J. Trump’s immigration policies and hungry for change. Many remain undecided.

**Body**

Latino voters said they were open to Donald J. Trump’s immigration policies and hungry for change. Many remain undecided.

Vice President Kamala Harris’s support among Hispanic voters is in dangerously low territory for Democrats, according to [*a New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html), while her rival, former President Donald J. Trump, has maintained his strength with the fast-growing group poised to play a key role in deciding control of the White House.

The survey of the likely Latino electorate across the country found Ms. Harris underperforming the last three Democratic candidates for the White House, and vulnerable on a slate of top issues, including the economy, immigration and crime.

Mr. Trump, who shocked Democrats four years ago with his appeal to Latinos, particularly men, has only tightened his grip — even as he closes his campaign with a sharply anti-immigrant message.

The poll found that those escalating attacks on immigrants had not driven Latino voters to Ms. Harris. Two-thirds of those surveyed said they believed Mr. Trump was not referring to people like them when he spoke about immigrants. (Half of foreign-born Hispanic voters said the same.)

The findings highlight Latinos’ status as decisive swing voters in presidential politics. The last Democrat to fall below 60 percent with Latino voters was John Kerry, the losing nominee in 2004. Over a decade ago, roughly 70 percent of Latino voters backed President Barack Obama’s re-election. Since then, Mr. Trump has eroded that support.

Both parties have aggressively courted Hispanic voters this year, and the survey suggests that voters’ choices could still change: About one-quarter said they were undecided or persuadable — slightly higher than likely voters overall. Those undecided voters lean toward Ms. Harris.

The poll of 902 Hispanic likely voters, conducted from Sept. 29 to Oct. 6, shows striking signs of support for Mr. Trump’s most aggressive immigration policies: More than one-third of Hispanic voters say they support both building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border and deporting immigrants who are living in the United States illegally. A vast majority of that support comes from Trump voters, but 9 percent of Harris voters also say the same. Support for such policies came largely from Latinos born in the United States.

Roughly four in 10 Hispanic voters said they did not take the former president very seriously when he spoke, with half of men saying people take his words too seriously.

Jessie Saucedo, 39, a long-haul truck driver in Houston, said he had voted for Mr. Obama but was almost certain he would vote for Mr. Trump in November. He believes, he said, that Democrats have gone too far in their “weaponization of the government” against the former president. Mr. Saucedo said he had not paid close attention to politics until Mr. Trump was in the White House.

“I have heard a lot of people say that he is racist, but I honestly don’t think he is racist,” Mr. Saucedo said. “All of the stuff was taken out of context.”

A majority of all Hispanic voters — 55 percent — said people had good reason to be offended by Mr. Trump’s comments.

The poll showed that Latino voters, like other demographic groups, are sharply divided by gender. Hispanic men are far more likely than Hispanic women to support Mr. Trump.

The survey suggests Mr. Trump is peeling off a small but significant slice of voters who chose President Biden in 2020, with 9 percent of Biden voters surveyed saying they would cast a ballot for Mr. Trump this year. Hispanic voters who did not vote at all in 2020 were more likely than others to say they would vote for Mr. Trump.

Judith Camacho, 28, a teacher in Kirtland, N.M., who plans to vote for Mr. Trump, said that she worried some immigrants coming to the United States would cause harm and that she did not condone illegal immigration.

“I have family members that have come here illegally in the past, but I can’t say that what they did was right,” she said.

In a sign of frustration, an overwhelming majority of Hispanic voters said America’s political and economic systems needed major changes or needed to be torn down entirely. Those who say the systems need to be torn down are more likely to support Mr. Trump.

Less than a third of all Latino voters say they believe that Mr. Trump, more than Ms. Harris, cares about people like them — a lower percentage than those who plan to vote for him. Among his supporters, 80 percent said he cared about people like them, significantly lower than the 92 percent of supporters of Ms. Harris who say they believe that about her.

For many Hispanic voters, the Democratic Party remains their home, even as they indicate that it has not helped them directly. Some 57 percent say the Democratic Party understands and can fix their problems.

Less than half say the Democrats are more likely than Republicans to keep their promises. And the share who view Republicans as the party of the ***working class*** is at 35 percent, up from 27 percent [*two years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html).

Still, far more voters say the Republican Party is too far to the right than say the Democratic Party is too far to the left.

“The Republicans are way out of hand,” said Raymond Islas, 58, a fiction writer and high school teacher in Tucson, Ariz., who recently registered as an independent because he was dissatisfied with both major parties.

He said he planned to vote reluctantly for Ms. Harris. “They are too far to the right,” he said of Republicans, “and the rhetoric they spew out is frightening.”

The poll found that Hispanic voters maintain a fondness for the Trump administration and view the current White House with less enthusiasm. Latino voters were more likely to believe that Mr. Trump’s policies helped them than to believe that Mr. Biden’s policies were beneficial.

Among younger Latino voters, the gap is especially stark: Voters under 30 were more than twice as likely to say Mr. Trump’s policies helped them than to say the same of Mr. Biden’s.

Ricardo Sanchez, a 20-year-old security guard in Stockton, Calif., with Salvadoran and Mexican roots, said he was voting for Mr. Trump because he believed the former president put American citizens first, over sending funds abroad to aid with conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza.

Mr. Sanchez said he knew he was out of step with many of his Gen Z friends, but he believed Mr. Trump was the candidate who could most help him achieve financial stability. He said the Democratic Party lacked common-sense policies.

“The internet has labeled Trump a racist,” Mr. Sanchez said, but he viewed the former president’s intended message as being “to take care of Americans and make us feel safe.”

Supporters of Mr. Trump are twice as likely to call crime in big cities out of control, but half of Ms. Harris’s voters say it is still a major problem, according to the survey.

Nearly three in 10 Hispanic voters say the economy is the most important issue determining their vote in November, far exceeding any other issue. Abortion was ranked the top issue by 15 percent of voters, just ahead of immigration at 10 percent.

Nichole Jaramillo, 29, who considers herself an independent, said she struggled to make ends meet working two jobs in Phoenix, one as a warehouse driver and the other as a merchandiser for a beer company.

Although she has not voted in a presidential election before, she plans to cast a ballot for Ms. Harris this year, she said, because she believes the vice president will lower taxes and help her improve her way of life and support her family.

“She is trying to build everybody up and give us all an opportunity to grow,” she said.

Camille Baker and Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

Here are the key things to know about this Times/Siena poll:

* Interviewers spoke with 902 Hispanic voters from Sept. 29 to Oct. 6, 2024, as part of a national poll of 3,385 voters.

1. This survey includes responses from more than three times as many Hispanic voters as in a typical national survey, using a polling technique known as an oversample. The goal of an oversample is to enable confident analysis of subgroups, such as Hispanic men or younger Hispanic voters. This method does not affect the top-level results of the final poll; in the overall poll of the nation, Hispanic respondents are weighted down so that they represent the proper share of all voters and so their views are not overrepresented in the survey results.
2. As part of the fielding process, The Times and Siena College relied on about 50 bilingual interviewers. Overall, nearly 20 percent of interviews among respondents who self-reported as Hispanic alone were conducted in Spanish.

* Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, about 98 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/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.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.
* 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/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html), under “Composition of the Sample.”
* The margin of sampling error among the Hispanic likely electorate is plus or minus 4.5 points. 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/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html). If you want to read more about how and why we conduct our polls, you can see answers to [*frequently asked questions and submit your own questions here*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html).

Camille Baker and Christine Zhang contributed reporting.

This article appeared in print on page A14.

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[***Why Do Democrats Struggle to Match Biden's Bond With the Working Class?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67KW-2NH1-JBG3-654T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 21, 2023 Tuesday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1862 words

**Byline:** By David Leonhardt

**Body**

By David Leonhardt

Good morning. On Presidents' Day, we go inside the West Wing to explain a crucial way that Biden is different from many Democrats.

How Biden thinks

I want to use today's newsletter -- on Presidents' Day -- to explain how President Biden thinks about the country and what distinguishes him from many other leading Democrats. To do so, I spent time at the White House last week talking with senior officials and emerged with a clearer sense of why Biden and his inner circle believe that he should run for re-election.

You may not agree with them. He is already 80 years old. But even if you think his age should be disqualifying for 2024, Biden's analysis of American politics is worth considering. He believes that he understands public opinion in ways that many of his fellow Democrats do not, and there is reason to think he is correct.

Let's start in the same place that Biden often does when talking about this subject: with the campaign that launched his career.

'Limousine liberals'

Biden was first elected to the Senate in a very bad year for the Democratic presidential nominee. It was 1972, and that nominee was George McGovern. Richard Nixon, the incumbent, portrayed McGovern as an effete liberal who was focused on the three A's -- amnesty (for draft dodgers), abortion and acid. Despite McGovern's own humble background and World War II heroism, he played into the caricature, allowing Hollywood stars and college activists to become symbols of his campaign.

Biden, a 29-year-old long-shot Senate candidate in Delaware, took a different approach. On economic issues, he ran as a populist. He complained about ''millionaires who don't pay any taxes at all'' and ''billion-dollar corporations who want a ride on the public's back.''

On other issues, Biden signaled that he was more moderate. He called for an end to the Vietnam War while also opposing amnesty for draft dodgers. He said the police should focus less on marijuana busts while also opposing legalization. He distanced himself from McGovern's student volunteers. ''I'm not as liberal as most people think,'' Biden told a Delaware newspaper.

On Election Day, McGovern lost every state except Massachusetts and received less than 40 percent of the vote in Delaware. Biden won a shocking upset that launched his long Senate career.

Today, when Biden reminisces about the McGovern campaign, he uses the phrase ''limousine liberals,'' which was coined in 1969. ''They forgot about the neighborhood I grew up in,'' he has said. The key lesson was that the rest of America looked more like Biden's old neighborhood in Scranton, Pa., than like Hollywood or the Ivy League.

Biden has never forgotten that. Every president since Nixon had hung a portrait of George Washington above the fireplace in the Oval Office, but not Biden. That spot has instead gone to Franklin D. Roosevelt. When Biden looks up from his desk, he sees the portrait. He tells people that F.D.R. is the president who never forgot about the ***working class***.

''We didn't pay nearly as much attention to ***working-class*** folks as we used to,'' Biden said recently, talking about 1972. ''And the same thing is happening today.''

'Sick and tired'

Regular readers of The Morning may recognize this theme. The Democratic Party, especially its left flank, has gone upscale in the 21st century, increasingly reflecting the social liberalism of well-off professionals. Most Americans without a four-year college degree now vote Republican, even though they lean left on economic issues.

When explaining the shift, liberals sometimes argue that it stems from ***working-class*** bigotry. And racism certainly influences American politics. But the shift is not simply about race (nor is it smart politics to describe millions of voters as bigots).

After all, the Democratic Party's upscale liberalism has alienated voters of color, too. Latinos have become more Republican in the past few years; one recent analysis of the Latino vote found that liberals' stridency on Covid precautions and their lack of concern about border security have harmed Democrats. Many Black voters, for their part, hold more moderate views on crime, immigration and gender issues than liberal professionals do.

Biden's own rise to presidency highlighted this dynamic. He ran as Joe from Scranton -- and Black voters in South Carolina rescued his campaign. Affluent moderates often preferred Michael Bloomberg or Pete Buttigieg, while affluent progressives liked Elizabeth Warren.

As president, Biden has stuck to this approach. He is more socially liberal than he was in 1972 but downplays the issues on which many swing voters are moderate. In his State of the Union address, he didn't say much about abortion, a recognition that the country is more conflicted about the issue than liberals often imagine. On immigration, he has taken steps to reduce the surge of undocumented migrants (albeit slowly, as Republicans note). On Covid, he infuriated some on the left by saying what seems obvious to many Americans: The virus is still a threat, but the pandemic is over.

On economic issues, by contrast, Biden is the most progressive president in decades. ''Damn it,'' he has said, ''I'm sick and tired of ordinary people being fleeced.''

He talks proudly about his crackdown on corporate concentration. He says that the pharmaceutical industry has ''ripped off'' the country, and he has capped some drug costs. He says that the solution to Social Security financing involves raising taxes on the rich. He waves away neoliberal criticism of his ''Buy America'' trade policies. He has enacted a huge infrastructure program and plans to travel the country this year telling voters about the bridges, roads and factories that are part of it.

The Democrats' dilemma

Biden, to be clear, has not solved the Democratic Party's ***working-class*** problem. He too lost voters without a bachelor's degree in 2020, although he won a few more percentage points of their vote than Hillary Clinton had in 2016. He has also not solved the country's inequality problem. It's too soon to know if his policies will make a meaningful difference.

But Biden has demonstrated something important. He occupies the true middle ground in American politics, well to the left of most elected Republicans on economics and somewhat to the right of most elected Democrats on social issues. Polls on specific issues point to the same conclusion. That's the biggest reason that he is the person who currently gets to decide how to decorate the Oval Office.

All of which underscores a dilemma facing the Democratic Party. In 2024, it either must nominate a man who would be 86 when his second term ended or choose among a group of prominent alternatives who tend to bear some political resemblance to George McGovern.

For more: Three words sum up Biden's 2024 message -- competent beats crazy.

Go back in time: ''Delaware Elects Youngest U.S. Senator,'' The Times reported in 1972.

THE LATEST NEWS

War in Ukraine

â–  Biden made a secret trip to Kyiv and met with Volodymyr Zelensky, Ukraine's leader, ahead of the anniversary of Russia's invasion.

â–  The trip came during a diplomatic visit to Poland to affirm U.S. support for Ukraine. Here's the latest from the meetings.

â–  Secretary of State Antony Blinken says China is considering giving Russia weapons, a move that would transform the war into a struggle involving three superpowers.

â–  Vladimir Putin has reshaped Russia in his image during a year of war.

â–  A Ukrainian husband and wife shared a trench on the front line. They died in it together.

International

â–  Turkey's post-earthquake reconstruction is compounding the country's economic problems.

â–  The influencer Andrew Tate's misogynistic views are popular with some British students. Educators are trying to fight back.

â–  The Duomo in Milan has needed constant care for 637 years.

Other Big Stories

â–  Minus 30 and limited daylight: The U.S. military gave up a hunt for downed flying objects at the end of the world. See images from the search.

â–  One person was killed and 10 others wounded in shootings in Memphis.

â–  Residents of East Palestine, Ohio, are paying for their own toxic-chemical tests because they don't trust the government's handling of a recent train derailment.

â–  Telemedicine is making Ketamine more accessible. Some people are using the drug to treat depression, but others are abusing it.

â–  The founder of the world's biggest hedge fund will be paid billions to retire.

Opinions

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens discuss the Republican presidential candidates.

Patti Davis, Ronald Reagan's daughter, hopes Bruce Willis will feel a little less lonely because of his announcement of his dementia diagnosis.

Big tech companies should be liable for the illegal conduct that their platforms enable, says Julia Angwin.

MORNING READS

Big-wave photography: She swims in icy water with sharks to get the shot.

Avoiding toxins: Use this guide to pick safer beauty products.

Going gray: A news anchor's hair color made her the focus of the story.

Metropolitan Diary: A pigeon in a picnic basket in the park.

Game time: Take our latest news quiz. (The average was 8.9.)

Lives Lived: Richard Belzer played Detective John Munch on ''Law & Order: Special Victims Unit.'' He died at 78.

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

M.L.B. turmoil: The league created an ''economic reform committee'' as it looks to address huge spending disparities and the future of local broadcasts.

LeBron James: The basketball star will try to play in all of the Lakers' remaining games to help his team make the playoffs.

Women's soccer: The U.S. team beat Japan in the SheBelieves Cup. Mallory Swanson scored the game-winning goal.

ARTS AND IDEAS

New York noir

Freedoms betrayed, classes divided, races at war -- these heady themes lace Walter Mosley's 46th novel, ''Every Man a King.'' The title is a reference to the motto of Huey Long, the populist Louisiana demagogue from the 1930s. Mosley's book is a hard-boiled tale set in New York, and our reviewer calls it ''a sterling example'' of the genre.

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Make gumbo or a caramelized apple king cake to celebrate Mardi Gras.

What to Watch

''All Quiet on the Western Front,'' a German-language movie, was named best film at the BAFTAs.

On Comedy

Try these sets from a maturing Marc Maron and a pandering Roseanne Barr.

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday's Spelling Bee was opulent. Here is today's puzzle.

Here's today's Mini Crossword, and a clue: Meadow songbird (four letters).

And here's today's Wordle.

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Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

P.S. Labor issues, senatorial speeches and ''a snub to King George'': How Presidents' Day came to be.

Here's today's front page.

''The Daily'' is off today for the holiday.

Kitty, Bennett, Matthew Cullen, Lauren Hard, Lauren Jackson, Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com)

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/16/Newsletter-63ee1d36.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/16/Newsletter-63ee1d36.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A11.

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[***An Oasis in England’s Troubled, Polarized Opera Landscape; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D38-0YS1-DXY4-X0VB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 1, 2024 Tuesday 12:00 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1565 words

**Highlight:** The Glyndebourne Festival, which receives little government support, has been mostly immune from recent convulsions of the opera industry in Britain.

**Body**

The sun shone brightly over the downs of East Sussex on a summer afternoon while people trickled onto the grounds of [*Glyndebourne*](https://www.glyndebourne.com/) to hear an opera by Handel. Most of the men wore black tie, and many women were in floral gowns, as they picnicked among gardens and sculptures, and under the shadow of the property’s grand, [*Jacobethan*](https://www.glyndebourne.com/) manor house.

As they made their way into Glyndebourne’s opera house, old Oxbridge friends recognized one another and swapped life updates; introductions were made, photos were taken, and, when the time came for the show to start, the party was put on a respectful pause for the opening act of “Giulio Cesare.”

It all had the appearance of opera in paradise, which isn’t so much of an exaggeration. Glyndebourne, a country house festival that over 90 years has grown into an enormous, year-round operation, has a reputation for elitism in its unofficial dress code and high prices. But there is also elitism, the good kind, in its level of music making.

Over a brief visit in August, I saw some of the summer’s finest opera: excellently sung, played and staged revivals of “Cesare” and Wagner’s “Tristan und Isolde.” (Had I stayed an extra night, I would have heard Aigul Akhmetshina, the Carmen of the moment, in a new production of that opera.) The house was full, and the ovations were enthusiastic.

If only the same could be said for all opera in Britain.

Glyndebourne, a privately funded festival that receives little state support, has been mostly immune from the convulsions of the opera industry in Britain. In recent years, companies that rely on government help have faced dramatic cuts from Arts Council England, and have been subject to directives that many in the field have found insulting, if not ignorant.

English National Opera, or E.N.O., the second house in London after the Royal Ballet and Opera, lost all its usual Arts Council support in 2022; instead, it received money to relocate to a city outside London, like Manchester. That was postponed and the company’s funding temporarily restored, but in the meantime its offerings have shrunk to the point that Glyndebourne is considered the second-largest house in England, in terms of number of performances.

“The U.K. has always been this sort of halfway house,” said [*Richard Morrison*](https://www.glyndebourne.com/), a critic for The Times of London, referring to its mix of government and private financing. “It’s not the American system, and it’s not like Germany, which is so heavily funded by the state. But the balance has swung so far, it’s like you’re telling opera companies that you’ve got to be America now, but without the tax breaks or the tradition of philanthropy.”

British opera companies have been through a period of precarity under the last Conservative government, with about a dozen leaders in as many years at the Department for Culture, Media &amp; Sport while the party was in office. With the Labour Party coming to power this summer, arts administrators are more hopeful; Keir Starmer, the new prime minister, plays flute and has been vocal about his love for music.

Money, though, remains tight, and nothing is certain about the future of opera. Gus Christie, the grandson of Glyndebourne’s founders and the festival’s executive chairman since 2000, said that watching Conservative leaders talk about the arts, “I’ve been ashamed of our politicians.”

He wondered whether the opera sector could do more to change the perception of the art form. Glyndebourne may help perpetuate clichés of glamour in grand opera, but he thinks the focus should be more on the ***working-class***, backstage realities of the field. “There’s a lot of very normal people who are working here,” Christie said. “They’re just like plumbers or doctors. And because there are a lot of people involved in the whole process, you have to charge a lot for a ticket. But it’s a lot cheaper than a pop concert.”

Opera seems to be viewed with skepticism by the Arts Council, which for the past several years has been working on [*Let’s Create*](https://www.glyndebourne.com/), a long-term strategy to reform culture in England by 2030. The council outsourced research on opera, and this year released a report with sweeping recommendations for change. Among the study’s conclusions were an understandable indictment of homogenous arts administrations, but also of the standard repertoire, which the report said doesn’t “reflect contemporary society.”

That the authors of the study don’t see contemporary resonance in the 20 operas it lists as overrepresented, like “The Marriage of Figaro” and “Macbeth,” seems a failure of interpretation. Their idea of modern topics and relevance is more literal-minded; one example to emulate, they suggest, is Mason Bates’s widely panned 2017 opera [*“The (R)evolution of Steve Jobs.”*](https://www.glyndebourne.com/)

The study also calls for spreading opera companies more evenly throughout England, hence the directive for the E.N.O. to leave London. While it’s admirable to want this art form to be available in smaller cities, can the solution be as simple as a transplant? The study doesn’t include any rigorous research into whether there is audience demand or willing sponsorship for the E.N.O. somewhere like Manchester.

In a statement, the Arts Council said, “Our outstanding orchestras and ensembles — and the thousands of professionals who bring this music to life — are a vital part of the creative sector of this country,” and added, “In an environment where difficult funding decisions have had to be made, our commitment to opera and classical music is unwavering.”

But to many observers, like Morrison, the Arts Council’s decisions haven’t been sufficiently considered. “There’s certainly a misunderstanding,” he said. “Whether it’s willful or just a misunderstanding is questionable.”

Among the Arts Council’s beliefs that Morrison finds bizarre is that opera, even at its highest level, can be done inexpensively. There are many small companies that present works in parking lots and pubs, but that model cannot be scaled to the level of the Royal Ballet and Opera. “People want excellence,” he said, “and the British profession should strive for excellence. The notion that you can do that on the real cheap is a bit mad.”

The E.N.O., which named a new chief executive, [*Jenny Mollica*](https://www.glyndebourne.com/), earlier this year and is expecting to announce a road map for its future in November, said in a statement that the Arts Council’s 2022 funding announcement “created a period of significant turbulence for the company.” It was far from alone in the fallout. Welsh National Opera was forced to cut back on the number of its performances. Glyndebourne lost half of its state funding, a subsidy that supported touring and education rather than the main slate of the summer festival.

“When we got the cut, the only solution was to cancel the tour,” Christie said. “They killed it, and it was a great shame.” In place of the annual tour, a tradition since Christie’s father ran the festival in the 1960s, Glyndebourne is focusing on a more robust fall season at home. So much for the Arts Council spreading opera throughout England.

“It’s very much the country’s loss,” Christie said of the cuts. Morrison was no more optimistic, saying, “to be honest, I can’t see a way through it.”

There are some glimmers of hope, however. Last year, the Arts Council gave the E.N.O. a reprieve, with a grant of £24 million (about $32.2 million) until 2026, and a longer timeline for its move north. (Originally it was to be done by 2026; now the E.N.O. has until 2029, which it said in a statement will “allow for consultation with staff, more work in London and more time for the E.N.O. to develop partnerships in the new city and to establish a program there.”)

The Department for Culture, Media &amp; Sport, under new, Labour Party leadership, said in a statement that “opera is an important part of our nation’s rich cultural fabric, and this government is committed to supporting wider participation and growth in our music and performance sectors.” A review of the Arts Council, and a change of leadership there, could follow.

“I’m not totally pessimistic,” Morrison said. “We’ve been through crises before. It’s almost a definition of the arts scene that there’s always some crisis looming. And I do think there are enough people in the U.K. who care about opera that it won’t die out.”

Glyndebourne, reliant above all on philanthropy, seems mostly protected from the uncertainty of opera in Britain. If there are signs of strain at the E.N.O.’s Coliseum in London, with fewer performances and creaky revivals that rarely feel like the best versions of themselves, there is an atmosphere of comfort farther south. Champagne flows, the gardens are well watered, and there are no noticeable concessions of quality onstage.

But the painful decision to cut touring is a reminder that Glyndebourne is part of England’s performing arts ecosystem. “We are the opera sector,” Christie said. “Together, I hope we can engage the new government, get a wider range of society to come through the doors somehow and reach that real potential to flourish much more than we currently do.”

PHOTOS: From top: the manor that houses Glyndebourne, a festival south of London; a festivalgoer and a butterfly, left, and picnicking on the grounds, right; in the organ room at Glyndebourne; preparing the stage for “Giulio Cesare. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALICE ZOO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR6.

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[***The Harris Electorate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CMG-0N91-JBG3-6003-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1742 words

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

**Highlight:** We examine who plans to vote for her.

**Body**

We examine who plans to vote for her.

Kamala Harris inherited a Democratic coalition that was badly frayed. In polls, young, Black and Hispanic voters abandoned President Biden in droves. And for the first time in years, more Americans [*said*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) they leaned Republican than Democratic.

To win, the vice president will need to win back the deserters without alienating the anti-Trump moderates who put Democrats over the top in 2020. It won’t be easy.

Although it’s still early, polls suggest she has already made some progress. But while she’s running ahead of where Biden stood when he left the race, she’s still short of hitting traditional Democratic benchmarks.

Young, Black and Hispanic voters

Democrats have long assumed overwhelming support from young, Black and Hispanic voters. For many strategists, the only question was whether these voters would vote, not whom they’d vote for. This year, though, enough of them lost faith to give Donald Trump the lead in national and battleground state polls. And it raised questions about why, exactly, Biden was so weak.

Already, recent polls signal that Harris is not so weak. It’s too soon to tell how strong she really is among young and nonwhite voters. Some polls — like New York Times/Siena College polling [*last week*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) — find her running far ahead of 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 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. Her candidacy has already generated a lot of enthusiasm. But her ability to exceed Biden’s last performance might depend on why, exactly, he was doing so poorly.

Biden had so many problems that it’s hard to say what was really behind the collapse in his support. Was it that young voters were more bothered by his appearance than older voters? Was it the rising cost of living and housing? Was it a new social media environment and fading memories of Trump’s conduct? Was it an unmet desire for change? Or was it something bigger — the belated extension of 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. Depending on the exact answer, Harris might find additional gains easy, or stubbornly hard.

Older white moderates

To win, Harris will also need to reassure older and white voters, especially those without college degrees. This group has been the source of Democratic successes in the Trump era. It was enough — in many congressional and presidential races — to overcome a decline in support among voters of color.

Harris hasn’t won over this group in polls since Biden’s exit. In a way, it’s not surprising that Harris — a 59-year-old Black and Asian American woman from California — polls worse among older, white ***working-class*** voters than an 81-year-old who describes himself as “middle class Joe” from Scranton.

But there’s a deeper challenge. Harris is not the kind of candidate Democrats have nominated to great success during the Trump era. She has a lengthy progressive record. In the 2020 primary, she embraced [*Medicare for all*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) and opposed fracking, and she now has to defend the administration’s record on the border. 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 these people while focusing them on Trump’s liabilities. She’s [*backed away*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) from her earlier positions on fracking, the border and Medicare for all. Her emphasis on her experience as a prosecutor might work. Her vice-presidential selection could help, too.

On the other hand, reassuring classic swing voters risks a possible trade-off with re-energizing young, Black and Hispanic voters. When Democrats could take young, nonwhite and progressive voters for granted, it was much easier to run to the center. Now, Harris will have to pull off a delicate balancing act. That’s the challenge when coalitions fray.

More on the election

* At an event for a Black sorority, Harris [*condemned Trump’s remarks*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) about her racial identity. But she also made it clear she would not engage in a debate with a white man critiquing her Blackness.

1. Trump continued to [*raise false questions*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) about Harris’s racial identity, and some Republicans worried he was driving his campaign in a more divisive direction.
2. Trump’s comments this week about Harris’s ethnicity recall an ugly history in which white America sought to [*define racial categories and who could belong to them*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), write Lisa Lerer and Maya King.
3. Harris began the final phase of an accelerated search for a running mate. [*See who she is considering*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

THE LATEST NEWS

Russian Prisoner Swap

* Evan Gershkovich, a Wall Street Journal reporter convicted on dubious espionage charges in Russia, [*was freed*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) as part of a seven-country prisoner exchange. [*See a video of him arriving in the U.S.*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/)

1. Russia released 16 prisoners, including Paul Whelan, a U.S. Marine held since 2018, and several pro-democracy activists. Western countries returned eight prisoners to Russia, including a convicted assassin and several spies.
2. Here’s a look at [*all 24 prisoners in the exchange*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).
3. The negotiations that led to the prisoner swap included secret messages and diplomacy. [*Read how it happened*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).
4. As part of his release, Gershkovich wrote a required letter to Vladimir Putin. He added his own twist: requesting that Putin [*sit for an interview with him*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), The Journal reported.

International

* Ismail Haniyeh, the political leader of Hamas, was killed by a bomb that operatives had [*planted in his guesthouse months earlier*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), according to Iranian and U.S. officials.

1. The United States recognized Venezuela’s opposition presidential candidate, Edmundo González, [*as the winner of the country’s disputed election*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

* Turkey passed a law that requires municipalities to [*shelter the country’s millions of stray dogs*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/). The legislation allows them to euthanize dogs that are aggressive or ill.

Politics

* A local officer spotted the gunman who shot Trump half a minute before the attack and called “long gun!” into his radio. But Secret Service agents never heard him because of [*flaws with their technology*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

1. The Senate [*rejected a bill*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) that would have restored tax breaks for businesses and expanded the child tax credit.

Other Big Stories

* GLAAD, a major American L.G.B.T.Q. advocacy group, [*spent lavishly on travel and executive pay*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), possibly in violation of I.R.S. regulations, a Times investigation found.

1. The Transportation Department proposed a rule that would [*require airlines to allow families to sit together*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) on flights without paying extra fees.
2. The day before a police officer shot and killed Sonya Massey, her mother made a 911 call and reported that her daughter was having mental health issues. She [*asked that officers not hurt her*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).
3. The head of an elite New York school resigned after turmoil over the war in Gaza. It shows how contentious the issue has become [*among parents and faculty*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Opinions

When Belle Boggs needed a bat out of her house and rabies tests for her family, [*she used public services*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/). Lives are at risk if Project 2025 takes away those services, she writes.

The far right is misconstruing “Lord of the Rings.” [*We need to read it correctly*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), David French writes.

Here are columns by Thomas Friedman on [*Iran and Israel*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), and Paul Krugman on [*the politics of cryptocurrency*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

MORNING READS

Climate change: The small Dutch city of Gouda is sinking. Its [*cheese industry might not survive*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

New life: A ranger spotted [*tiny sprouts*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) at the stump of the fallen Sycamore Gap tree in Britain.

Deepfakes: Trolls used a rising political star’s face to make fake porn. [*There was nothing she could do*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

How did roses get their thorns? A new study [*sheds some light*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Lives Lived: Randy Kehler’s opposition to the Vietnam War moved Daniel Ellsberg to leak the Pentagon Papers, a set of top-secret documents whose exposure changed the course of the war. Kehler [*died at 80*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

SPORTS

Gymnastics: Simone Biles soared to her [*second Olympic all-around gold medal*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/). These photos of her midair [*explain how she won*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

A return: Suni Lee, the defending gold medalist, earned a bronze [*to complete an improbable comeback*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Swimming: Katie Ledecky became [*the most decorated woman*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) in American Olympic history with her 13th medal, this one a silver in the 4x200 freestyle relay.

Basketball: The U.S. women’s team passed its biggest test of the group stage with a win over Belgium. [*Read a recap*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Tennis: The career of the British great Andy Murray ended yesterday [*with a loss to an American pair*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) in men’s doubles. Here’s [*what he meant*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) to the sport.

Fractures and surgeries: Read how [*the Olympics break athletes’ bodies*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Changing formats: NBC is trying to provide wall-to-wall coverage of the Paris Games. [*On your phone*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Costumes and memorabilia from [*Taylor Swift’s personal archive*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) are on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The curators have scattered some of her most famous items — like the gown from the back cover of her album “Speak Now” — in displays throughout the museum, with music piped in that corresponds to the items nearby.

More on culture

* From Harlem to Selma to Paris: Today would have been James Baldwin’s 100th birthday. [*See his life in pictures*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

1. The actor Adam Driver, known for “Girls” and “Star Wars,” will return to Broadway in a revival of Kenneth Lonergan’s “[*Hold On to Me Darling*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).”
2. Carrie Underwood will take Katy Perry’s “American Idol” judge’s seat, [*The Hollywood Reporter writes*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).
3. Britney Spears is [*getting a biopic*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), The Cut reports.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Use ripe summer tomatoes to [*make this classic sandwich*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Listen to [*a summer Olympic playlist*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Try a [*lazy workout*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Swim with [*prescription goggles*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

Take [*our news quiz*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/). Yesterday’s pangrams were flipflopping and flopping.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), [*Wordle*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), [*Sudoku*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/), [*Connections*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/) and [*Strands*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

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.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/).

PHOTO: Kamala Harris (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The Era of Outsized Market Rallies Could Be Over; DealBook Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7R-V751-JBG3-60BR-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Andrew Ross Sorkin, Ravi Mattu, Bernhard Warner, Sarah Kessler, Michael J. de la Merced and Lauren HirschAndrew Ross Sorkin is a columnist and the founder of , the flagship business and policy newsletter at The Times and an annual conference.

**Highlight:** The S&amp;P 500’s huge gains over the past two years won’t be duplicated some analysts say, as a series of economic challenges piles up.

**Body**

The S&amp;P 500’s huge gains over the past two years won’t be duplicated some analysts say, as a series of economic challenges piles up.

Market headwinds

The S&amp;P 500 is on pace to rack up back-to-back annual gains of at least 20 percent, a once-in-a-generation rally that has turbocharged investors’ portfolios and bolstered Wall Street profits.

But some analysts are warning that the era is coming to an end, regardless of who wins the White House.

Skeptics point to numerous challenges:

* Sputtering global growth, which the I.M.F. is likely to delve into in its World Economic Outlook report due out on Tuesday;

1. Geopolitical risks, with analysts worried that a potential Israeli attack on Iran could drive up energy prices and reignite inflation;
2. Staggering national debt — especially when twinned with high interest rates— which is an issue that isn’t gaining much attention on the campaign trail but is weighing on investors;
3. Inflated stock valuations, which will make it harder for companies — including the highly valued tech giants that will report quarterly results soon — to hit higher earnings-per-share goals.

How bad could it get? Goldman Sachs analysts have forecast annualized [*nominal returns of 3 percent*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) for the S&amp;P 500 over the next decade, or just 1 percent when inflation is taken into account. By contrast, the benchmark index notched 13 percent gains over the past decade.

“Investors should be prepared for equity returns during the next decade that are toward the lower end of their typical performance distribution,” Goldman analysts wrote in a research report published this weekend.

Lower growth in the markets could scramble the scene in Washington. Typically, the combination of a growing economy and strong stock market — and the United States is [*seeing both*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) — [*bodes well for the incumbent party*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) in an election year. But ***working-class*** voters [*aren’t seeing the upside*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) of the markets. That said, [*more than half of Americans own stocks*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), with a vast number relying on gains to shore up their retirement finances.

Could politics further dent those returns? Wall Street is divided on the idea:

* [*Ed Yardeni*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), a veteran Wall Street analyst and the president of Yardeni Research, sees a risk from either party sweeping Congress and the presidency: “I think the stock market will do best if we basically vote for gridlock.”

1. But [*Larry Fink*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), the C.E.O. of BlackRock, the world’s largest money manager, thinks that politics will have only a limited effect. “I’m tired of hearing this is the biggest election in your lifetime. The reality is over time, it doesn’t matter.”

The latest political news weighing on investors: Here’s a look at Harris’s [*top economic advisers*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), and who might be elevated to her cabinet if she wins in November; more than [*15 million Americans have already voted*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e); and the Republicans have [*greatly narrowed the Democrats early-voting advantage*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e).

HERE’S WHAT’S HAPPENING

Rupert Murdoch’s News Corp publications sue an A.I. start-up for copyright infringement. The New York Post and Dow Jones, the parent company of The Wall Street Journal, [*accused Perplexity*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) of copying their published works and “freeriding on the valuable content the publishers produce.” It’s the latest suit by media companies — The New York Times has sued OpenAI and Microsoft — that say A.I. businesses are sponging up copyrighted content to train their models without permission or appropriate compensation.

Tim Cook is said to have played a big role in shaking up Nike. Cook, Apple’s C.E.O. and a Nike board member, [*helped persuade Elliott Hill*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) to come out of retirement to replace John Donahoe as C.E.O. of the struggling sportswear giant, Bloomberg reports. Over the past 19 years, Cook has become one of Nike’s most trusted directors, and has had a big say in some of its most important product and staffing moves.

A gigantic lithium discovery in Arkansas could be a boom for the green transition. Geologists announced on Monday that an underground reservoir in the state could contain [*as much as 19 million tons of lithium*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), a key material for electric vehicle batteries. The cache would more than meet global demand, and is potentially huge news for Exxon Mobil, one of the companies investing in lithium development in the region.

The state of the race to lead the House of Mouse

The news that Disney plans to take its time in naming a successor to Bob Iger — the entertainment giant has [*given itself until early 2026*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) to name a C.E.O. — may seem a little worrisome to company watchers used to bad news about the topic.

But the elevation of James Gorman, who ran a well-regarded process to find his successor as Morgan Stanley’s C.E.O., to chair suggests that Disney is seriously focused on the matter after struggling for years to find an acceptable replacement for Iger.

What does the news say about the state of the succession process? Possibly that it’s not going well. There are four internal candidates being considered: Dana Walden, the company’s top TV executive; Josh D’Amaro, its theme parks chief; Alan Bergman, its movies leader; and Jimmy Pitaro, the chair of ESPN.

Taking longer to choose a leader suggests that the candidates have all failed to convince the board that they are the right choice, or that they need more time to gain the necessary experience to oversee the media giant, [*according to Puck’s Matt Belloni*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e).

Could that mean that the House of Mouse will look outside for its next chief? The company said such candidates were being “reviewed.”

The stakes are high. A lack of a succession plan was one of the major gripes in Nelson Peltz’s unsuccessful campaign to win seats on Disney’s board this spring. Remember that Iger pushed his retirement back four times before handing the reins to Bob Chapek in 2020, only to come back to [*replace his handpicked successor*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e). And, according to a CNBC report from last year, the board had initially hoped to find a new leader [*by early 2025*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e).

Meanwhile, Disney has been busy trying to engineer a comeback at the box office, while shoring up [*newfound weaknesses in its theme parks division*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e).

Naming Gorman as chair could help shore up the process. He will assume the role in January, taking over for Mark Parker, who is expected to refocus on the [*turnaround at Nike*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) as the sportswear giant’s executive chair.

Gorman had already been tasked with overseeing the succession process, drawing on his experience running one of the [*smoothest handovers on Wall Street*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) in years. Giving him additional power could help him steer the board as it deliberates the matter.

HSBC’s big overhaul

HSBC [*announced its biggest restructuring*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) in a decade this morning, splitting itself into four divisions, combining some of its commercial and investment banking operations and reshuffling management.

The changes come as Europe’s largest lender looks to cut costs and navigate a diplomatic minefield between China and the West.

Here are some of the biggest changes:

* The bank will make its British and Hong Kong banking units into two stand-alone entities.

1. Commercial banking outside Britain and Hong Kong, and the markets and investment banking business will be part of a new commercial and corporate and institutional banking unit. An international wealth and premier banking division will group the private banking, asset management and insurance businesses.

* Pam Kaur, the chief risk and compliance officer, will become the bank’s first female C.F.O.

With rates under pressure, banks are scrambling to cut costs. HSBC reported better-than-expected second quarter results, but some analysts worry that the lender is exposed to the big rate cuts by the Fed and others.

HSBC is also at the front line of trade tensions between the West and China. The bank is listed in London but makes most of its money in Asia, and was [*caught in the crossfire*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) during the pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong in 2019.

[*Ping An*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), a Chinese insurer and one of HSBC’s biggest shareholders, agitated for the bank to separate its Asia operations. [*Investors rejected the plan*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) last year.

Investors shrugged off the latest changes. HSBC’s shares are up almost 10 percent over the past year but barely moved this morning. That’s partly because details weren’t revealed on how many roles would go and how much money would be saved and some analysts want to know [*what other parts of the group*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) could be cut next.

The next challenge for the W.N.B.A.

The W.N.B.A just finished perhaps its [*most prominent season yet*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), bolstered by the [*star power of Caitlin Clark*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e). Now players are seeking a new contract that will let them better cash in on the league’s soaring growth.

The question is: How much will they be able to extract from a business that is only now starting to see major success, with a year to negotiate until there’s a potential lockout?

The W.N.B.A. has exploded in popularity since the last collective bargaining agreement, or C.B.A., which was signed ahead of the 2020 season. W.N.B.A. said it had its [*highest total attendance*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) in 22 years, up 48 percent from last season.

And this year, the league signed an 11-year media deal worth about $2.2 billion, about six times as much as its previous deal.

But is W.N.B.A.’s growth sustainable? The league [*has long lost money*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) — a trend that is likely [*to continue this year*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) — and it’s unclear whether Clark’s surging popularity will permanently extend to the league more broadly.

There’s one sign that it might: A [*record number of viewers*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) tuned into the New York Liberty’s championship win against the Minnesota Lynx, a game in which Clark did not play.

A key negotiating point will be over players’ share of league revenue. Players [*split 9.3 percent*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) of the league’s revenue. (By contrast, N.B.A. players get about half of their league’s topline.) But unlike many other leagues, the W.N.B.A. has multiple equity holders: the N.B.A., which owns about 42 percent; W.N.B.A. team owners, who collectively hold 42 percent; and private equity, which controls nearly 16 percent. That makes splitting the cash much more complicated.

Still, Clara Wu Tsai, who owns the Liberty with her husband, the tech mogul Joe Tsai, told DealBook that she thought players would get a bigger share of revenue in the end.

“I can’t talk about the C.B.A. publicly, but I think there’s so much pressure — and there’s also a great disparity right now among the percentage of revenue shared between the W.N.B.A., and what it is versus the N.B.A.,” she said. “I’m sure there will be something in between.”

THE SPEED READ

Deals

* JCP Investment Management, an activist investor, is reportedly [*pushing the Cheesecake Factory*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e) to consider selling off its three smaller restaurant brands. (WSJ)

1. A group including Neuberger Berman and EQT has [*invested in Nord Anglia*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), an operator of international schools, at a valuation of $14.5 billion, including debt. (Bloomberg)
2. Cooper Hefner, a son of Hugh Hefner, has bid $100 million to [*buy back the Playboy brand*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e). (WSJ)

Elections, politics and policy

* Two Republican lawmakers [*accused Lina Khan*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), the F.T.C. chair, of potentially violating a ban on partisan political activity by federal employees by appearing with House Democrats before the election. (Bloomberg)

1. “AI is already making it [*easier to spread election lies*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e)” (Axios)

Best of the rest

* The hedge fund mogul Marc Lasry [*sued a former employee*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), accusing her of trying to extort him for $50 million by threatening to spread false information about his firm. (Bloomberg)

1. [*Olivia Nuzzi*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e), the political writer who disclosed a personal relationship with Robert F. Kennedy Jr., has left New York Magazine. (NYT)
2. Yes, it’s true: Chick-fil-A, the fast-food chain, will [*release its own entertainment app*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e). (CNBC)

We’d like your feedback! Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-10-21/s-p-500-s-decade-of-big-gains-is-over-goldman-strategists-say?srnd=homepage-uk&amp;sref=zVYYYI5e).

PHOTO: Some notable analysts on Wall Street fret that the days of the great stock market rally are coming to an end. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Peter Morgan/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 23, 2024

**End of Document**



[***If You Like Tim Walz’s Earthy Politics, You Should Know About Paul Wellstone; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYV-K711-DXY4-X00R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2024 Sunday 14:04 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1353 words

**Byline:** Ross Barkan

**Highlight:** The Wellstone tradition of left-populism, once central to the Democratic Party’s brand, must be recovered.

**Body**

Since he became Kamala Harris’s running mate, Tim Walz has attracted attention for his folksy charm, his life as a football coach and in the Army National Guard — and his innate ability, in a party that can seem stodgy and elite, to speak to Americans from any walk of life.

Less discussed but plenty relevant is his connection to an icon of Minnesota politics who today is no longer on the minds of many Americans. Had he not died in a plane crash 22 years ago, Paul Wellstone might still be in the U.S. Senate. Before Bernie Sanders rose to national prominence as a leader of the progressive left, there was Mr. Wellstone, the jovial maverick from Minnesota who [*campaigned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/26/opinion/paul-wellstone.html?searchResultPosition=1) in a clattering green school bus, turned up to campaign events in work shirts and jeans and preferred staying in people’s homes to hotels.

As a senator, Mr. Wellstone was resolutely antiwar, pro-labor and supportive of the expansive social democracy that Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal made possible. He belonged, first and foremost, to the legacy of left-of-center Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party senators who counted Eugene McCarthy and Hubert Humphrey among their leading lights.

Yet he was also one of a kind, pointing the way forward for a Democratic Party that would, in the last decades of the 20th century, fall prey to the siren songs of austerity and deregulation.

It is the Wellstone tradition of left-populism, once central to the Democratic Party’s brand, that must be recovered. Elements of it have found something of a second wind in the Biden era. It was big government liberalism free of pretension and hectoring — stylistically unlike the sort found on both coasts — and never enervated by the academy. The airy language and exclusionary posture of the faculty lounge were not found in his earthy politics.

Mr. Walz’s presence on the presidential ticket is evidence, perhaps, that the Wellstone tradition might not get left behind in the 2020s, even as the billionaires who fund the Democrats [*demand policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/26/opinion/paul-wellstone.html?searchResultPosition=1) that are much friendlier to them.

None of Mr. Wellstone’s populism was an affectation. Unlike John Fetterman, the hoodie-clad Pennsylvania senator who grew up in suburban affluence, Mr. Wellstone was the child of Ukrainian Jewish immigrants and won a wrestling scholarship to the University of North Carolina, where he starred in the Atlantic Coast Conference. He later earned his doctorate from U.N.C. and became a political science professor at Carleton College in Minnesota.

Even there, he was rough-hewed and unconventional, eschewing publishing in academic journals. Carleton almost dismissed him, but his students rallied to his defense, and in 1974 he became the youngest professor in the school’s history to receive tenure.

It was in political organizing where Mr. Wellstone most thrived. His theory of change was straightforward: the Wellstone triangle, as it would [*later be called*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/26/opinion/paul-wellstone.html?searchResultPosition=1) by those who ran the organizing nonprofit that sprung up in Minnesota, after Mr. Wellstone’s death, to carry on his political vision. Mr. Walz, a high school social studies teacher with his eyes on a Republican-held House seat, became an alum of Camp Wellstone two decades ago.

The triangle, Mr. Walz and others would learn, was running electoral campaigns, grass-roots organizing and devising public policy. Mr. Wellstone cared greatly about all three. He would argue that electoral politics without community organizing was a politics absent a base and community organizing without electoral politics was a marginalized politics. In turn, community organizing and electoral politics without a clear and obvious public policy agenda were a politics without direction.

At heart, Mr. Wellstone was an activist and found local renown in the 1970s and ’80s working with farmers, students and the poor, knitting together coalitions that would force the political class to pay attention to them. He helped start the Organization for a Better Rice County, an advocacy group for impoverished rural residents, partnering with poor women on welfare. Some of his causes, like bolstering public education, were embraced by Mr. Walz when he became governor.

After an unsuccessful run for state auditor in 1982 and a stint as a Minnesota state campaign co-chair of Jesse Jackson’s 1988 presidential campaign, Mr. Wellstone ran for the Senate in 1990. Like Mr. Jackson, he aimed to develop multiracial and cross-class coalitions. Though he was an academic, he never condescended to voters and stumped tirelessly across the state. Heavily outspent by the incumbent, the Republican Rudy Boschwitz, Mr. Wellstone pulled off an upset. His campaign effectively organized the poor, young people and racial minorities who had been ignored by Minnesotans of both political parties. He also used humor, producing a quirky ad that was a pastiche of the 1989 Michael Moore documentary “Roger &amp; Me.”

One of his final votes, perhaps the most politically charged of his career, was his decision to [*oppose*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/26/opinion/paul-wellstone.html?searchResultPosition=1) the Iraq war in 2002. He also cast a vote against the repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act, which once enforced a separation between investment and commercial banking and helped ward off the kind of economic crash that would severely damage the nation in 2008, six years after Mr. Wellstone’s death.

There’s much talk, today, of political organizing. Many elected officials, particularly on the left, proclaim that they do it, and there is no shortage of nonprofit and political groups that espouse an ironclad commitment to canvassing, knocking on doors and meeting people where they are. But the kind of durable, decades-long organizing that Mr. Wellstone practiced is in short supply, and most in politics associate it only with campaign season.

For left-populism to win, particularly in the rural counties where Republicans have made enormous gains over the past decade, organizing will have to take on the verve and tenor of Mr. Wellstone’s efforts. It will need to penetrate deep into communities that have been left behind, and it will have to remain there. No constituency was too small for Mr. Wellstone; the Hmong people were among those the senator courted, and his death [*devastated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/26/opinion/paul-wellstone.html?searchResultPosition=1) the first Hmong politician in America to secure a legislative seat.

Mr. Walz did not have Mr. Wellstone’s history of community organizing when he entered Congress and eventually got himself elected governor, but in office he has been a progressive of the same spirit and has been unabashed about defending the liberal legislation the Democratic-controlled legislature sent to his desk to sign. What Mr. Walz does also have, like Mr. Wellstone, is a deep appreciation for labor unions — one that has come back into vogue in the national Democratic Party. In his first solo appearance as a candidate for vice president, he flew to Los Angeles to appear before the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Winning this November and in future elections, for the left, will mean championing the causes that animated Mr. Wellstone — believing in muscular, effective governance that safeguards the ***working class*** and poor and does not allow the richest corporations to exploit them. The language for Mr. Wellstone’s final campaign ad, which he helped write, could serve as a clarion call for the Harris-Walz ticket desperate to vanquish Donald Trump.

“I don’t represent the big oil companies. I don’t represent the big pharmaceutical companies. I don’t represent the Enrons of this world,” Mr. Wellstone said. “But you know what? They already have great representation in Washington. It’s the rest of the people that need it.”

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.nytimes.com/2002/10/26/opinion/paul-wellstone.html?searchResultPosition=1) 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/2002/10/26/opinion/paul-wellstone.html?searchResultPosition=1). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/26/opinion/paul-wellstone.html?searchResultPosition=1).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Robyn Beck/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why Biden Is Right to Curb Immigration; Nicholas Kristof***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C6R-P331-JBG3-601D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 8, 2024 Saturday 16:53 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1115 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:** His executive order limiting asylum seekers may be political, but that doesn’t mean it’s wrong.

**Body**

Many of us liberals now find ourselves in an awkward spot on immigration.

For years we have denounced draconian steps by Republicans to bar desperate migrants. But President Biden has now introduced his own tough steps to reduce asylum seekers, not so different from President Donald Trump’s approach.

The new measures may be overturned by the courts, but in the meantime many on the left are whacking Biden. Senator Alex Padilla, a California Democrat, twisted the knife by [*suggesting*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) that Biden was borrowing from Trump’s playbook: “By reviving Trump’s asylum ban, President Biden has undermined American values.”

Kica Matos, president of the National Immigration Law Center, said, “President Biden’s craven embrace of failed Republican policies is a mistake that will only lead to more harm and dysfunction.”

Stephen Colbert needled the Biden camp by imagining what this will look like in liberal hands: “We’re going to seal the border, folks, but the wall is going to be gluten free, and the barbed wire will be pro-choice.”

I’m conflicted, finding myself caught between pro-refugee instincts and a practical recognition that the system wasn’t working: There was a torrent of illegal crossings, and the law provided a loophole that allowed people to claim asylum and stay indefinitely whether or not they warranted it.

I exist only because an Oregon family in 1952 sponsored my dad as a refugee from Eastern Europe. But I’ve reluctantly come to the view that Biden is doing the right thing with his clampdown. Let me explain.

Liberals, me included, were pushed to the left by Trump’s policies on immigration, from the so-called Muslim ban to separation of children from families — conducted so cavalierly that family members sometimes cannot be located. More than three years after Trump left the White House, about [*1,200 immigrant children*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) still have not been reunited with their families, to our shame as a nation.

That said, I don’t think the solution is to swing the doors open.

Too often, we Americans approach immigration as a binary issue. We’re in favor, or we’re against. In fact, immigration should be seen as a dial we adjust.

However much we believe in immigration, we’re not going to welcome all [*114 million*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) people around the world who have been forcibly displaced, not to mention perhaps [*one billion children*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) globally who are estimated to suffer some kind of severe deprivation. We must settle for accepting a fraction of those eager to come, and determining that fraction is the political question before us, with many trade-offs to consider.

Immigration overall offers important benefits to the country, and employers and affluent people are particular winners: Immigrants reduce labor costs for people hiring gardeners or caregivers. But poor Americans can find themselves hurt by immigrant competition that puts downward pressure on their wages, although economists disagree on the magnitude of that impact.

I’m influenced in my thinking by a terrific book by my Times colleague David Leonhardt, [*“Ours Was the Shining Future,”*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) which examined many studies on the impact of immigration on wages. Leonhardt concluded that immigration wasn’t the primary reason for income stagnation among low-education workers over the last half-century, but that it nonetheless was a significant secondary factor.

I think of a neighbor of mine, a surly seventh-grade dropout who in the 1970s was earning more than $20 an hour (around $150 an hour today). That job disappeared, and he later ended up in part-time and minimum wage positions and lost his home. He was hurt by many factors — the decline of unions, globalization and the impact of technology — but he was also outcompeted by immigrants with a well-earned reputation for hard work.

It’s often said that native-born Americans aren’t interested in the jobs that immigrants take, but that doesn’t tell the full story. Many native-born Americans may not be willing to toil in the fields or on a construction site for $12 an hour, but perhaps would be for $25 an hour.

At a time when so many ***working-class*** Americans are already falling behind, and then self-medicating and dying from drugs, alcohol and suicide, shouldn’t we be careful about inflicting even more pain on them through immigration policy?

Relatively recent immigrants may also be hurt by newer immigrants — which may help explain why Pew [*found*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) that three-quarters of American Latinos believe that the increasing number of people seeking to enter the country via the southern border is a “major problem” or a “crisis.”

Some ***working-class*** voters feel betrayed by Democrats who pushed to open borders, and there may be an element of xenophobia or racism in this anger — but also an element of truth. The United States [*makes*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) it difficult for foreign doctors to practice in America, protecting physicians from competition. But the United States makes it relatively easy for low-skilled immigrants to work here and [*push down wages*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) of our most vulnerable workers.

I’ve also wondered about the incentives we inadvertently create. In Guatemalan villages, I’ve seen families prepared to send children on the perilous journey to the United States, and I fear that lax immigration policies encourage people to risk their lives and their children’s lives on the journey.

Politics is of course a central reason Biden has acted on this issue, but that doesn’t mean he’s necessarily wrong. Plus, frustration at immigration makes it more likely that Trump will win the White House and that Trump Republicans will dominate Congress and the Supreme Court. That’s something the left should consider a disaster worth trying hard to avert.

One way or another, an angry public will force change on immigration. Ideally, this would come about through a comprehensive [*legislative fix*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) to our broken system, but [*Trump and Republicans*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) have blocked that path this year. Given the choices, I trust Biden more than Trump to adopt tougher policies that are still sane and that don’t demonize refugees.

Are we, the people of an immigrant nation, pulling up the ladder after we have boarded? Yes, to some degree. But the reality is that we can’t absorb everyone who wants in, and it’s better that the ladder be raised in an orderly way by reasonable people.

So, even as the son of a refugee, I think on balance that President Biden made the right call in curbing access to asylum.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/).

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This article appeared in print on page SR2.

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[***Home and Away***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BT1-G6S1-DXY4-X04G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 14, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 22; FICTION

**Length:** 772 words

**Byline:** By Fernanda Eberstadt

**Body**

Nicolas Mathieu's novel ''Connemara'' illuminates a clash of values and visions in contemporary France.

CONNEMARA, by Nicolas Mathieu. Translated by Sam Taylor.

Anglophone readers seeking a broader view of France than the Paris of bourgeois intellectuals have had plenty to read in recent years. Novelists as varied as Marie NDiaye, Annie Ernaux and Édouard Louis have introduced us to the hard-bitten northern regions of their youths, to the hinterlands of shuttered factories, to derelict city centers and suburbs whose inhabitants, after years of voting Communist, are turning to the anti-immigrant right.

Count Nicolas Mathieu, a winner of France's prestigious Goncourt Prize, among this growing corps of writers. Born in 1978, Mathieu abandoned his life in Paris to return to his birthplace in the northeastern borderland of Lorraine -- a region that in a deliberate governmental erasure merged in 2016 into a new conglomerate branded the Grand Est.

If Louis, in his autobiographical novel ''The End of Eddy,'' portrays his ***working-class*** hometown as a dystopia where young men congregate in bus shelters to get drunk and look for gay boys to beat up, the world of Nicolas Mathieu's fiction is somewhat less brutish. Mathieu's characters are people who, in his words, glorify ''the merits of hard work, manual labor, home improvement, people who know how to do things around the house, people who slip between the cracks, people who live from day to day, from hand to mouth,'' and he depicts them with sympathy.

''Connemara,'' Mathieu's fourth novel and his third to be published in the United States, is the story of two 40-year-olds trying to recapture their youths in a clandestine love affair. (The book's title comes from a 1981 Michel Sardou song, a blue-collar anthem that has accompanied the protagonists through years of postgame binges, weddings and office parties.)

Hélène is a human resources consultant, a snarky and ambitious provincial girl made good. After a midcareer burnout, she has persuaded the father of her two children to leave Paris and move the family back to her native Lorraine. This return to the more peaceable world that Hélène long ago rejected doesn't succeed in stilling her demons. Work and home conspire to irritate her: Hélène's new boss has promoted a more recent male hire over her head; her partner is working later and later hours, and she's resentful of his reluctance to assume his share of child care.

Bored, pissed off, alienated, Hélène drifts into a Tinder otherworld, seeking semi-anonymous revenge sex. During a failed date in a chain restaurant by a bowling alley, Hélène spots her high school classmate Christophe, a former hockey star. Sure, he's put on a little weight and he was never all that bright, but her desire and curiosity are piqued.

Their ensuing motel-room love affair (described in pages of oddly generic sex) brings together two divergent small-town destinies. If Hélène is the class traitor who through brains and hard work escaped to the big city and is now trying to find her way home, Christophe, sweet-natured, dutiful, is the boy who never wanted to leave. Divorced, with an only son, Christophe is now selling dog food door to door and living with his father, who is struggling with dementia. Until he reconnects with Hélène, Christophe's chief pleasures are getting drunk with his childhood buddies and dreaming of making a comeback with his old hockey team.

''Connemara'' reaches its climax during the runoff to the 2017 elections, when President Emmanuel Macron faced the far-right candidate Marine Le Pen. Hélène and Christophe's romance thus becomes emblematic of the nation's larger cultural and socioeconomic divides. The question of whether Hélène will leave her high-earning partner and seek a humbler kind of hometown happiness is mirrored by the larger question of whose France will prevail -- the France of elite technocrats represented by Macron, or the nostalgic France invoked by the far right, a nation of ***working-class*** bars with photos of Jacques Brel on the wall, where the old-timers ''scratched off lottery tickets as they chatted about politics, horse racing and immigrants.''

These open wounds of class belonging and dispossession are crucial subjects for both European and American writers today. Mathieu knows how to take us from a small-town hockey match to a corporate boardroom, but ''Connemara'' -- despite Sam Taylor's smooth translation -- lacks the passion or the rigor to give the story more than a surface gloss.

CONNEMARA | By Nicolas Mathieu | Translated by Sam Taylor | Other Press | 457 pp. | Paperback, $18.99

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/11/books/review/connemara-nicolas-mathieu.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/11/books/review/connemara-nicolas-mathieu.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR22.

**Load-Date:** April 14, 2024

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[***Elon Musk’s $1 Million Giveaways Test the Bounds of Election Law; DealBook Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7H-W2N1-JBG3-63XP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 21, 2024 Monday 03:31 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; dealbook

**Length:** 1999 words

**Byline:** Andrew Ross Sorkin, Ravi Mattu, Bernhard Warner, Sarah Kessler, Michael J. de la Merced and Lauren HirschAndrew Ross Sorkin is a columnist and the founder of , the flagship business and policy newsletter at The Times and an annual conference.

**Highlight:** Legal experts question the billionaire’s plan to hand out huge payments in battleground states as part of a get-out-the-vote drive.

**Body**

Legal experts question the billionaire’s plan to hand out huge payments in battleground states as part of a get-out-the-vote drive.

Musk’s new election ploy

Elon Musk made a name and a fortune for himself by questioning the status quo and bending rules. It’s an approach that helped Tesla and SpaceX achieve new breakthroughs and behemoth valuations.

But his new lottery-style ploy to bolster turnout among conservative voters in November — [*dangling million-dollar payouts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) in Pennsylvania, and soon elsewhere — has some legal experts worried.

What Musk is doing: The tech billionaire is essentially gamifying the process of getting out the vote. He has ratcheted up payouts related to a petition that his America super PAC put together, to $1 million a day to a “randomly” selected signer.

Two people have already won. Musk plans to expand the sweepstakes to registered voters in seven battleground states this week.

Legal experts aren’t sure the scheme is permissible. Federal law makes it a crime to pay, offer to pay or accept payment for registration to vote or for voting. There are some exceptions, such as driving people to the polls.

Some lawyers questioned Musk’s tactic:

* Brendan Fischer, a campaign-law expert who thought a previous version of the payouts was acceptable, told The Times that this iteration “comes much closer to the legal line,” given that the payout is conditioned on registering to vote.

1. Rick Hasen of the U.C.L.A. School of Law wrote on his blog that the scheme was “[*clearly illegal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html),” since the petition signer must be a registered battleground-state voter.
2. [*Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), a Democrat and formerly the state’s attorney general, said on “Meet the Press” on Sunday that “when you start flowing this kind of money into politics, I think it raises serious questions.”

Others are not so sure. Brad Smith, a former chair of the Federal Election Commission, told The Times that because Musk isn’t paying people to register, but instead paying them to sign a petition — even if it’s open only to registered voters — the mogul “comes out OK here.”

It’s a sign of how far Musk is willing to go to bolster Donald Trump’s campaign. The Tesla chief has not only set up and funded the America super PAC, but is also making public appearances to pitch Trump to voters.

One of the potential reasons is Musk’s focus on paring back regulations on business — [*including his companies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), The Times reports, which have been targeted in at least 20 recent investigations or reviews.

Trump has said that if he is re-elected, he would appoint Musk to be an adviser on matters including how to better streamline the government. That could pose conflicts of interest, some government experts told The Times.

* In other election news: Vice President Kamala Harris’s campaign raised [*more than $1 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) in the third quarter, a record and far more than Trump’s campaign did. Trump sat down for an [*interview with Al Arabiya English*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), a Saudi state-owned news outlet, as his family business moves to expand its operations in the Middle East. And some mass-mailed newspapers [*being sent to Catholic voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) are actually tied to super PACs and the Trump donor Dick Uihlein.

HERE’S WHAT’S HAPPENING

Boeing is said to be weighing asset sales ahead of a pivotal contract vote. Union members are set to vote on Wednesday on a new four-year pay deal. But the struggling plane maker is exploring the [*sale of certain business units*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) as it bleeds cash, The Wall Street Journal reports.

Southwest Airlines may be near a truce in its fight with Elliott Investment Management. Officials at the low-cost airline are said to be [*discussing a settlement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) that would give the activist hedge fund [*more board seats but not control*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), according to Bloomberg. In other activist news: Starboard Value has taken [*a big stake in Kenvue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), the company behind Listerine and Tylenol, The Wall Street Journal reports.

An intelligence leak suggests that Israel is preparing to attack Iran. Documents describing [*details of Israel’s latest military preparations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) for a potential strike on Iran began circulating on Telegram late last week. U.S. officials were frantically investigating the leak. The price of Brent crude, the international oil benchmark, rose on Monday.

Politics and the golden arches

Wall Street has already been anxious about how McDonald’s is doing, given fallout from consumer thriftiness, [*boycotts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) tied to Israel’s war in Gaza and the rise of weight-loss drugs like Ozempic.

Now the fast-food chain is finding itself at the center of the presidential race, too, as Donald Trump and Vice President Kamala Harris brandish their ties to the golden arches to flaunt their ***working-class*** bona fides.

The latest: Trump, a [*Quarter-Pounder-with-cheese devotee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), turned a visit to a McDonald’s in suburban Philadelphia into an [*abbreviated-work-shift-slash-photo op*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html). He worked the fry station (without a hairnet) and bagged orders for preselected drive-through customers, while [*casting baseless doubts on Harris’s claim*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) to have worked for the chain decades ago.

He also ducked a reporter’s question about raising the minimum wage, an issue that has [*dogged Derek Giacomantonio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), the owner of that particular location.

The Trump campaign has since [*posted an image of the former president*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) wearing a McDonald’s apron. Meanwhile, the Harris campaign accused Trump of “exploiting working people for his own personal gain.”

McDonald’s sought to strike an inclusive tone in its response. In a [*letter the company sent to franchisees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), it said that the company “does not endorse candidates for elected office. We are not red or blue — we are golden.”

The company added that franchisees have also invited the Harris-Walz campaign to visit their restaurants.

Trump’s appearance underscores the challenge of staying neutral in a polarized political climate, for fear of alienating customers, staff members and others. Even the term democracy “[*has become kind of loaded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html),” Charles Elson, the founding director of the John L. Weinberg Center for Corporate Governance, told DealBook’s Lauren Hirsch.

Will this harm the brand — or amount to a nothing-burger? The Trump visit thrust McDonald’s into the mass of heated political discourse online. But the company’s stock on Monday was trading a tick higher in premarket trading.

The A.I. boom chugs on

The money may still be flowing into all things artificial intelligence. Perplexity is said to be in talks to raise $500 million in a funding round that would more than double its valuation to at least $8 billion, [*The Wall Street Journal reports*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html).

Perplexity wants to take on Google’s dominance in search. The San Francisco-based company was founded by Aravind Srinivas, a former intern at the tech giant, and aims to [*redesign the auction-based advertising system*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) that is Google’s big profit engine. The company makes money by selling subscriptions, and The Journal reported that annualized revenue is now about $50 million, up from roughly $10 million in March.

The company already has big-name backers. They include Jeff Bezos and Nvidia, as well as leading A.I. researchers, such as the OpenAI co-founder Andrej Karpathy and Meta’s Yann LeCun. [*SoftBank’s Vision Fund 2*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) reportedly invested as much as $20 million just a few months ago. The fund-raising round would be Perplexity’s fourth in the past year.

It’s the latest in a flurry of A.I. deals. In recent weeks, OpenAI raised $6.6 billion in a round that [*valued the money-losing start-up at almost $160 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), one of the biggest funding rounds in Silicon Valley history. Last month, [*Fei-Fei Li,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) the Stanford professor known as the “godmother of A.I.,” raised $230 million for her start-up, and [*Ilya Sutskever*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), an OpenAI co-founder, raised $1 billion for his.

The chip sector shows how A.I. has become the key to tech valuations and markets. Heavyweights like Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, Nvidia and Meta are soaring because of their links to A.I. By contrast, Intel, the American chip making pioneer that’s lagged in the technology, [*could be forced to split*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), and is a takeover target.

Still, some media groups have criticized Perplexity for how it trains its model. Forbes and Condé Nast, among others, have accused the company of using their material without permission.

(The New York Times [*has sued*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) OpenAI and Microsoft, claiming that they had infringed on The Times’s copyright in training A.I. systems.)

The gloomy global outlook

Finance ministers and central bankers will descend on Washington this week for the autumn meetings of the World Bank and the I.M.F. with clouds hanging over the global economy. Atop the agenda: a U.S. election that could shake up global trade, soaring government debt and global conflicts.

The I.M.F. will publish its economic outlook tomorrow. The U.S. economy is outperforming its peers on a range of indicators — The Economist calls it “[*the envy of the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html)” — but lots of voters aren’t feeling it. That’s one reason Donald Trump has regained ground in the polls against Vice President Kamala Harris. If he wins, Trump has threatened to slap a new round of tariffs on imported goods.

The I.M.F. has warned about slow growth and global debt. The global economy is in decent shape as inflation cools, and Bloomberg Economics forecasts [*growth of 3 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html). But the I.M.F. said last week that [*growth is too slow to create enough jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) or service [*government debt that will surpass $100 trillion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html), by the end of the year.

The world’s two biggest economies are driving that surge in borrowing. China is turning to fiscal stimulus in an effort to boost its economy; Beijing [*cut interest rates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) on Monday, the latest in a drip feed of measures. Meanwhile, both Trump and Harris’s economic proposals [*could add trillions more to the U.S. deficit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) over the next decade.

C.E.O.s are urging caution. [*JPMorgan Chase’s Jamie Dimon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) delivered bumper third quarter profits this month. But he repeated his longstanding warnings that geopolitical instability in the Middle East and Ukraine was a huge risk to the global economy and that conditions were getting worse.

That will likely jibe with the mood in Washington this week. “Don’t expect any victory parties,” Kristalina Georgieva, the managing director of the I.M.F., said ahead of the meetings.

Here is what else to watch this week:

Tuesday: The BRICS summit is scheduled to kick off in Russia, hosted by President Vladimir Putin. Xi Jinping of China and Narendra Modi of India are expected to attend. [*On the agenda*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html): a discussion to build a global payment system to rival the dollar.

Wednesday: Investors will closely watch Tesla’s results, especially after investors were left underwhelmed by its recent [*robotaxi event*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html). IBM, AT&amp;T and Boeing will also report.

Separately, the Fed is set to release its latest “beige book” breakdown of the U.S. economy.

Thursday: KKR, UPS and Southwest Airlines report results.

THE SPEED READ

Deals

* Sanofi is reportedly closing in on a deal to [*sell control of its consumer health business*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) to the investment firm Clayton Dubilier &amp; Rice after securing an agreement with the French government that included giving it a minority stake. (Bloomberg)

1. “Wall Street’s Scrappy Underdog Has an [*Ambitious Plan to Make It Big*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html)” (WSJ)

Elections, politics and policy

* “Is there still any pop left in [*California’s fight against soda?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html)” (Politico)

1. Why the European Securities and Markets Authority wants to become the [*European Union’s counterpart to the S.E.C.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html) (FT)

Best of the rest

* “Headhunter Said to Use Fake IDs to [*Dupe Wall Street Traders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html)” (Bloomberg)

1. Inside the N.F.L.’s playbook for [*making football popular in Ireland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html). (NYT)
2. HBO’s “Industry” has made high-stakes trading a television phenomenon. But Wall Streeters are puzzled by [*one of the show’s recent plotlines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html). (WSJ)

We’d like your feedback! Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/elon-musk-million-dollar-petition.html).

PHOTO: Elon Musk’s promise to give $1 million to Pennsylvania voters who sign a petition has raised new questions about his approach to the election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Michael Swensen/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 23, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In Appalachian Start-Up, a Hard Lesson for Vance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D90-VF81-DXY4-X420-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

During JD Vance's brief career as a venture capitalist, few startups attracted his support more than AppHarvest, a now bankrupt plan to build greenhouses across Appalachia.

For JD Vance, it seemed like the perfect investment.

In February 2018, he was working as a venture capitalist when he learned about AppHarvest. Its founder, Jonathan Webb, was a Kentucky native who wanted to build giant greenhouses in Appalachia that would put locals to work. For Mr. Vance, an Ohioan and chronicler of Appalachia with political aspirations, the idea sounded enticing.

''We really try to identify where a given economic trend matches up with a new technology'' and then ''put as much money into that company as you can,'' he said in a podcast interview a couple of years later. He called AppHarvest ''a pretty perfect elucidation of that thesis.''

Within three years, the company would file for bankruptcy.

Mr. Vance, 40, spent less than a half-decade as a Silicon Valley investor, but those years were a pivotal period when he laid the groundwork for his political career -- as a Republican senator from Ohio and now the running mate of former President Donald J. Trump.

When he co-founded his own firm in 2019, Narya Capital, some of its investments would mirror his evolving beliefs. One was Rumble, an unfiltered video-sharing service that bills itself as ''immune to cancel culture'' and is awash in the kind of false claims that Mr. Vance has embraced during the presidential campaign. Both Narya and Mr. Vance also invested in Hallow, a Catholic prayer app; he converted to Catholicism in 2019.

None, however, attracted his attention the way AppHarvest did. His memoir, ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' had described Appalachia as ''hemorrhaging jobs and hope''; AppHarvest was pitched as a solution to the declining coal industry there, ready to provide hundreds of workers health insurance and living wages.

The buzzy company became emblematic of Silicon Valley overreach. While Mr. Vance was on the board, it outlined overambitious expansion plans and rushed to go public before it had any revenue. The company faced soaring interest rates and spiraling labor costs, churning through workers in sweltering greenhouses that drew complaints. Eventually, despite its promises to Appalachians, it turned to migrant labor and even acquired a robotics startup in hopes of automating production. Last year, AppHarvest collapsed, just as a number of other indoor farming ventures did.

''Senator Vance believed in AppHarvest's mission and wishes the company would have succeeded,'' Luke Schroeder, a spokesman for Mr. Vance, said in a statement.

''Decisions to hire outside labor were made months after Senator Vance departed the company,'' he added. ''Senator Vance believed in AppHarvest's mission to create jobs for local workers and disagreed with the decision to depart from that mission.''

The New York Times reviewed AppHarvest's securities and bankruptcy filings and talked to former employees and executives, financial analysts and Kentuckians who worked with the company.

Mr. Vance never had any operational role and left the board in April 2021, before the company's finances unraveled. But for a time it was one of his largest personal investments, at least on paper, according to Senate disclosures. He was lead partner on AppHarvest at two different investment firms, including Rise of the Rest, a fund started by the AOL co-founder Steve Case that became one of AppHarvest's largest investors. After Mr. Vance co-founded Narya with the right-wing venture capitalist Peter Thiel, he briefly sat on AppHarvest's board and its audit committee before departing to run for Senate.

While many average investors suffered losses, a few insiders cashed in handsomely -- though Mr. Schroeder said Mr. Vance's shares had never vested and he never profited. He was not named in shareholder lawsuits that accompanied AppHarvest's demise.

But one lingering question is why Mr. Vance and the other professional investors who poured millions into the company and its idealistic vision didn't place tighter controls around Mr. Webb. He was a founder with little relevant experience, surrounded by top executives who often lacked a background in farming, let alone the demanding field of controlled-environment agriculture.

''I was always puzzled why AppHarvest screwed up so badly, because they should've been an easier bet,'' said Eric Stein, a business professor with a focus on indoor agriculture at Penn State Great Valley.

He noted that the company drew on technology long used in the Netherlands, the world leader in indoor farming. And it had ready-made customers through contracts with large distributors like Mastronardi Produce, which today operates three of the four greenhouses built by AppHarvest. While the company was adept at attracting attention, however, it lacked operational expertise.

''I don't think you run a greenhouse with star power,'' Mr. Stein said, referring to celebrity board members like Martha Stewart. ''You need good horticulturalists.''

Mr. Webb, now 39, was not a horticulturalist. But he appealed to Mr. Vance, who would come to call him a ''dear friend.''

After graduating from the University of Kentucky with a marketing degree in 2008, Mr. Webb tried his hand as a singer-songwriter before pausing that dream to apply for almost 150 jobs in renewable energy, by his count. He didn't get a single interview, so he started scouting properties for solar and wind developers.

He sought out influential people. ''I would go into people's offices and say I had an appointment, and I didn't have an appointment,'' Mr. Webb said in a 2021 interview. (He declined to comment for this article.)

By 2014, he was hired by a government contractor for renewable energy projects. Describing the work, an AppHarvest securities filing said Mr. Webb had once ''led a public-private partnership on behalf of the Department of Defense, developing what was then the largest solar project in the southeastern United States.''

But his role was more modest. Charlie Snyder, Mr. Webb's former boss at the contractor, said Mr. Webb was a project analyst who coordinated efforts to install solar panels on military bases in Georgia, working as a middle man between the government and a large utility.

''He had big dreams that we were going to go do these massive projects, and we turned out to be facilitators,'' Mr. Snyder said. ''We never pushed dirt. We didn't build anything,'' though he said they had played a key supporting role in such projects.

Still, Mr. Webb was determined. In January 2017, he posted a picture on Facebook of a bedroom wall he had turned into a chalkboard to jot down business ideas. He began looking for greenhouse sites in Eastern Kentucky and launched AppHarvest the next year.

He had just ''about spent everything I had,'' he recalled in a Fox interview, when he reached out to Mr. Vance, whom he had met through a mutual acquaintance and who was then working for Mr. Case.

''Like I'm not leaving the room, you will have to call security,'' he said of their discussions. ''I don't care what the dollar amount is. I need some money. It's got to come from Steve. I'll get the credibility. I'll be able to go raise more money. So that went on for about a week to 10 days. And I got him to write a $150,000 check.''

Mr. Webb would cultivate an image as something of a countercultural entrepreneur.

''I'm anti-Wall Street -- this is the first stock I've ever owned,'' he said in 2021 of AppHarvest, while noting that he had also invested in Bitcoin and Dogecoin, a lesser known cryptocurrency that was a favorite of the Kiss bassist Gene Simmons.

Mr. Vance has a more storied career trajectory. While he was at Yale Law School, he was deeply influenced by a 2011 speech by Mr. Thiel about the purposelessness of most high-powered jobs. Within a few years he would be working at Mr. Thiel's venture capital firm, Mithril Capital.

But he may have seen some of himself in Mr. Webb. The two aspiring businessmen were both in their early 30s, both intent on carving careers out of Appalachian transition and both from ***working-class***, churchgoing families.

While Mr. Webb may have had limited experience, he was a skilled fund-raiser, taking in nearly $800 million from investors like the former NBA star Blake Griffin and Rupert Murdoch's son James.

''This is psychotic to me, the amount of money we've raised,'' Mr. Webb said in the 2021 interview. By contrast, he described running the business as far more challenging. ''The reality is, none of us had a clue what we were doing.''

Mr. Webb talked about building a dozen massive greenhouses before perfecting operations at the original Morehead facility, which he said could fit ''50 football fields under glass.''

Promoting the company, Mr. Vance told Axios that ''we looked at lots of ag startups,'' but felt that the others lacked ''a really good business model.''

While Mr. Vance was on the board, the company planned to go public before it even had revenue, by merging with a special-purpose acquisition company. The strategy was then a prevailing though controversial trend on Wall Street.

AppHarvest quickly ran into problems. At Morehead, where it grew tomatoes, the company battled disease and pests and struggled to meet the grade-A standard required by Mastronardi.

Shares surged after its Nasdaq debut in February 2021 but quickly fizzled. Mr. Vance, who was mulling a Senate run, would not stay much longer. Once an outspoken Trump opponent, his rhetoric abruptly shifted.

At the time, Eastern Kentucky suffered severe flooding. Mr. Webb donated $500,000 during a telethon to aid victims. Organizers discussed including Mr. Vance as well, but dropped the idea after texting one another about controversial statements Mr. Vance had made, including a broadside assailing diversity training, according to interviews and text traffic reviewed by The Times. (Mr. Vance has given to charity amid regional flooding, including a $10,000 check in 2022.)

When he left AppHarvest in mid-April of 2021, there were reports that his departure was related to his social media postings. He derided the idea at the time, posting that he had been talking to other board members and decided that ''I'm going to keep speaking my mind, and I'd rather do that unconstrained by the demands of a public board.''

Mr. Vance remained an advocate. That July, on a podcast interview, he said one of the investments he was ''most proud'' of was AppHarvest. In mid-August 2021, he attended Mr. Webb's wedding in Lexington.

But the company's finances looked precarious after reporting a $32 million net loss that same month. Still, AppHarvest remained a darling of local politicians, including Gov. Andy Beshear, a Democrat. The company originally hired hundreds of locals, but a growing reliance on migrant, or ''contract,'' workers was played down. They began arriving between July and September 2021, according to public filings, although some employees recalled them coming even earlier that year.

When Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky, visited the Morehead plant in November 2021, Spanish-speaking workers were sent home, according to five greenhouse workers interviewed as part of an investigation published by Grist and the Kentucky Center for Investigative Reporting in 2023. The report found a chaotic corporate work environment and unsafe greenhouse conditions.

''I think we were pushed harder than what was humanly possible with it being that hot,'' said Chelsie Ratliff, who worked in the Morehead greenhouse from June 2022 to May 2023.

An internal ''heat mitigation'' report reviewed by The Times showed that work was only fully halted if the heat index climbed past 140 degrees. Ms. Ratliff said thermometers displaying the time and temperature were often covered by gray plastic bags. She got sick from mold covering the tomato plants. She was told to work faster and take fewer bathroom breaks, and she waited three weeks for a requested N95 mask.

While Mr. Vance was involved with the company, he ''was not aware of employee accounts of unsafe working conditions,'' his spokesman said.

''Had he been aware, he would have taken action,'' he continued.

By late 2022, the company brought in Tony Martin, an executive with experience in the indoor agriculture industry, as chief operating officer.

''Great companies have ideals, and their ideal is to employ local labor,'' Mr. Martin said on a March 2023 earnings call. ''But when you're faced with a thin labor pool and a high attrition rate, oftentimes it's difficult to attract, retain and recruit the appropriate labor force. In the United States, we can rely on contract agricultural labor.''

Alison Davis, an agricultural economics professor at the University of Kentucky, was skeptical from the start, noting that it would be hard to get a high enough price for tomatoes to justify construction and labor costs.

''It was just another attempt to save the region without really understanding what the regional needs were,'' Dr. Davis said. ''They just assumed coal miners would switch and suddenly pick tomatoes. That didn't happen.''

By the time it filed for bankruptcy, AppHarvest's 500 contract workers outnumbered its other 416 employees, only 30 percent of whom were salaried. One shareholder lawsuit accused the company of making inflated projections; Mr. Webb and other executives settled for more than $5 million. But some insiders had profited. Robert Laikin, the chairman of the acquisition company that had merged with AppHarvest, bought and sold 162,500 shares between late January and mid-March of 2021 for a profit exceeding $2.1 million.

Colin Greenspon, Narya's chief executive and co-founder, said in a statement that ''as with any transformative company, it wasn't without risk. We, and I'm sure the many other institutions that invested in AppHarvest, are disappointed that it fell short.''

Both Mr. Vance and Mr. Webb have moved on. Mr. Vance talks a lot about his Appalachian roots while campaigning, but not about AppHarvest. Mr. Webb was among the executives awarded a $540,000 payout a week before bankruptcy was declared. He appears to be leaving tomatoes behind. The Nuclear Company, his latest venture, aims to develop new power plants. Fund-raising has already begun.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/jd-vance-appalachia-startup.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/us/politics/jd-vance-appalachia-startup.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Employees in a greenhouse at AppHarvest in Morehead, Ky., in 2021. The company filed for bankruptcy in 2023. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LUKE SHARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B1)

During JD Vance's brief career as a venture capitalist, he backed the start-up, AppHarvest, a now bankrupt plan to build greenhouses across Appalachia. At left, the founder and chief, Jonathan Webb, who cultivated an image as a countercultural entrepreneur. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUKE SHARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JENN ACKERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

After Mr. Vance co-founded Narya with the right-wing venture capitalist Peter Thiel, above, he briefly sat on AppHarvest's board. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCO BELLO/GETTY IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES) (B2) This article appeared in print on page B1, B2.

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2024

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[***Social Media Influencers to Speak at the Democratic Convention***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRY-DF81-JBG3-6005-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 959 words

**Byline:** Ken Bensinger Ken Bensinger covers right wing media and national political campaigns for The Times.

**Highlight:** While they have millions of followers on platforms like TikTok and Instagram, this week they will share the podium with the top tier of Democratic politics.

**Body**

While they have millions of followers on platforms like TikTok and Instagram, this week they will share the podium with the top tier of Democratic politics.

A speaking slot at a national party’s nominating convention is among the most coveted prizes in American politics, offering veteran officeholders and up-and-comers alike the chance to speak to — and be seen by — an entire nation.

At the Democratic National Convention this week in Chicago, five of those rare slots will go to a group that most likely would be unfamiliar to previous convention planners: social media influencers.

Convention officials said each night would include at least one influencer. The speakers are Deja Foxx, Nabela Noor, Carlos Eduardo Espina, Olivia Julianna and John Russell, a group of millennial and Gen Z influencers who, collectively, have well over 24 million social media followers.

They will speak on the same podium as President Biden; the Democratic nominees, Vice President Kamala Harris and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota; and party luminaries, including two former presidents, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, among others.

“This feels very affirming,” said Ms. Foxx, 24, a reproductive rights activist from Arizona who worked on Ms. Harris’s first presidential campaign. She’ll speak about abortion rights on Monday night in a program that will also feature Mr. Biden. “I don’t take it lightly that I’m speaking on the same night as the president of the United States,” she said.

These speakers represent a significant shift for the convention and underscore the Democratic Party’s efforts to speak to voters whose news diet exists outside traditional media. Last month, a conservative influencer, the actress and model Amber Rose, [*spoke on the first night*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-hiphop.html) of the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee.

The speaker roster at conventions tends to mix elected officials with entertainment figures and regular citizens who can speak to particular policy issues. The Republicans’ convention last month featured a number of people the party called “Everyday Americans,” who discussed topics including immigration, inflation and crime.

A [*study by the Pew Research Center last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-hiphop.html) found that almost half of Americans get some of their news from social media and that a third of adults under 30 get their news from TikTok.

To help chase those potential voters, the D.N.C. has, for the first time, [*granted credentials*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-hiphop.html) to more than 200 influencers, offering them the kind of wide-ranging access to events and people traditionally provided only to the press. It’s also giving them a special “creator platform” within the convention venue in Chicago, the United Center: a special V.I.P. box directly above the arena floor.

Providing influencers time onstage gives them the chance to repost clips of their speeches to their own social media accounts as well as the feeds of other influencers watching the show, all in pursuit of the modern media era’s most valuable prize of all: virality.

“Content creators are a vehicle to reach new audiences, not just through their content, but through their unique ability to speak authentically to their own communities,” said Emily Soong, a spokeswoman for the convention.

Ms. Foxx said she was first approached by organizers a few weeks ago and has since worked with a campaign speechwriter to hone her presentation. “I was pretty nervous but now I’m feeling really ready,” she said. “I’ve been running through my speech every day.”

The lineup on Tuesday night will include Ms. Noor, a Muslim American known for her makeup tutorials, cooking videos and frank talk about her challenging journey to motherhood. With more than 11 million followers spread across TikTok, Instagram and YouTube, she will speak on a night whose theme, “A Bold Vision for America’s Future,” is meant to draw contrasts between the Harris-Walz ticket and their Republican rivals, Donald J. Trump and Senator JD Vance of Ohio.

For Wednesday’s program, Mr. Espina, the son of Latin American immigrants who has amassed a [*huge following on TikTok*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-hiphop.html) with his videos about news, politics, food and soccer, will talk about immigration. Although he normally posts in Spanish, he is expected to deliver his remarks in English.

That night will also include Ms. Julianna, [*who has called herself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-hiphop.html) “a plus-size queer Latina from rural Southeast Texas” and gained a following from her involvement in [*Gen-Z for Change*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-hiphop.html), a youth-oriented political activism group. Her top issues include climate change and, like Ms. Foxx, abortion access.

“Peer to peer organizing is one of the most powerful tools we have in our democracy,” said Ms. Julianna, whose speech topic will be “freedom.” For years I’ve spoken directly to my fellow young Americans through my social media pages, knocking doors for Democratic candidates, and rallying for fundamental freedoms across the country.”

During the convention’s final night, which organizers are describing, thematically, as a narrative about how the 2024 election is a fight “for our future,” Mr. Russell, a self-described “dirtbag journalist” will have a chance to speak.

Based in West Virginia, he worked on rural policy and engagement for Senator [*Elizabeth Warren’s presidential campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-hiphop.html) in 2020, ran unsuccessfully for Congress, and has built a following on his progressive coverage of the industrial Midwest and his strong support of labor unions. In his social media bios, he describes himself as “biased for the ***working class***.”

Nabela Noor is known for her makeup tutorials, cooking videos and frank talk about her journey to motherhood. She is set to speak on Tuesday. DAVE KOTINSKY/GETTY IMAGES The influencer Deja Foxx was scheduled to speak about abortion rights on Monday at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. ROB KIM/GETTY IMAGES

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2024

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[***Opioids Ravaged a Kentucky Town. Then Rehab Became Its Business.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMD-3G81-DXY4-X28J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 5806 words

**Byline:** Oliver Whang, Oliver Whang is a writer based in Brooklyn. He started writing for The Times in 2020.

**Highlight:** In Louisa, an unbearable social crisis has become the main source of economic opportunity.

**Body**

Louisa, Ky., is a small town of about 2,600 on the border of West Virginia with a single pair of railroad tracks running through it. If you follow these tracks south, against the flow of the Big Sandy River, you’ll go between the public library and the Main Street Park and over Lick Creek, one of the manifold creeks that web eastern Kentucky like capillaries. Follow Lick Creek past a baseball diamond and a pawnshop and you’ll arrive behind an ordinary gray mobile home in a small lot of grass where Ingrid Jackson was living in the fall of 2023. The days were still long and the afternoon sun settled gently on nearby mountains, turning leaves a lambent red. Reedy gospel music played from inside the trailer, announcing Jackson’s presence as she opened the door. Her hair, normally figured in light brown curls, was packed into a shower cap. She smiled from the entryway. It was a smile difficult not to smile back at.

Jackson had never lived in a trailer before, or a small town. She was born in Louisville, the daughter of a man with schizophrenia who, in 1983, decapitated a 76-year-old woman. Jackson was 1 at the time. In 2010, at 27, she was in a car accident and was prescribed pain pills. Not long after that, she began using heroin. Over the next decade she went through nine rounds of addiction rehab. Each ended in relapse. Her most recent one came in 2022 after her son was sentenced to life in prison for murder; he was 21. In Louisville on Christmas Day she called a residential rehab company named Addiction Recovery Care, which has its headquarters in Louisa. So now she was here, in Appalachian coal country, in a trailer along Lick Creek, in a town a tiny fraction the size of her home city, working as a nursing assistant in a nearby nursing home, sharing a trailer with Latasha Kidd, a local woman 12 years her junior with a mountain accent, a fade and blood-orange bangs. “This is culture shock,” Jackson said. “I’m a city girl, and there’s not a lot of us around, and I’m like: Mama!”

Jackson and Kidd were about as different as you could make them. Jackson was Black, Kidd white; Jackson outgoing, Kidd reserved; Jackson neat, Kidd messy; Jackson devout, Kidd agnostic; Jackson straight, Kidd queer. Still, they became fast friends in rehab and now, five months out, inhabited a somewhat fragile existence together, in the period of addiction recovery that many people in long-term recovery say is the most difficult: the space between leaving rehab and getting back on your feet. [*More than a million people*](https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2019/crime-in-the-u.s.-2019/topic-pages/persons-arrested) in the United States are arrested every year on drug-related charges, and for them, finding a steady job, consistent housing and reliable transportation can be even more difficult than the tremors, hallucinations and nausea of detox. [*Studies have shown*](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11920-011-0224-0) that relapse rates for people in recovery may be as high as 85 percent within the first year. Another woman with whom Kidd and Jackson went through recovery, who was supposed to live with them, relapsed and overdosed the day before moving in.

Jackson often worried that something similar might happen to Kidd, who had struggled with addiction so long that, until recently, she didn’t know how to pay her bills. At 29, Kidd hadn’t yet held a full-time job. “So I have to push her sometimes,” Jackson said. “ ’Cause when I want to go in my own direction, I don’t want Tasha to be left upside-down.”

In eastern Kentucky, a region plagued by poverty and at the heart of the country’s opioid epidemic, the burden of addressing this treatment gap has mainly been taken up by addiction-rehab companies. Many stand more like community centers or churches than medical clinics, offering not just chemical but also spiritual and logistical services with the aim of helping people in addiction find employment and re-enter society. And in the two five-year periods between 2008 and 2017, eight of the 10 counties in America with the [*steepest decline*](https://www.norc.org/content/dam/norc-org/pdfs/Understanding%20Declining%20Rates%20of%20Drug%20Overdose%20Mortality%20in%20Eastern%20Kentucky.pdf) in [*overdose mortality rates*](https://opioidmisusetool.norc.org/) were in eastern Kentucky. The state now has more residential treatment beds per person than any other state in the country, and [*provisional data*](https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/sosmap/drug_poisoning_mortality/drug_poisoning.htm) show that, in the 12 months ending on June 30 this year, the number of overdose deaths dropped by 20 percent over the previous 12-month period. Eastern Kentucky is one of the places where you’re most likely to die of a drug addiction but also the place where you’re most likely to receive treatment for it.

Among the rehab companies around, none have taken this holistic recovery philosophy further than Addiction Recovery Care. ARC, whose motto is “Crisis to Career,” has treated tens of thousands of people in addiction since its founding in 2008. In the 2010s, as the power utility moved away from coal energy, the area lost hundreds of mining jobs, and ARC began buying up abandoned buildings and turning them into businesses staffed by clients in recovery. There is an event-planning brick-and-mortar, a cafe, a bakery, a small gallery, an old theater that the company renovated, a pharmacy, a welding company, an accredited Christian college, a private Christian school, a landscaping company and an auto-body shop. All are owned and run by ARC and its chief executive, Tim Robinson.

About half of the company’s 1,000 current employees in the state are in recovery from some kind of substance-use disorder, and one-third have gone through one of the company’s more than 30 residential-rehab programs themselves. ARC has formed relationships with several accredited colleges and trade schools and in 2023 received $130 million from Medicaid, making it the state’s largest provider of treatments for substance-use disorders; that year, ARC bought a psychiatric hospital in Russell, Ky., and began planning to open centers in Ohio and Virginia.

The company’s rapid growth may have helped draw the attention of the F.B.I., which in August [*made public an investigation*](https://forms.fbi.gov/arctips) into ARC for potential health-care fraud. In Louisa, there was skepticism about the company’s place in town, which turned on rumors of exploitation and brainwashing and greed. “It’s like ARC has taken over everything,” a resident told me once. “People joke that it’s a cult.” Around town, the company’s logo, a drawing of an ark, popped up on buildings and lawn signs and brick walls, often next to images of Noah Thompson, a young country singer from town who, in 2022, won “American Idol.” He had worked for ARC, in construction.

Jackson and Kidd, both of whom had criminal records, were among the first group of ARC graduates to complete their nursing-assistant training while in recovery, as part of a new collaboration between the company and a local nursing home. Their co-workers described them as the most beloved caretakers on staff, and neither had missed a day of work since starting there in July. David McKenzie Jr., the nursing home’s sandy-haired owner and administrator, was one of their biggest proponents. “They’re ready to run through walls,” he said. “I see tremendous effort, tremendous willpower, determination, grit. They have transformed my view.”

McKenzie first approached Robinson in February 2021 amid a labor shortage caused by the pandemic. Like other supporters of ARC, he sees the potential of a combined humanitarian-commercial approach to addiction treatment: Not only can it be used to address a systemic health issue in the region, not only can it return meaning to people who have lost their way, but, in doing so, it can bring life back to the region. “We were a coal community,” McKenzie told me. “And that’s disappeared over the past few decades; it’s by and large gone now. And now we have a new industry, and it’s addiction recovery. And it’s revitalized our town.”

Tim Robinson moved to Louisa in 2005. He grew up about 30 miles south of town and came back after completing his law degree to work as an assistant county prosecutor. His docket, he quickly found, was grim. Nearly every case had something to do with opioids — use, trafficking, theft, abuse, assault — and most defendants ended up in jail. Kevin Mullins, who was the district-court judge in nearby Letcher County for 15 years before his death in September, told me there were so few treatment centers in 2009 in eastern Kentucky that, if someone came into court wanting to go to rehab, they would have to wait several weeks for a bed a hundred miles away. “Our knee-jerk reaction was, we’re going to incarcerate ourselves out of this problem,” Mullins said. “That approach has continued to haunt us.” In 2021, [*Kentucky was found to have the second-highest jail incarceration rate*](https://vera-institute.files.svdcdn.com/production/downloads/publications/the-criminalization-of-poverty-in-kentucky-report.pdf) and the 10th-highest prison incarceration rate in the country.

Robinson himself was an alcoholic and was arrested twice for public intoxication. One day in the winter of 2006, he came to work hung over and, on running into a local pastor, prayed with him. “When I stood from my praying, I felt like the burdens of my life literally fell off my back,” he said. “That started the process of me forgiving myself.” He got sober. A few months later, in the summer of 2007, he quit his job and began trying to open an addiction-treatment center for women in Louisa — what would later become Addiction Recovery Care.

It was difficult to get the business off the ground. “I had people come up to me in restaurants, wherever, say, ‘We don’t want what you’re trying to do, we don’t want those people,’” Robinson told me. Financially, there were other restrictions. Most people in eastern Kentucky could not afford private insurance, and federal insurance plans didn’t cover addiction treatment. When Robinson finally opened his first rehab as a nonprofit in 2010, much of his funding came from family, friends and church donations. A vast majority of the revenue came from treatment vouchers issued by Operation UNITE, a state-funded nonprofit group formed in 2003 in response to Kentucky’s opioid epidemic. Everyone on staff was a volunteer.

Then in 2013, Kentucky’s governor, Steve Beshear — father of the state’s current governor, Andy Beshear — expanded Medicaid’s addiction-treatment benefit under the Affordable Care Act to cover residential care for people in addiction. A new funding model appeared. Though the state paid for only 30 days of residential care, its coverage of treatments was comprehensive, which allowed Robinson to take in more insured clients, charge for more services and open more rehabs. This tracked a statewide trend that began with the Medicaid expansion. In 2014, [*there were 347 qualified addiction-treatment centers or hospitals in the state*](https://www.samhsa.gov/data/sites/default/files/2014_National_Survey_of_Substance_Abuse_Treatment_Services/2014_National_Survey_of_Substance_Abuse_Treatment_Services/2014_National_Survey_of_Substance_Abuse_Treatment_Services.pdf), 170 of which accepted Medicaid. By 2020, [*there were 477 treatment centers*](https://www.samhsa.gov/data/report/national-survey-substance-abuse-treatment-services-n-ssats-2019-data-substance-abuse), 382 of which accepted Medicaid.

I first spoke to Robinson in his office in 2021. It was a spacious room on the top floor of ARC’s headquarters in Louisa, between the Food City and the county courthouse, filled with mementos to the mid-20th-century Los Angeles Dodgers. Robinson was large behind his desk, cutting the image of a lay preacher, with lively hazel eyes and a well-trimmed dark beard. By that point ARC owned more than two dozen treatment centers and had helped turn Kentucky into what Mullins called a “treatment on demand” state: Most people in addiction could get a bed in rehab within 24 hours of asking for one, regardless of their insurance. Lawn signs dotted the town, advertising the company’s “telecare” rehab effort, called ARC Anywhere.

Over the years, as I spent more time getting to know people who went through rehab at ARC, I began to notice a certain archetypal story that drifted down from Robinson to his executives to his employees and clients. It opened with horror. One man I spoke to struggled with addiction since his teens, was in and out of jail and was still trying to put his life back together when his daughter went into the hospital for surgery and died. He overdosed in the parking garage of the hospital, then spent more than a year using heavily until he was ordered to rehab by a court. Kayla Parsons, who was born 45 minutes north of Louisa, was sexually assaulted at 19, after which she turned to drugs. She became pregnant with her first daughter at 21, was arrested for drug trafficking, went to rehab, relapsed, lost custody of her daughter, was arrested again, went to jail, got sober, relapsed again. In 2016, her family sent her, dope-sick, to an ARC treatment center. “I didn’t see a way out,” she told me. “I thought the only way out of that was going to be death. So every single time I got high, my one and only goal was to overdose.”

At some point, there would come an intimation of hope. For Parsons, it was when she heard about ARC’s commitment to find jobs for clients. Many workers at ARC facilities are interns, paid a small stipend for half a year while they transition from clients to employees. They train to be peer-support advisers at outpatient clinics and work as receptionists at residential centers and cashiers at Masterpiece Café, which is ARC’s coffee shop in downtown Louisa. Freedom Fabrication, Robinson’s welding shop, trains people in addiction for a welding career. His auto-body shop, Second Chance Auto, employs almost exclusively people in recovery. Many of the company’s outpatient and residential-treatment centers are lined with framed testimonials from clients turned employees, each a journey starting at a nadir, each one its own miracle. Parsons is now the senior vice president of administration at ARC and married to a man she met through recovery. “That is a huge part of it, changing that narrative — Oh, I can have a career,” she told me. “But on the other side of it is: I don’t have to be that awful human, but that awful human isn’t wasted, either.”

Robinson recapitulates these points when talking about his business. His experience as assistant prosecutor, his ***working-class*** childhood, his history of addiction, his baseball obsession — which began in elementary school as a trading-card business and led to a mentorship from the local bank president and now serves as inspiration for the company’s vocational and peer-support specialist training — combine to describe an almost holy struggle against social injustice to bring a depressed region back from the brink. Since the days of coal companies, the regional economy has largely been run from afar, often to poor effect. Mineral rights were systematically signed away by unsuspecting landowners; black lung continues to plague miners and their families in the area; an accelerated phase of the opioid epidemic began in Central Appalachia when Purdue Pharma promoted OxyContin to doctors serving poor laborers. Dispatches in the national news often cite high poverty rates, overdose rates, obesity rates and widespread emigration — “Go look at any bad list, we’re toward the top, and all the good lists, we’re toward the bottom,” Robinson told me.

In a region whose destiny had long been determined by outsiders, ARC’s success was Louisa’s redemption in Robinson’s telling; he recast the story of the town. “We’ve not been part of writing the next part of the narrative,” Robinson said, picking up a printed map of ARC’s treatment centers. “But when I look at this,” he said, shaking the paper, “this is one thing we’ve done. This has been us.”

When I first met Jackson and Kidd, they had been living in their trailer together for nearly half a year. They met at a small ARC recovery center in Louisa in late 2022. Jackson was the only Black woman in the facility, and one of the most garrulous, often saying things like “Every day is a good day” and “My greatest asset is my alcoholism.” She was the loudest woman in church, praising wildly, flinging her arms about her. “I had to sit six feet back,” said Kidd, who grew up about 45 minutes west of town in a county where 99 percent of the population was white.

Kidd was more reserved than Jackson, sometimes spending much of her nonworking day on the couch under a blanket. She had entered rehab after a seven-month stint in jail, so she was used to the daily limitations — 6 a.m. wake-up time, reading material restricted to faith-based literature, punishments for breaking house rules. But she found it difficult to buy into the treatment itself. She had been using pain pills since she was 9, she told me, and her parents were addicted to opioids, but she had never spoken at length about her addiction. She lost custody of her four children after being arrested on child-endangerment charges relating to her stepson; the older two were in Alabama with her grandmother, and the younger two, twins, were in Kentucky with her aunt. Now, in treatment, Kidd was constantly being asked to reflect on these facts, which she found almost unbearable. “For a long time I thought that my Mamaw had took them,” she said of her children. Eventually she realized that she had abandoned them. Sometimes she would shove the center’s door open and sprint toward the road. She would stop at the pavement each time, turn around and walk back inside.

Jackson entered treatment three months after Kidd, but she made progress quickly. A model patient, she adhered to a precise schedule even by rehab standards. She rose at 4:30 a.m. every day to write in her journal, composed letters to her incarcerated son and sat in front of small books full of devotions, whispering them over and over, folding down the corner of the page when she was done. As two of the oldest patients in the center, Kidd and Jackson began spending more time together, acting like the elder statesmen of the group. The other women in the center started calling them the older sisters, and Kidd started taking on some of Jackson’s confidence. She came out as a lesbian and began wearing a rainbow pride shirt that Jackson had ordered for her online. She was baptized and began praying with Jackson in church.

Eventually the pair began training at David McKenzie’s nursing home together. They worked constantly, excited by the prospect of getting out. Coming from poverty, with criminal records, finding employment without ARC’s help was a dubious prospect. “Multiple times throughout my life, I’d go to prison, get out, there’s nothing to do,” said Michael Clark, who was addicted to opioids for two decades before going through treatment elsewhere and landing a job at ARC in 2018. When money got tight, Clark’s grandmother crocheted blankets for sale, but with no similar skill to fall back on, Clark would resort to dealing. “The worst time in my life wasn’t when I was using; it was when I was clean but I couldn’t find a job,” he told me.

Kidd and Jackson moved through the program in only a few months. After graduating, in July of 2023, they rented a trailer from McKenzie’s father, and each morning walked together across the creek for 12-hour shifts. Jackson, who had just turned 42, was saving up to buy a car, and Kidd, who didn’t have a license, was studying for her permit.

By the time I met them, the thrill of their new independence had worn off, and a mundane reality had set in. “Right now it’s just work and back, work and back,” Kidd said. The boredom felt more dangerous than anything. This is something that many people in recovery realize. No matter how much you change in treatment, whether you find a new religion or a new partner, you’ll find your old self waiting for you back in the real world. Beneath the promises of peer-support specialists, the gleam of vocational programs and the excitement of a new job in a new town where few people know your name are the same impulses, the same issues, that drove your addiction.

In response, Jackson leaned into her structure and her faith. Her bed was always made with a floral quilt, prayer books stacked neatly in a bag, certificates spaced regularly along her dresser. She made daily calls to her daughter in Louisville. Everything became a sign of deliverance: the first month’s rent, which McKenzie covered while she and Kidd were getting on their feet; the furniture that employees at the nursing home had provided, the Section 8 housing vouchers she was in the process of applying for. “When I say God provided all this, I mean God provided this,” Jackson told me. “I called my mom and I said, ‘God is going to put me up on an Appalachian mountain!’”

For Kidd, every day seemed to present some new complication. The caseworker from the Department for Community Based Services was difficult to reach, one of her children fell ill and she wasn’t able to go for her weekly visit, a new client at the nursing home wouldn’t stop screaming. She had been receiving injections of naltrexone in rehab to help with her withdrawal, but transitioned off them. One day, feeling suffocated, she walked to an ARC outpatient clinic and obtained Suboxone, a mild opioid often used to help people remain sober. Scared of getting high, she later flushed the tablets. “I have days where I come back and I just cry, because I’m trying to be an adult, and it’s tough,” she said. “Sometimes I just wish I could go back to being a kid.”

On a sunny day in the fall of 2023 I walked to a pawnshop in downtown Louisa. Leaves were on the ground outside, their dry tips curling inward, and the sidewalk was gritty with dust. Inside, the shelves were mostly barren, a few loose wires dangling off old kitchen appliances. In the far corner a man with short white hair stood behind a glass case filled with pistols and knives, packing dip into his bottom lip. His name was Mike Hudson, and he was the store’s owner. When I asked him about Addiction Recovery Care, he began speaking broadly about the state of the addiction epidemic nationwide: Federal officials weren’t doing enough to target gangs moving contraband across the border; law enforcement was too soft on drug use. Locally, he said, there seemed to be a better balance between support and punishment. “Tim Robinson, he gives them every chance,” he said, of people in addiction. “They put them through the program, they give them a job. But he won’t stand for you peeing dirty. They got to want it themselves.”

The door creaked open, and a man and a woman walked in. The woman had red hair and thick foundation on her face; the man was large and square. They were both carrying Big Gulps. As Hudson continued speaking, I could see the woman glancing our way. She sidled closer, then said, “What you say about ARC is right.” She had been sober since 2014, she said, and her partner had been sober five and a half years — he had just been released from prison. The woman said that he had been addicted to heroin and meth. I saw his teeth, which were few and rotten, elongated like thin dominoes. “I tried to get him in two rehabs, he didn’t want it, he didn’t do it,” she said.

“I just walked out,” the man said. That changed after he was locked up, with no other option but to face his recovery. “The main thing is, if you don’t want it, you aren’t going to do it.” He sipped the drink in his hand.

“We got to have stronger punishment systems,” the woman said. “Used to be, if you had two grams of meth, you’d get eight, 10 years. Now you can get out in 48 hours.”

Hudson interjected: “My biggest problem is, we got hundreds of thousands of people sitting on death row, costing us. Go ahead and execute them, and then you have space for the rest.”

As I had found in the years since I first visited town, this kind of pontificating was inescapable. People’s opinions about addiction treatment in general were often mixed with their personal struggles with addiction — or the struggles of those they knew — and their opinions about addiction in general were often conflated with their opinions about Addiction Recovery Care. A result was a muddle of criticism. There was the company-as-offering-salvation narrative from people like Robinson, but among other Louisans, there was at best a charged ambivalence toward the company and its mission, and, at worst, outright hostility. Complaints were varied: ARC was attracting addicts; it was dominating smaller businesses, running them into the ground; it was increasing crime in the area; it was profiting off vulnerable people.

“A lot of good things came from them being there, you can’t deny that,” said one Louisan, who asked to remain anonymous out of fear of retaliation from the company. “I still don’t like them. I don’t like Robinson. I think he uses religion and addiction to make himself rich. I don’t trust him.”

“They do not have a good reputation, they do not,” someone else from town told me. “But I wish they had come a little sooner, for my brother.” He died, addicted, a decade ago.

The more enmeshed ARC became with Louisa, the more complicated the recovery dynamics grew. The company and town formed a polychrome ball of altruistic idealism, entrepreneurial ambition and small-town drama. To analyze, for example, the financial benefits of ARC without factoring in the stigma around addiction or the politics of religion or the sentimental attachment lifelong residents formed with their hometown would be like trying to extract the blue Play-Doh out of the brown blend you get after massaging all the colors together. When Lisa Robertson, a real estate agent with an office in downtown Louisa, praised the company and offered me two extra tickets to “Little Shop of Horrors,” showing at the ARC-run Garden Theater, was it because ARC had been good for her business or because she was happy that they were “saving a lot of people” or because she had her lawn mowed by ARC’s Second Chance Lawn Care or because she sent her two children to the ARC-run private school? When Tracie Cavins, who owns a novelties store off South Main Cross Street, told me that she saw a lot more homeless people around town than she did 10 years ago and that she didn’t feel it was safe to “come here by myself at night,” was that because she was frustrated that ARC has been buying up all the neighboring properties? Or because the company brought more people in addiction to town for treatment or because she distrusted a corporation, with a single man at the helm, exerting outsize influence over her town?

ARC’s packaging of addiction recovery as a community-centered activity could be seen as a progressive initiative, creating an environment where addiction is normalized and people in recovery have support. It could also be seen as a profit-driven strategy, exerting economic power to shape a town and its people to a company’s benefit. “They make you feel like you either do things in their way, believing in God and working for them, or you’re failing,” one former ARC client told me. Another former client told me about a friend of hers who went through recovery at ARC and then relapsed while working for the company. “An addict in recovery or who’s gotten sober, they tend to be the hardest worker,” she said. “And to take advantage of that — I told Tim Robinson to his face that money replaced God for him.” One ARC employee told me, “You can easily let work become your new drug.”

ARC’s expansion enabled more people to gain access to treatment, which brought in more money from insurance claims and more ways to cut costs through scaling: larger treatment centers, more efficient kitchens and food services and more employment opportunities for graduates. Over the past decade, as Kentucky has sought to address the addiction and mental-health crises, funding has flowed loosely. “You would struggle to find anything that’s not reimbursed in behavioral health,” said Stephanie French, the former executive director of communications and public affairs for the Kentucky Cabinet for Health and Family Services. At ARC, this money is used to help pay for beds for patients beyond their normal 30-day allotment but also to support its other businesses — and to pay Robinson and his wife a total of more than $500,000 a year. The couple have donated generously to state political campaigns (both for the conservative governor Matt Bevin in 2019 and his progressive successor Andy Beshear in 2023) and built a large, gated house on the edge of town that some people called the Mansion.

This past summer, the F.B.I. issued a call for information from former patients of ARC, asking in a questionnaire whether “any medical procedures, exams or services from ARC” were “not adequately rendered.” When I walked around town soon after that, people were amused to see me. The sentiment seemed to be that the company had it coming. The F.B.I. declined to comment directly on the investigation, but one local conjecture was that it was spurred by Robinson’s frequent campaign contributions. Another was that the company was continuing to bill insurers after patients left treatment or was skimping on care. (In a statement, the company acknowledged that it had potentially overcharged for services and said that it is cooperating with the investigation.) Online, when a resident posted about the investigation on Facebook, someone commented, “Finally some good news.” But over the next few months, blaming significant Medicaid reimbursement cuts, the company laid off about a quarter of its work force, more than 300 employees, including schoolteachers, peer-support specialists and human-resources representatives, and a few residents reached out to me, conflicted.

“My main worry is what might happen if something major goes down, like a shutdown,” one texted. “That’ll be a major blow to the community.” That is, if Robinson was in trouble, ARC was too, and the town could be reclaimed — but, maybe, if ARC collapsed, Louisa would also collapse.

When I first spoke to Louisa’s mayor, Harold Slone, in 2020, he seemed hesitant to say anything of substance about ARC, suggesting that I direct questions to Matt Brown, ARC’s chief administration officer (now president), who was serving on the six-member City Council at the time. I figured this had something to do with the fact that ARC sponsored nearly every event in town and that anything Slone said would get around. But one evening in late 2023, we talked in his backyard. Smoke from a wildfire in West Virginia floated across the river and glazed the sky.

“I find it hard to say a lot bad about ARC, I really do,” Slone said. “We used to see people lined up down the street waiting to get their prescriptions. We knew what was happening and didn’t say anything about it.” I brought up the fact that some people in town saw Robinson as an opportunist, using the addiction crisis for financial gain and personal power. “Do you think the hospital benefits from us being sick?” Slone asked. “The more accidents, wrecks, the more Covid, the more we show up at the E.R., the more profit it makes. ARC’s the same thing. There are some people who talk to me, they say that nobody should be profiting from what they’re doing. Well, we know in America that it just doesn’t happen that way.”

In November 2023 I visited Kidd and Jackson in their trailer. Outside, the sun was setting, casting the river valley in a slow blue shadow, the trees shuddering a deep orange. Jackson was eating reheated Taco Bell and Kidd was curled on the couch. She seemed transparent, like a glass bead with bright red hair. She told me that she had a tough day at work. Sometimes, she said, when she gets home, she puts her face in her pillow and screams.

Jackson left her quesadilla and walked over to the middle of the living room. She had recently showered and had pulled a cap over her curls, her skin dewy from the water. She reminded Kidd how much she had changed since entering rehab. “I remember when we first met, you couldn’t really read good, and now you read like a champ,” she said. She brought up the ARC-wide convocations that they attended, which feature employees who have remained in recovery long term. “Somebody’s story is always going to be up there,” Jackson said. “Tasha, our story is going to be up there one day.”

Recovery narratives follow an appealing arc, always with the promise of closure. The person remains sober, the town bounces back, the region battles the addiction crisis from the ground up. But reality is more confounding. In late November, a week after I last saw her, Jackson went back to Louisville for Thanksgiving. It was her first time visiting home in more than a year, and she stayed with her daughter, Charlye. “That was literally the best day of my life,” Charlye told me. “It was like a hug I’d been needing.” On Sunday, Jackson went to her mother’s house, where her son had been arrested four years earlier, and relapsed. She overdosed and died in the early morning. Kidd heard the news later that morning and informed me in the afternoon. “My heart is crushed,” she texted. There was a vigil held for Jackson in town and someone from ARC stayed with Kidd through the night.

When I saw Kidd again a few months later, she had started dating a woman, Brittany, who had moved into the trailer and began working at the nursing home with her. Kidd told me that sometimes when she’s stressed, she imagines finding a Xanax or Valium lying around. She would never act on such thoughts, she said, but they have become a kind of dark joke that helps her cope with the urge. The world seemed to move faster than when she was in rehab or in jail, and going back to where she grew up didn’t feel the same anymore. “Ingrid was the exact same way,” she said. “We were destined to be together.”

A year after Jackson’s death, Kidd told me that she still thought about her friend every day. When she was spiraling while thinking of the future, she said, Jackson would take her hand and say, “We’re going to finish this out together, buddy.”

Stacy Kranitz is a photographer in Smithville, Tenn., and a 2020 Guggenheim fellow. Her monograph “As It Was Give(n) to Me” was shortlisted for a 2022 Paris Photo-Aperture first photobook award.

PHOTOS: PHOTO (MM24-MM25); Above: Louisa has suffered with the contraction of the coal industry, but Addiction Recovery Care, in addition to its treatment centers, has opened a number of businesses in town, staffed in part by clients in its treatment programs. Opening pages: Welding trainees in the kitchen of their shared home, Stone Lodge. (MM27); An intern at Freedom Fabrication, an ARC business that trains clients in recovery. (MM28); Latasha Kidd completed an ARC treatment program in Louisa and now works in a local nursing home. (MM29); Tim Robinson, the chief executive of Addiction Recovery Care. A recovering alcoholic, he opened his first treatment center in 2010 after getting sober. (MM30); A 12-step recovery meeting at Karen’s Place Maternity Center in Ashland, Ky., which is run by ARC. (MM32); In the 2010s, as the power utility moved away from coal energy, the area lost hundreds of mining jobs, and ARC began buying up abandoned buildings in town and turning them into businesses staffed in part by clients in recovery. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STACY KRANITZ) (MM33) This article appeared in print on page MM24, MM25, MM26, MM27, MM28, MM29, MM30, MM31, MM32, MM33.

**Load-Date:** February 13, 2025

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[***Battling for Pennsylvania, Which Could Tip Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D55-C181-DXY4-X0VK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 10, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1807 words

**Byline:** By Shane Goldmacher

**Body**

Kamala Harris and Donald Trump are pouring more money, time and energy into Pennsylvania than anywhere else, waging an ad war as they crisscross the state.

When Vice President Kamala Harris rolled out her economic agenda, she went to Pittsburgh. When she unveiled her running mate, she went to Philadelphia. And when she had to pick a place for Barack Obama's first fall rally this Thursday, it was back to Pittsburgh.

Former President Donald J. Trump has earmarked the greatest share of his advertising budget for Pennsylvania and has held more rallies in the state than in any other battleground since Ms. Harris joined the race -- including two on Wednesday and three in the last week.

Welcome to the United States of Pennsylvania.

There may be seven main battlegrounds in the race for the White House in 2024, all of which could prove crucial. But Pennsylvania stands apart as the state that top strategists for both Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump have circled as the likeliest to tip the election.

Both candidates are pouring more money, time and energy into the state than anywhere else, with Ms. Harris, Mr. Trump and their allies set to spend $350 million just on television ads in Pennsylvania -- $142 million more than the next closest state and more than Michigan and Wisconsin combined.

Part of Pennsylvania's pivotal role is its sheer size: The state's 19 electoral votes are the biggest prize of any battleground. Part of it is polling: The state has been virtually tied for months. And part of it is math: It is daunting for either Mr. Trump or, especially, Ms. Harris to reach the 270 Electoral College votes needed to win without it.

''If we win Pennsylvania,'' Mr. Trump said at a recent rally in the state, ''we win the whole thing.''

A 'microcosm of America'

What makes Pennsylvania so compelling -- and confounding -- for both parties is the state's unusual mix of demographic and geographic forces.

It is home to urban centers such as Philadelphia with a large population of Black voters whom Democrats must mobilize. It has fast-growing, highly educated and mostly white suburbs where Republicans have been bleeding support in the Trump years. There are struggling industrial towns where Mr. Trump needs to maximize his vote, and smaller cities booming with Latino immigrants where Ms. Harris aims to make gains. And there is a significant, albeit shrinking, rural population. White voters without college degrees, who make up Mr. Trump's base, still account for roughly half the vote.

''This is almost a microcosm of America,'' said Austin Davis, Pennsylvania's Democratic lieutenant governor.

The campaigning in Pennsylvania is fierce and everywhere -- the intensity of a mayoral street fight playing out statewide, with consequences for the whole country. Ms. Harris is running online ads targeting voters in heavily Hispanic pockets of eastern Pennsylvania and radio ads featuring Republicans voting for her on 130 rural radio stations. Her team said they knocked on 100,000 doors in the state last Saturday, the first time the campaign had reached that threshold in a day.

Mr. Trump has dispatched his running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, to make more stops in the state than in any other, according to a campaign official, and the state is also where Mr. Trump held his lone town hall with Sean Hannity on Fox News.

On Wednesday, Mr. Trump is returning for two rallies, in Scranton and Reading, his eighth and ninth in the state just since Ms. Harris entered the race. In Reading, a majority-Hispanic city, Mr. Trump has been offering free haircuts at his offices there on Sundays during Hispanic Heritage Month, according to the campaign.

And while the former first lady Melania Trump has yet to campaign anywhere, Ms. Harris's husband, Doug Emhoff, knocked back a beer while watching a football game recently in a Philadelphia suburb and spoke at a large get-out-the-vote concert last Friday featuring the singer Jason Isbell in Pittsburgh.

The campaigns are even trying to keep key Pennsylvania activists and officials happy. It was no accident that at both the Republican and Democratic conventions, only delegates from the nominee's home states had better seats than Pennsylvania's.

''It's the center of the universe,'' said Cliff Maloney, who is leading a multimillion-dollar effort called the Pennsylvania Chase to get more Republicans to vote by mail in the state.

Mr. Davis, the lieutenant governor, said the last time he saw Ms. Harris, he joked that she should rent an apartment in the state. She laughed. But in September, Ms. Harris was in Pennsylvania one out of every three days -- a remarkable share for a single battleground.

Gov. Josh Shapiro, a Democrat, was not selected as Ms. Harris's running mate, but he has made numerous appearances for her, including at her rally in Wilkes-Barre, at a bus-tour kickoff in Philadelphia and at another event with the writer Shonda Rhimes in a suburb of Philadelphia.

Ms. Harris now has more than 400 staff members on payroll in the state spread across 50 offices, according to her campaign. The Trump campaign declined to comment on its Pennsylvania staff but said it had more than two dozen offices in the state.

On a recent Saturday, Ms. Harris's Pittsburgh headquarters was abuzz with volunteers grabbing packets of literature to canvass local neighborhoods. One mother and daughter had driven through Hurricane Helene's remnants from Illinois to volunteer. ''I want to put my rubber on the road where it really matters,'' Beth Hendrix, 53, said of the decision to trek to Pennsylvania.

On the wall behind them was a poster of the 65,000-seat Pittsburgh Steelers football stadium. It serves as both a door-knocking goal and a stark reminder that the excruciatingly small difference between winning and losing the state in 2016 was even less than the number of seats in the stadium.

Only 44,292 votes.

Bullishness on both sides

At times, the national race has looked shockingly local.

Ms. Harris has picked up spices at Penzeys in Pittsburgh (she purchased a creamy peppercorn dressing base, among other items), stopped by a local bookstore in Johnstown and grabbed Doritos at a Sheetz gas station in Moon Township. Mr. Trump has swung through a Sprankle's market in Kittanning (he bought popcorn and gave one shopper $100) and stopped for cheesesteaks at Tony and Nick's in Philadelphia.

Just how evenly divided is Pennsylvania today? It is currently the only state in the nation where Democrats control one chamber of the State Legislature and Republicans the other. And the margin in the state's lower chamber is a single seat. The state is also home to one of the nation's most costly Senate races and two competitive House seats that could tip control of Congress.

Democrats are bullish that the party has won key races for governor and the Senate in recent years, including in 2022. But Republicans are optimistic because voter registration has swung sharply toward the G.O.P.

The day that Mr. Trump won Pennsylvania in 2016 there were roughly 916,000 more Democrats than Republicans in the state. As of Monday, that figure had dwindled to 325,485.

Earlier this year, one of the most competitive suburban counties ringing Philadelphia, Bucks County, tipped to the Republican column by voter registration. And in September, Luzerne County, just outside Scranton, became the latest to turn red by registration. Mr. Trump won the county in 2016 by 19 percentage points, only four years after Mr. Obama carried it narrowly.

One X factor is the regional impact of the assassination attempt on Mr. Trump in Butler County. Some local supporters predicted in interviews that it would inspire the pro-Trump area to turn out in droves. Mr. Trump held a large rally there on Saturday with guests that included the world's richest man, Elon Musk.

Abraham Reynolds, a 23-year-old who runs a cleaning business in North East, Pa., was at the Butler rally when Mr. Trump was shot. ''That really encouraged me to go out and take action,'' said Mr. Reynolds, who became a campaign volunteer and is now a Trump captain.

Precision targeting

No demographic stone is being left unturned by either side.

In their debate, Ms. Harris dug deep into the state's demographic ledger as she laced into Mr. Trump's desire to walk away from the war in Ukraine. ''Why don't you tell the 800,000 Polish Americans right here in Pennsylvania how quickly you would give up?'' she scolded him.

Mr. Trump has plotted his own appeals to that population, including a late September trip to attend mass at a Polish Catholic shrine in Bucks County on the same day as the Polish president, Andrzej Duda. The trip had to be scrapped over security concerns.

The two campaigns have also used policy as a wedge.

Mr. Trump has tried to use Ms. Harris's opposition to fracking during her 2020 primary run to weaken her support, especially in western Pennsylvania, which is home to some of the world's largest deposits of underground natural gas. Ms. Harris has since reversed that position.

Kenneth Broadbent, the business manager of Steamfitters Local 449 in Pittsburgh, said that his union had endorsed Ms. Harris but that his membership remained divided. Though Ms. Harris gave a shout-out to the jobs created by a local battery plant in her Pittsburgh economic speech, Mr. Broadbent said his members wanted to hear more about jobs.

''She needs to come out with an energy policy,'' he urged.

Mr. Trump has even dangled some specific policy proposals for the state, sometimes clumsily. As president, he signed the law that eliminated deductions for state and local taxes from federal returns. As a candidate, he has promised to reverse that law.

''For all the suburban households paying high property taxes here in Pennsylvania,'' he said at a recent rally in Indiana County, ''I will restore the SALT deduction.'' The tax break applies chiefly to high earners, and Mr. Trump was speaking in a ***working-class*** community.

Few people applauded.

''You guys don't know what the hell it is,'' Mr. Trump said of the tax break. ''That's a good one.''

Some of the most precision targeting has occurred online. Pennsylvania is the first state to top $50 million in ad spending this year on Google.

Mr. Trump's campaign spent more than $80,000 to show one longer video on Google's platforms, just in Philadelphia, about Ms. Harris's shortcomings for the local Black community.

Ms. Harris, meanwhile, has been running online ads in majority Hispanic cities like Reading and using a narrator with a Caribbean accent to better appeal to Puerto Rican and Dominican populations there, according to her campaign.

''It's a margins game,'' said Dan Kanninen, Ms. Harris's battleground states director.

Ama Sarpomaa contributed reporting.Ama Sarpomaa contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Vice President Kamala Harris, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota and their spouses in Rochester, Pa. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

After an attempt on his life, former President Donald J. Trump returned to Butler, Pa., on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** October 10, 2024

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[***The Case for Saying 'I Do'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BP1-WMC1-JBG3-604J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 3; NICHOLAS KRISTOF

**Length:** 1211 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

With little notice, the United States may be crossing a historic milestone in family structure, one that may shape our health, wealth and happiness.

Historically, most American adults were married -- more than two-thirds as recently as 1970. But the married share has crept downward, and today only about half of adults are married. Depending on the data source, we may already have entered an epoch in which a majority are not married.

''Our civilization is in the midst of an epochal shift, a shift away from marriage,'' Brad Wilcox, a sociologist who directs the National Marriage Project at the University of Virginia, writes in his new book, ''Get Married.'' ''In place of marriage, many Americans are remaining single or simply living together without wedding rings. And to be clear, it's more of the former than the latter.''

Wilcox believes that perhaps a third of today's young Americans will never marry. As a long-married romantic myself, I find that troubling, but it's not just soggy sentimentality. Survey data indicates that married couples on average report more happiness, build more wealth, live longer and raise more successful children than single parents or cohabiting couples, though there are plenty of exceptions.

''Fixing what ails America starts with renewing marriage and family life, especially in poor and ***working-class*** communities where the fabric of family life is weakest,'' Wilcox argues.

He's up against a counter view that one should dodge family responsibilities, relish freedom and play hard. Many boys and men flock to the online rantings of Andrew Tate, the misogynistic influencer facing human trafficking charges, who has argued, ''There is zero advantage to marriage in the Western world for a man.''

Some women have likewise celebrated freeing themselves from an institution that often shackled them to cooking, laundry and second-class status at a cost to their careers. As women have enjoyed more economic opportunities, they're less often forced to marry some oaf who gets violent after a few drinks -- and, anyway, what self-respecting woman with independent means would want to marry, say, a fan of Andrew Tate?

Yet even as marriage has receded, the evidence has grown that while it isn't for everyone, in many cases it can improve our lives more than we may appreciate.

''Marriage predicts happiness better than education, work and money,'' Wilcox writes. For example, survey data indicates that getting a college degree increases the odds of describing oneself as ''very happy'' by 64 percent. Earning a solid income lifts the odds by 88 percent. Being ''very satisfied'' with one's job raises them by 145 percent. And marriage increases the odds of being very happy by 151 percent -- while a ''very happy'' marriage boosts the odds by 545 percent.

I've long been interested in family structure for two reasons. First, I believe the left made a historic mistake by demonizing the Moynihan Report, which 59 years ago this month warned about the consequences of family breakdown. Daniel Patrick Moynihan was prescient, for we now know that households headed by single mothers are five times as likely to live in poverty as those with married couples.

Second, loneliness and social isolation are growing problems. One poignant example: Perhaps 100,000 or more dead bodies in America go unclaimed each year, often because there are no loved ones to say farewell. It's a topic explored in another recent book, ''The Unclaimed,'' by sociologists Pamela Prickett and Stefan Timmermans.

Marriage doesn't solve loneliness and social isolation, but it helps. And there is good news on the family front: The divorce rate has dropped to a 50-year low, and the share of children raised in an intact family with married parents has increased slightly in recent years. Today about 51 percent of American kids reach adulthood with the same two parents they started out with.

But it's also true that the marriage rate has collapsed, particularly for ***working-class*** Americans. Of those without a high school diploma, more than two-thirds are unmarried.

Wilcox writes that ''the American heart is closing,'' but I wouldn't put it that way. I think many Americans want to marry but don't feel sufficiently financially stable, or they can't find the right person.

I'm staggered by the interest in virtual boyfriends and virtual girlfriends. One virtual boyfriend app offers an assortment of possibilities such as ''polite and intelligent Edward'' or ''romantic and cute Daniel.''

''Don't be shy, he'll definitely like you,'' the app advises. ''He knows how to cheer you up, so you won't feel sad or lonely.''

Just reading that makes me achingly sad. Virtual mates feel like an elegy for civilization.

One reason for the decline in marriage in ***working-class*** communities may be a lack of economic opportunity, particularly for men, and another may be culture and changing norms. That's worth pondering. In polls, majorities of college-educated liberals seem diffident about marriage, unwilling to criticize infidelity and disagreeing with the idea that children do better with two married parents. Perhaps this liberal lack of enthusiasm for marriage also accounts for the marriage penalties built into benefit programs like Medicaid, in turn disincentivizing marriage for low-income Americans.

Wilcox scolds elites for clinging to traditional values themselves -- in the sense that they get married and have kids for the most part -- even as they are reluctant to endorse marriage for fear of seeming judgmental or intolerant. Elites ''talk left but walk right,'' he says.

We are social animals, Aristotle noted more than two millenniums ago, and it's still true. Spouses can be exasperating (as my wife can attest), but they also can cuddle, fill us with love and connect us to a purpose beyond ourselves. They are infinitely better, for us and for society, than virtual lovers on an app, and that seems worth celebrating openly.

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Update: I have the final figures for my 2023 holiday giving guide, so I owe readers a follow-up and a ''thank you.'' More than 5,400 readers contributed a total of $7.2 million to the three nonprofits I recommended, and here's what the donations will mean in practical terms: 12,150 girls in rural Africa will be supported for a year of high school through Camfed; 1,645 young people in the United States will be supported for a year of instruction and mentoring to succeed in college or technical school through OneGoal; and 4,218 low-income Americans will get free training in information technology through Per Scholas so that they can start better-paying careers in the tech world. All three organizations do excellent work. In addition, 671 readers volunteered to help refugees settle in the United States through my recommended volunteer opportunity, Welcome.US. Thanks so much to all who donated and volunteered: People are benefiting here and abroad from your generosity.

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***Using Dance to Provoke, Delight and Tell South Africa’s Stories; The Global Profile***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2M-38P1-DXY4-X338-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; africa

**Length:** 1468 words

**Highlight:** Growing up in a Black township, Vusi Mdoyi found a sprinkle of joy under apartheid in a street-dancing style known as pantsula. As a choreographer, he has elevated it into high art, injected with ideas.

**Body**

The young boy couldn’t resist the dance moves he saw being performed around him: the rapid foot taps, the ligament-spraining knee twists, the torso shimmies, all coming together in what some might describe as a sort of urban tap dance.

Growing up in an impoverished Black township near Johannesburg in the 1980s, the boy, Vusi Mdoyi, loved watching his father dance with friends, in a style known as pantsula, in the dirt yards of their staid four-room bungalows.

It was a sprinkle of joy in the dark days of apartheid.

At about 7 years old, Mr. Mdoyi began mimicking the dance form. By 10, he was dancing in school festivals. By 14, he had created his own dance crew with neighborhood friends.

Now 44, Mr. Mdoyi is a celebrated dancer and choreographer who has helped to achieve what felt unimaginable during apartheid: turning the street art of pantsula into a high art that attracts global praise, and audiences.

“To produce incredible work that is touring all over the world now — that, for me, it’s the work of a visionary,” said Gregory Maqoma, an acclaimed South African dancer and choreographer who has mentored Mr. Mdoyi.

In 1998, while still a teenager, Mr. Mdoyi took part in workshops and shows put on by a dance company, Step Afrika!, which was co-founded in South Africa by C. Brian Williams, a Howard University graduate who had worked in the region. The company fused African American step dancing with traditional African dance.

The interest that the American dancers showed in pantsula and other African dances helped to inject a sense of pride that their dances were meaningful, Mr. Mdoyi said. Under the white-led apartheid government, which had lost power only four years earlier, Africans were often made to feel ashamed of their own culture, he said.

He admired how Black Americans were able to take culture that came from the streets and professionalize it, and he said the experience helped him to see what was possible for newly liberated Black South Africans.

In part with connections made through Step Afrika!, Mr. Mdoyi made his first overseas trip, to teach a pantsula workshop in Britain in 2001. The next year, he toured internationally with Via Katlehong, a pantsula dance company named after his native township.

“Pantsula culture, it was more related to criminals,” Mr. Mdoyi said. Now, he added, it’s a form of cultural and social activism “through telling our own stories.”

Mr. Mdoyi’s latest work is in some ways a full circle moment to what originally vaulted his career from South African festivals to stages across the world: He choreographed and danced in a piece performed in Soweto this month, during the 30th anniversary celebration of Step Afrika!

His new piece, titled, “The Tattered Soul of a Worker,” tells the story of South African migrant workers who were forced to travel from their homes to find jobs, and it offers a critique of a capitalist system that has left the ***working class*** struggling.

The dancers, clad in midcentury formal suits, dance at times with beer crates — it’s common in South Africa to see young people dancing pantsula with beer crates at traffic lights, seeking tips.

It’s an example of how Mr. Mdoyi uses his choreography “to provoke and question and also make statements,” he said.

Black South Africans began to take up tap dancing in the 1960s after seeing it in American films, Mr. Maqoma said. That eventually evolved into pantsula, which started in townships where Black South Africans were forced to live.

The apartheid regime largely restricted Black South Africans from freely traveling into cities. That left them with virtually no access to the theaters and studios where dance thrived as an art form. So for many Black South Africans, there was little expectation that dance could be anything more than a social activity, with performances done as entertainments at weddings or community gatherings.

“It was a way of escaping all the oppression and challenges,” said Aliko Dlamini, a family friend who used to dance and socialize with Mr. Mdoyi’s father in the township. “It was fun.”

As apartheid restrictions began to loosen in the late 1980s and early 1990s, opportunities increased for Black South Africans to access formal dance training and turn their talents into art.

For Mr. Mdoyi, his focus on dancing as he grew up kept him away from the violence that consumed many Black communities while the government tried to maintain its fragile grip on power in the dying days of apartheid.

Mr. Mdoyi said he connected with a popular street entertainer who danced pantsula and introduced him to the dance scene in nightclubs around Johannesburg. The clubs would give alcohol as the prize in competitions, but because he was too young to drink, Mr. Mdoyi said, he would sell the liquor he won.

The nightclubs were something of a dance academy for Mr. Mdoyi. He met street dancers from many different neighborhoods, each bringing their own styles, techniques and approaches.

“I embodied all of that, and it made me to be a very unique dancer,” Mr. Mdoyi said.

Mr. Mdoyi’s dance productions can come across as stage plays, with elaborate costuming, soundtracks and even dialogues that tell a story beyond the dance moves themselves. He plays with genres and moods.

In a performance called “[*Footnotes*](https://www.facebook.com/lessgoodidea/videos/2596472580594105/?mibextid=UalRPS&amp;rdid=W4BifYgptgXfUZt1),” Mr. Mdoyi and other dancers lay a soundtrack with typewriters, typing eviction notices. The piece grows angry and frantic as disgusted shouts from tenants boom over loudspeakers.

In another piece, “[*Via Sophiatown*](https://www.facebook.com/lessgoodidea/videos/2596472580594105/?mibextid=UalRPS&amp;rdid=W4BifYgptgXfUZt1),” Mr. Mdoyi tells the story of the 1950s-era Johannesburg neighborhoods that were a breeding ground for Black arts and culture. He mixes pantsula with other forms of dancing, like jazz, in performances that radiate an air of joy.

“When I look at Vusi’s work, I don’t look at only what the body does but the content inside that,” said Sello Pesa, a South African dancer and choreographer. “He’s got something to say. The pantsula or the movement as a language, it’s not enough. He feeds or injects ideas inside it.”

Mr. Mdoyi knew he wanted to become a professional dancer in high school, he said, when his dancing won him praise from classmates and he started being invited to dance at weddings, school events and community festivals. Even the local bullies took him under their wings and gave him protection, he said, because they associated pantsula with the rugged street life that they related to.

In 1998, Mr. Mdoyi won an award at a national dance festival for the first time, and the festival director connected him with Jackie Semela, who had established the Soweto Dance Theater, a company based in the nation’s largest township. Mr. Semela helped to start Step Afrika!, which in 1994 held its first festival, in Soweto, only months after South Africans elected Nelson Mandela president in the country’s first democratic election.

Under Mr. Semela’s tutelage, Mr. Mdoyi not only honed his craft as a dancer and found a springboard to perform and choreograph pieces internationally, but he also learned the business side of the profession.

He now has two companies dedicated to creating pantsula shows and teaching the dance. Like many other artists, though, Mr. Mdoyi struggles to make ends meet with his creative work alone, so he also rents out several homes that he built in his native township.

The income from dance and real estate has allowed Mr. Mdoyi to build a spacious, two-level home in Katlehong, with shiny silver columns in the front, Italian tiles on the roof and a studio for his dance academy.

He owns other plots of land in the township, where he hopes to someday build a larger studio. But it was an intentional decision to develop his dance academy in his home community, he said, rather than opening it in one of the commercial or artsy hubs in Johannesburg.

“It’s always better when you see something that is right accessible to you,” Mr. Mdoyi said. “We were very far when we grew up — and even still now — far from these professional studios. They were not catered for us.”

It was important in the township, he added, “for our youth to access professional spaces where they feel very welcome, and they’ve got professional studios, they are in a facility that encourages them.”

PHOTOS: Mr. Mdoyi and friends during a visit to Katlehong Township, where the dancer and choreographer grew up and still lives.; He often uses a beer crate in his productions, a reference to young people who dance pantsula with crates at traffic lights.; Dancers with Step Afrika! preparing for their performance at the Soweto Theater. The group is celebrating its 30th anniversary.; Performers with the Step Afrika! dance group rehearsing Vusi Mdoyi’s “The Tattered Soul of a Worker” piece at the Soweto Theater in Johannesburg this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILAN GODFREY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A6.

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[***Stock Market Is Up, Rates Are Down, and Harris Sees Way to Win on the Economy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2K-PSN1-JBG3-612M-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Harris advisers point to a number of brightening public polls showing that Donald Trump's lead is eroding on the critical question of whom voters trust most on the economy.

Follow along with the latest updates on Trump, Harris and the 2024 election.

For many months, it has been an undisputed and durable fact of the 2024 race that former President Donald J. Trump held a strong political advantage on the most pressing issue to the most voters: the economy.

But with less than six weeks until the election, some of Vice President Kamala Harris's top strategists are making the seemingly audacious case that she will not only neutralize the longstanding Republican edge on economic matters but also flip the script entirely by Election Day.

''This is not just a central challenge, but a challenge that is winnable,'' David Plouffe, a senior Harris adviser who served as former President Barack Obama's campaign manager in 2008, said in an interview.

In fact, Mr. Plouffe and other Harris advisers say, the turnabout has already started.

They point to a number of brightening public polls that show that Mr. Trump's once-daunting lead is eroding on the critical question of whom voters trust most on the economy. At the same time, there are economic atmospherics working in her favor with the stock market hitting record highs, gas prices dropping and the Federal Reserve slashing interest rates for the first time in four years.

In the battleground states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, Mr. Trump's edge on the handling of the economy was only two to four percentage points in the most recent set of Quinnipiac University polls. And while individual polls do not universally agree on the size of Mr. Trump's edge, the trend line across a number of surveys, including from Fox News, CBS and Suffolk University/USA Today, shows Ms. Harris gaining ground with voters on the economy.

Patrick Ruffini, a Republican pollster, dismissed the Harris team's talk of outright winning on the economy as ''a little far fetched'' and ''bluster.'' But he said her gains on the issue were real and substantial.

In June, Mr. Ruffini's monthly national survey showed Mr. Trump with an 11-point edge on the question of who would make the economy work better over President Biden. That lead had shrunk to a single percentage point over Ms. Harris in late August, and in September she held a one-point edge.

''What they needed to do is get the economy to a draw, and arguably they've done that already,'' Mr. Ruffini said. ''It's no longer this unique Trump strength.''

The change comes as Ms. Harris and her allies are pouring tens of millions of dollars into advertising that seeks to define her economic approach as focused on the middle class. The ads promote a list of poll-tested Harris policy proposals, including stopping price gouging on groceries, lowering housing costs and cutting taxes. The goal, advisers said, is to make her seem attuned to the concerns of ***working-class*** voters who are likely to swing the election.

And while she is not exactly distancing herself from Mr. Biden, she is trying to carve out her own distinctive identity.

The latest pitch came in Ms. Harris's speech on Wednesday at The Economic Club of Pittsburgh, where she framed the economic debate as a choice between ''two fundamentally, very different paths.'' She described her approach as ''pragmatic'' and ''practical,'' talking about her middle-class upbringing and at one point laughing off a reference to Mr. Trump's oversized inheritance.

''For Donald Trump, our economy works best if it works for those who own the big skyscrapers,'' she said. ''Not those who actually build them, not those who wire them, not those who mop the floors.''

Mr. Trump's team scoffed at the notion that voters were suddenly starting to trust Democrats after nearly four years of frustration about inflation under Mr. Biden. To press the point, the Trump campaign has been running ads that picture Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris together and end with her declaring ''Bidenomics is working.''

''If the White House were a storefront somewhere on main street in America she would be out on the sidewalk trying to scrape her name off with a razor blade,'' Tim Murtaugh, a Trump campaign spokesman, said. ''She acknowledges it's a wreck and wants nothing to do with it.''

In some ways, Ms. Harris is reprising the economic playbook of the Obama campaign in 2012, when Mr. Obama was battling persistently high unemployment and doubts about the Democratic stewardship of an uneven recovery.

The Obama campaign pressed to disqualify Mitt Romney, a former governor and corporate-turnaround artist, by casting him as a multimillionaire looking out only for himself and his rich friends. ''A plutocrat married to a known equestrian,'' one Republican famously summarized the Democratic caricature.

The television ad that Ms. Harris has put the most money behind so far features a narrator warning that ''Donald Trump has no plan to help the middle class -- just more tax cuts for billionaires.'' Her most-run ad this month, which is narrated by the actor John Doman from ''The Wire,'' features him saying, ''Kamala Harris is focused on you.''

Mr. Plouffe, the senior Harris adviser, said one of the key indicators in 2012 proved to be who voters thought cared more about people like them. ''Barack Obama was able to win that question,'' he said. And answers to that question are now being closely tracked in Wilmington, Del., where the Biden-turned-Harris operation has its headquarters.

One of the campaign's internal surveys earlier this year showed that Mr. Trump was ahead of Mr. Biden by 13 percentage points on the question of who voters thought cared more about people like them, according to a campaign official not authorized to discuss the data publicly. But in the most recent head-to-head survey of Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump on that question, Ms. Harris was ahead of Mr. Trump by three percentage points.

''We've got an advantage,'' Mr. Plouffe said. ''And so the question then is how big can we make that advantage.''

Trust in Mr. Trump on the economy has been deeply ingrained. The Republican candidate's image as a decisive business executive was forged over a decade as the star of the reality television show ''The Apprentice'' and, before that, as the best-selling author of ''The Art of the Deal.'' And during his presidency -- even as Mr. Trump was personally unpopular -- confidence in the country's direction reached its highest point in more than a decade, according to Gallup, until the pandemic hit.

''Trump gets an enormous amount of credit by saying the word 'economy' over and over and over, and so he's very much associated with it,'' said Molly Murphy, a pollster for Ms. Harris. ''But our opportunity is defining for people what Trump will do versus what the vice president will do.''

To that end, three of the four television ads that Ms. Harris's campaign has spent the most on since she entered the race have emphasized a blend of her ''middle class'' background and an economic agenda that includes tackling the cost of groceries and housing, sharpening a contrast with Mr. Trump. The Harris campaign has spent about $35 million broadcasting just those three economic-themed commercials nearly 55,000 times, according to data from AdImpact, the ad-tracking service.

''It's hard to win an election when you're not engaged in a ferocious way on the things voters care most about,'' Mr. Plouffe said of the economic focus.

Mr. Trump's team still firmly believes the economy is a winning issue. The former president has held a number of events advertised as economically focused, including one on Wednesday where he mocked Ms. Harris ahead of her economic speech.

''Why didn't she do it three and half years ago?'' he said of her economic agenda. ''If she has a plan, she should stop grandstanding and do it.''

Sarah Longwell, who founded a group called Republican Voters Against Trump and holds regular voter focus groups, said voters are not weighing Ms. Harris down with what she described as ''Biden's baggage'' -- so far.

''One of the most shocking things listening to swing voters talk about her is the extent to which she does not own the Biden economy,'' Ms. Longwell said.

Republicans are determined to present Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden as a single package. One pro-Trump super PAC, Right for America, began to air an ad this week addressing younger voters. ''Kamala Harris thinks you're too stupid to realize she's to blame for our record inflation,'' the narrator says.

In May, Mr. Trump held a 12-point edge on the economy in a New York Times/Siena College poll of Pennsylvania. Mr. Trump's lead was down to four percentage points this month, though his advantage was still more robust nationally and in the Sun Belt states.

Evan Roth Smith, a Democratic pollster, explained that Mr. Biden's weakness was because voters didn't think the president was focused on what they care most about: prices.

''Now when we test Kamala Harris, she has completely erased that disadvantage,'' he said. ''Voters think she is focused on prices just as much as Donald Trump. And they still think Joe Biden has his eye off the ball.''

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Recent polls show that Donald J. Trump's lead is eroding on the critical question of whom voters trust most on the economy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

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[***Can the G.O.P. Really Become The Party of Workers?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTJ-NS61-DXY4-X015-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The most surprising moment of this year's Republican National Convention may have come on its first night, when the president of the Teamsters railed in prime time against corporate elites and denounced a ''war against labor'' by business groups. The gasps from some in the hall were almost audible on television.

But in many ways, it was a little-noted speech the week before, by Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, that was more revealing about the party's evolving relationship with organized labor.

If anything, Mr. Hawley, a rising Republican star who is one of the Senate's most conservative members, seemed to outflank the Teamsters' leader. His speech, delivered at the National Conservatism Conference, criticized Republicans who ''cheerleaded for corporate tax cuts and low barriers for corporate trade, then watched these same corporations ship American jobs overseas.'' Mr. Hawley concluded that, ''in the choice between labor and capital,'' his party must ''start prioritizing the workingman.''

Since at least the Nixon era, Republicans have nodded rhetorically at the ***working class***, asserting that their party stands for the cultural values these voters hold dear. And for just as long, Democrats have called that pitch hollow, insisting that Republicans have sought to dupe blue-collar voters into supporting policies that benefit the wealthy. Speaker after speaker at the Democratic National Convention this week went on in this vein.

What's far less common is for a Republican to agree with that critique. ''The recent Republican Party, the 1990s party, privileged the money crowd in just about every possible way,'' Mr. Hawley said in his speech.

He is no anomaly. Senator JD Vance of Ohio, the party's vice-presidential nominee, has lamented the corrosive effects of cheap labor and proposed lifting the minimum wage. Other Republican senators, like Roger Marshall of Kansas and Marco Rubio of Florida, have joined them in criticizing corporate labor practices or seeking to give workers more say on the job.

These populist Senate Republicans are only the most visible portion of a larger movement. They have worked closely with a new generation of think tanks and intellectuals, who flesh out proposals for what a conservative economic populism might look like. That ecosystem has even come to include certain labor unions and other left-leaning groups that want to nurture a political coalition for reining in the free market.

And looming over all of them is Donald J. Trump, who has made his own overtures to workers based on their economic interests. It was, after all, Mr. Trump who put Mr. Vance on his ticket and brought the Teamsters to his convention.

So is the Republican Party poised to become the party of workers? Judging strictly from its leader, the answer is probably no. Yet Mr. Trump may be only a bit player in this drama. When it comes to rethinking the relationship between conservatism and labor, the project runs far deeper and broader than the nominee.

A Break With Republican Orthodoxy

The issues that animate Mr. Trump -- immigration, trade, competition with China -- have obvious implications for workers, but in many ways he is more nationalist than populist. His interest in them often stems from a sense that America is taken advantage of by foreign rivals, not a direct identification with workers' concerns. He has frequently venerated the entrepreneur rather than the worker as the indispensable economic actor.

His actions as president tended to reflect these priorities. Mr. Trump enacted tariffs on imports of machinery and metals. He also renegotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement, long seen by organized labor as a cause of job losses. But many of the new agreement's key labor provisions came at the insistence of congressional Democrats, who had the power to block the deal.

Meanwhile, the Labor Department and the National Labor Relations Board under Mr. Trump generally took a deregulatory approach to worker issues and union protections. His administration argued that employers should be able to prevent workers from bringing class action lawsuits, and sought funding cuts for workplace safety programs. His deputy labor secretary once worked as a lobbyist to prevent the federal minimum wage from applying to the Northern Mariana Islands, a U.S. commonwealth where some workers earned less than $1 an hour.

But if Mr. Trump didn't necessarily embrace workers, his breaks with Republican orthodoxy prompted a broader reappraisal of conservative thought that grew to include labor issues.

''It's like what Kamala Harris might say -- it allowed a discussion of what could be, unburdened by the past,'' quipped Oren Cass, a former policy aide to Senator Mitt Romney whose think tank, American Compass, pushes Republicans to adopt more a populist economic agenda. Launched in 2020, American Compass advocates not just policies in the Trumpian sweet spot -- like higher tariffs -- but also those that would directly shift power to workers, like enabling more of them to bargain collectively with employers.

''The economic nationalism on the trade and globalization side created actual space to do pro-worker policy,'' Mr. Cass said.

After President Biden took office, mainstream Democrats emphasized a similar combination of economic nationalism and worker-centric policies. Many Republicans seemed to feel a political imperative to follow suit. Republican senators like Mr. Rubio, Mr. Hawley, Tom Cotton of Arkansas and later Mr. Vance, who had been exploring some of these ideas, built on proposals informed by American Compass and like-minded groups, and even a few labor unions.

Mr. Vance has spoken favorably about sectoral bargaining -- the idea that workers and employers should collectively bargain over wages and benefits on an industrywide basis -- while he and Mr. Hawley signed letters to Amazon raising concerns about its treatment of delivery drivers.

Mr. Vance is a co-sponsor of a bill backed by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Romney that would gradually raise the federal minimum wage to $11 an hour from the current $7.25, while mandating measures to ensure that the pay increase benefits only workers authorized to work in the United States.

And Mr. Vance, Mr. Hawley and Mr. Rubio backed a bipartisan railway safety measure after the train derailment last year in East Palestine, Ohio, that would advance a top priority for rail unions: a requirement that freight trains operate with at least two-person crews.

At their most expansive, some of these Republicans articulate an entire philosophy built around family-sustaining work and vibrant communities, along with a suspicion of large corporations and high finance. In his recent speech, Mr. Hawley chided Republicans who ''sang the praises of global integration while Wall Street bet against American industry and bought up single-family homes -- so that after the banks took the workingman's job, he couldn't afford a house for his family to live in.'' You don't have to squint hard to see a conservative version of Elizabeth Warren in this language -- or, you know, William Jennings Bryan.

Union officials and liberal politicians remain skeptical, saying that for all the heterodox thinking, the Republican Party remains the key obstacle in Congress to enacting strong worker protections.

''It's a total con,'' said Sara Nelson, the president of the Association of Flight Attendants. She notes that no Senate Republican has backed the PRO Act, a package of changes that would make it easier for workers to unionize and costlier for employers to retaliate against them. (Mr. Hawley has hinted he could back a version of it.)

''Every single thing they're holding up to show they're pro-worker is a one-and-done,'' she said, adding that it has long been possible to find a few Republican allies on specific issues. ''I'm sorry, I don't believe you unless you're willing to put permanent power in the hands of workers.''

Even Mr. Cass concedes that some of the legislation backed by the labor-minded Republicans, while earnest in its expression of policy goals, is partly intended as a political exercise. The minimum-wage-cum-immigration-enforcement bill introduced by Mr. Cotton, for example, has little chance of enactment given the politics of immigration on the Democratic side.

''We've seen that there's some messaging involved -- 'now watch Democrats vote against a minimum-wage increase,''' he said. (Mr. Cass and other conservatives argue that immigration restrictions are pro-worker since they tighten the job market.)

On the other hand, optimists note that as recently as five years ago it would have been hard to imagine a Republican vice-presidential nominee who had supported collective bargaining and suggested raising corporate taxes and had recently walked a United Automobile Workers picket line.

''I still think it's going better and faster than anybody who was rooting for it would have any right to expect,'' said Jennifer Harris, a former Biden administration official now at the Hewlett Foundation, which finances groups on the left and the right seeking alternatives to free-market policies, including Mr. Cass's.

Even the much-derided Project 2025, the governing manifesto assembled by the conservative Heritage Foundation and later disavowed by Mr. Trump, nods at the recent trend lines. The 900-page document includes a collection of familiar proposals, like expanding school vouchers and easing fossil-fuel regulations, as well as more of-the-moment libertarian ideas, like amending child labor regulations so that teenagers can take more hazardous jobs.

But it also includes pronouncements on how ''American workers lack a meaningful voice in today's workplace'' and proposes that labor regulators do more to help reinstate workers who are fired for trying to unionize.

'Small, Trust-Building Steps'

For all of the Republicans' embrace of workers at their convention, the party appeared to lurch in the opposite direction just weeks later.

In an Aug. 12 interview, Mr. Trump heaped praise on Tesla's chief executive, Elon Musk, for what he claimed was Mr. Musk's commitment to firing workers on strike. Days later, he interrupted his own economic policy speech to cede the mic to a prominent financier, whose brilliance he gushed about.

These developments appeared to demoralize the worker-minded precincts of the conservative intelligentsia. ''You can fawn over Elon Musk or you can run a populist political campaign, but you can't do both,'' wrote the conservative commentator Sohrab Ahmari, a founder of Compact, an online magazine that features populist thinkers across the political spectrum.

Mr. Ahmari and some of his allies also question whether Republicans have moved as far toward labor as the party's financial backers will tolerate. Whatever their political incentives to court workers, Republicans still depend far more than Democrats on money from small and medium-size businesses whose labor costs have a large impact on their bottom lines.

''The guy who owns a tire distributor and goes to rubber-chicken dinners where self-made men are toasted -- of all the various segments of capital, that person is the least reform-minded,'' Mr. Ahmari said in an interview. If there is a path forward, he argues, it involves ''small trust-building steps'' between Republican politicians and unions.

That's essentially what the Teamsters president, Sean O'Brien, has undertaken since 2022, long before he was invited to speak at the Republican convention.

The union's federal legislative director, Sunshine McBride, cited the relationship with Mr. Hawley as especially fruitful. In addition to signing letters to Amazon about its treatment of delivery drivers, Mr. Hawley was the only Senate Republican to support a rule making it easier for them to unionize, which the Teamsters are pushing for. He has joined a Teamsters picket line and asked the Treasury Department to modify a loan to a bankrupt trucking company to help save the jobs of Teamsters members.

The union has reciprocated, contributing $5,000 to Mr. Hawley's re-election campaign. It's not hard to imagine other industrial unions, like steelworkers or machinists, eventually forging similar relationships and helping to shift the party over time.

Still, other factions of the labor movement will be loath to get on board. Some of the labor-friendly Republicans take positions -- like questioning the integrity of the 2020 election -- that make them uncomfortable allies even for politically moderate unions.

And in the end, their understanding of labor may be too narrow to fully accommodate today's ***working class***. As their platonic ideal, Mr. Hawley and Mr. Vance often evoke a lone breadwinner in a production job whose spouse can afford to stay home and raise children. They give shorter shrift to the millions of people -- often women -- who work in health care or at restaurants and retail outlets, or who may have less traditional families.

''Time was, a workingman could support his family -- a wife and children -- on the work of his own hands,'' Mr. Hawley said in his National Conservative Conference speech. ''Now Americans toil away in dead-end jobs in cubicles, servicing the global corporations, while paying outrageous sums for housing and health care.''

Mr. Hawley said in an interview that he believes service jobs must be made better paying, too, and that he's agnostic about how families allocate work and child-rearing, so long as one parent can stay home if he or she chooses. But gender politics aside, there may be something anachronistic about the worldview -- a vision of an economy that existed before global corporations and may no longer be attainable.

That vision will almost certainly appeal to some workers. Whether it captivates the full range of the labor movement is far less clear.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/24/business/economy/labor-workers-republicans-trump-vance.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/24/business/economy/labor-workers-republicans-trump-vance.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A recent speech by Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri concluded that his party must ''start prioritizing'' workers. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Former President Donald J. Trump's overtures to workers have been based on their economic interests. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B3) This article appeared in print on page B1, B3.

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**End of Document**



[***Five International Movies to Stream Now***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CT0-44P1-JBG3-602R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Devika Girish

**Highlight:** In this month’s picks, a yoga teacher in Argentina adjusts to life after divorce, a young woman in London struggles to move past her painful past and more.

**Body**

In this month’s picks, a yoga teacher in Argentina adjusts to life after divorce, a young woman in London struggles to move past her painful past and more.

‘The Practice’

[*Rent or buy it on major platforms.*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice)

The Argentine director Martín Rejtman has accumulated a body of deceptively profound comedies over the last four decades, the likes of which are hard to find in American cinema. Often spiraling out of absurd premises, they are low-key but whip-smart dramas about the tragicomedy of everyday human relations, which sneak up on you with their sharp analysis of life under modern-day capitalism. His latest, “The Practice,” follows in this vein.

The central premise almost sounds like a sketch or a gag: Gustavo (Esteban Bigliardi), a yoga teacher in Chile, has separated from his wife and has lost custody of his home and his studio. As he tries to find a new apartment and continue his yoga practice on-the-go, a series of comical complications pile up. He tears his meniscus; a new student (with possible substance-abuse issues) seems to be stealing from his class; another student, who accuses Gustavo of inappropriate behavior, is injured during an earthquake and loses her memory. Multiple other plot and character threads emerge and intertwine, each satirizing with rich detail a world in which self-mastery is all the fashion, yet people exert little control over their lives or circumstances.

‘Pilgrims’

[*Stream it on Tubi*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice).

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice)]

A pair of friends, Paulius (Giedrius Kiela) and Indre (Gabija Bargailaite), meet on a summer afternoon and somberly, with few words exchanged, embark on a strange expedition. They drive to several spots around their provincial Lithuanian hometown, and Paulius narrates pieces of a gruesome story that unfolded at each location, sometimes re-enacting scenes. It takes a little while for all the details to add up, but when they do, the full picture lands like a punch to the gut. Paulius’s brother was kidnapped, raped and murdered, and Paulius and Indre — whose relationship with the victim is revealed late in “Pilgrims” — are retracing his final days. Why are they doing this exercise? It’s never stated explicitly in Laurynas Bareisa’s stark, matter-of-fact film, which simmers with unspoken — perhaps unspeakable — feelings. We follow along with the protagonists, hoping for an explanation, a sudden twist or a revelation, but all there is to find are the hard facts of an irrevocable loss.

‘The Visitor’

[*Stream it on Ovid.*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice)]

There’s a picture-perfect prettiness to Martín Boulocq’s “The Visitor.” The movie is set in small-town Bolivia, amid mountains dotted with colorful homes and winding streets, and each frame has a breathtaking sense of symmetry and precision to it. Yet this aesthetic beauty provokes a sense of uneasiness, too, as if it is concealing the messiness of reality. Indeed, “The Visitor” is about what lies underneath seemingly perfect facades. Humberto (Enrique Aráoz), the protagonist, has just been released from prison, and is trying to get back on his feet and reconnect with his daughter. She is in the custody of Humberto’s wealthy, white in-laws, who are pastors at an Evangelical church. They are, by all appearances, pious and beneficent, but there is an undercurrent of violence to their condescending and evasive niceties. As a quiet power struggle ensues, Boulocq sculpts a rich drama of class, race and religion from his modest, melancholic premise.

‘The Hypnosis’

[*Stream it on Mubi.*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice)]

Herbert Nordrum from the acclaimed 2022 film “The Worst Person in the World” stars in this strange little Swedish satire that milks the performativity of start-up culture to excellent cringe-comedy effect. Andre (Nordrum) and Vera (Asta Kamma August) are preparing to attend Shake Up, a three-day coaching retreat for start-up founders. Their idea is an app that helps, vaguely, with women’s health, and their pitch hinges on a personal appeal made by Vera (though clearly scripted and directed by Andre) to the pains of growing up female.

Right before the pitch, Vera tries out hypnotherapy to help her quit smoking, and emerges changed, though not in the ways she expected. No longer meek or eager to please, she’s uninhibited and unpredictable. Her behavior initially proves an asset at Shake Up — she’s authentic! — but when she starts to cross all manner of social boundaries, chaos ensues, especially for the buttoned-up Andre, whose desperation to be liked generates its own squirm-inducing humor. What starts as a somewhat straightforward tale about a woman’s self-actualization becomes something uncomfortably, gloriously weirder, committed more to the bit than to any moralistic message.

‘Silver Haze’

[*Stream it on Tubi.*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/the-practice)]

Each frame of Sacha Polak’s film pulsates with rage, grief and pain, and yet makes room for remarkable tenderness. The story traces Franky (Vicky Knight), a nurse in her 20s, who lives in a dysfunctional home in ***working-class*** London with her siblings and mother. Years ago, a fire left Franky with burns all over her body and killed her older brother. Her parents split over the incident, while its mysterious circumstances continue to torment Franky. “Silver Haze” traces a volatile love story in the midst of Franky’s tumultuous everyday: When she meets the suicidal Florence at her hospital, the two are drawn together like magnets, each of them yearning to be loved and held. But romance is sometimes hard to watch, as the characters flail for answers and escapes that don’t exist. But it’s also beautiful, bathed in glowing light and colors, and unfolding with an effervescent naturalism. At its center is a raw performance by Knight, whose real-life experiences of being scarred in a fire as a child inform the narrative.

PHOTOS: Right, Esteban Bigliardi as a yoga teacher adjusting to life after divorce in “The Practice,” from Argentina. Below, Asta Kamma August and Herbert Nordrum as start-up founders at a retreat in the Swedish film “The Hypnosis.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GRAVITAS VENTURES; MUBI) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Saoirse Ronan Has Lived, and Acted, Through a Lot***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3X-RD11-DXY4-X165-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 4, 2024 Friday 23:58 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1571 words

**Byline:** Roisin Kiberd

**Highlight:** At 30, the Irish actress has already spent two decades in front of the camera, collecting many awards. Her two latest projects are also generating Oscars buzz.

**Body**

“I wish I could live through something,” says the teenage title character in the 2017 movie “[*Lady Bird*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/movies/lady-bird-review-greta-gerwig-saoirse-ronan.html),” yearning for a life beyond suburban Sacramento.

The actor playing her, Saoirse Ronan, had, at that point, already lived through enough for several lives. Then 23, she’d been acting since she was 9, and had already garnered two Oscar nominations. “Lady Bird,” Greta Gerwig’s debut as a solo director, would earn Ronan a third. Another followed, in 2019, for her role as Jo March in Gerwig’s “[*Little Women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/movies/lady-bird-review-greta-gerwig-saoirse-ronan.html).”

This year, Oscars buzz surrounds Ronan once again, thanks to her leading roles in Nora Fingscheidt’s “The Outrun,” which opens in theaters Friday, and Steve McQueen’s “Blitz,” out Nov. 1st.

Ronan’s career reads as a series of evolutions, pushing into new territory with every role — over the years, she has also played a 1950s Irish immigrant in New York, a child assassin, a vampire, Lady Macbeth and Mary, Queen of Scots. Now 30, with over two decades of experience in front of the camera, the Irish actress has committed herself in “The Outrun” to a character containing multitudes: a woman raised in a remote island community, who returns to recover from her addiction to alcohol.

“It was so much more than just making a film for me,” Ronan said, in a video interview from New York. She described an experience that was both physically and emotionally demanding: “I think actors are sponges, you’re able to open yourself up to everything around you.” For “The Outrun,” that meant swimming in the icy sea, delivering lambs on-camera and going deep into the psyche of a woman in crisis.

The movie unfolds on Orkney, an island off Scotland’s northern coast, and the “outrun” is a wind-wracked stretch of land where farmland gives way to the sea. It’s a terrain of extreme beauty, of sandstone cliffs and open sky, sea-green and cerulean, matched by the blue hair of Ronan’s character Rona, who returns home to the island to recover from her addiction.

Here, nature has the power to heal, not by curing Rona of her own wildness but by inspiring her to accept it. We watch as Rona walks slowly into the cold waves, is visited by a colony of bobbing seals, and spends her nights listening for the call of the corncrake, a rare bird that nests on the island.

Her recovery is spliced with scenes from her former life in London — first ecstatic, then catastrophic — where drinking destroyed her relationship and her career as a scientist. Ronan said that exploring the psychology of alcohol addiction was her “main motivation” in taking on this role. “It’s in the makeup of our culture in Ireland and the U.K., and I have been affected by it in the way that so many other people have,” she said. “It unfortunately — but maybe also fortunately — shaped me and influenced me a lot growing up.”

Speaking carefully to avoid identifying the person in question, Ronan spoke about her experience watching an alcoholic up close. “I repressed a lot of the feelings I had towards it,” she said, adding that she now felt ready “to really crack it open and explore the psychology of an addict.”

The director Fingscheidt’s first film, “System Crasher,” follows a 9-year-old girl whose violent outbursts send her on an odyssey through the foster system. Rona in “The Outrun” is a kind of spiritual successor: a woman capable of wonder as well as emotional extremes. “It’s the full spectrum, from absolute euphoria, to love, to devastation, and depression, and shame,” Fingscheidt said. “She goes through almost every possible human shade of emotion.”

Fingscheidt co-wrote the screenplay with Amy Liptrot, the author of the 2015 addiction-recovery memoir that the movie is based on. Early in the movie’s development, Fingscheidt and Liptrot met with Ronan, and the three decided to rename the protagonist “Rona” instead of “Amy,” after another Scottish island that is uninhabited and a lot more remote. “We picked ‘Rona’, because it’s an island beyond the outrun,” Fingscheidt said, “but also there’s a similarity to ‘Ronan.’”

Several of the movie’s scenes were shot on the farm where Liptrot grew up, and though Ronan’s character was drawn from her memoir, it was never intended as a direct portrayal, Liptrot said. “She has that brittleness that I had in early sobriety,” Liptrot said, “and then towards the end, she channels the ambition of my writing — that sort of manic, grandiose quality.”

When shooting wrapped in the wilds of Orkney, Ronan headed south to London, to shoot “Blitz.” In that movie, she plays Rita, a mother searching for her missing 9-year-old son as the city is bombed by the Nazis during World War II.

Rita embodies a woman both challenged and liberated by the absence of men, who have left for the front lines. With her hair tied in a scarf, like Rosie the Riveter, and her legs marked with eyeliner, to look like she’s wearing seamed stockings, we see Rita singing, dancing, working in a munitions factory and agitating with other ***working-class*** Londoners for the opening of bomb shelters.

“In that time, women were the backbone of the country, emotionally and physically,” McQueen said in a recent interview. “I wanted to give that character — a sort of unsung hero — a platform.” McQueen said he admired Ronan’s ability to move between registers. “It’s a very intimate film, but at the same time the scale is epic,” he said. “She has the ability to hold those two fields, in a way not a lot of actresses can.”

McQueen was also impressed by Ronan’s singing, which was key to the role. In one uncertain, then triumphant, scene, we watch Rita perform a song on BBC radio from the factory where she works. McQueen remembered shooting the scene in Liverpool: “There were 450 women,” he said. “Usually men dominate a set, but the energy was completely different. Saoirse sang to them, and there was this infectious sense of emotion.”

Rita also sings with her son, George, played by Elliott Heffernan, and her father, Gerald, played by the musician Paul Weller, both of whom were acting for the first time. “It was like a family unit,” McQueen said. “With Saoirse, she was not only protective of Elliott, but she understood him, because of course she started to act when she was nine herself.”

Clips of Ronan’s earliest on-camera performances are still available on YouTube: In 2003, [*she appeared in “The Clinic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/movies/lady-bird-review-greta-gerwig-saoirse-ronan.html) [*,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/movies/lady-bird-review-greta-gerwig-saoirse-ronan.html) a medical drama made by Ireland’s public broadcaster, as an earnest child who narrowly escapes getting run over by a car. Behind the wheel on-set was her father, Paul, also an actor.

Paul and his wife Monica were living in New York as undocumented immigrants when Ronan was born. Her mother worked as a cleaner, and Paul worked as a bartender and a builder while auditioning for acting gigs. The family returned to Dublin when Ronan was three, then moved to Carlow, Ireland’s second-smallest county, and Paul was cast in the Irish soap operas “Ballykissangel” and “Fair City.”

Ronan grew up visiting her father on film sets, and made rapid progress once she started landing her own roles. Not long after “The Clinic,” she was cast as Briony in “[*Atonement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/movies/lady-bird-review-greta-gerwig-saoirse-ronan.html),” a 2007 adaptation of the Ian McEwan novel, a role that earned her nominations for a BAFTA, a Golden Globe and an Oscar.

Although she was just 13 at the time, Ronan held her own next to Keira Knightley and James McAvoy in the movie. She shone amid an ensemble cast in Wes Anderson’s [*Grand Budapest Hotel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/movies/lady-bird-review-greta-gerwig-saoirse-ronan.html) (2014), and in “[*Brooklyn*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/movies/lady-bird-review-greta-gerwig-saoirse-ronan.html)” (2015), her first leading adult role. More recently, Ronan’s collaborations with Gerwig, in “Lady Bird” and “Little Women,” showcased the same charm that helped her [*2017 appearance hosting “Saturday Night Live”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/movies/lady-bird-review-greta-gerwig-saoirse-ronan.html) go viral.

That monologue, which included a song about how to pronounce “Saoirse” (it’s SAYR-sha), was as much a conversation about Irishness as it was a joke about the nation’s love of names with superfluous vowels. It also spoke to Ronan’s other role as a cultural ambassador and part of a wave of young Irish actors that includes Paul Mescal, Barry Keoghan and Jessie Buckley, currently making a global impact.

McQueen — who has previously given prominent roles in his movies to Irish actors, including Liam Neeson, Colin Farrell and Michael Fassbender — praised an outlook that all three, and Ronan, have in common. “It’s an island,” he said of Ireland. “No one can get too big for their boots. I also think that when you come from an island, there’s a real want there to communicate, and tell stories, and to find the emotion.”

Ronan, who recently bought a house in West Cork, said she remained attached to her home country, even as she moves far beyond it. “What I’m most grateful for about Ireland is the fact that we celebrate the arts as much as we do,” said Ronan, adding: “We’re not embarrassed when it comes to emotion, and feeling, and storytelling. We thrive on that.”

PHOTOS: Making “The Outrun” was emotionally demanding for Saoirse Ronan, above. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CELESTE SLOMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1); Above left, In “The Outrun,” Ronan’s character, Rona, returns home to the Orkney Islands in Scotland to recover from her alcohol addiction. (The outrun is a stretch of land where farmland gives way to the sea.) Above, Ronan, at age 30, has already been nominated for four Oscars. “The Outrun” and another current project are also generating awards buzz. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARTIN SCOTT POWELL/SONY PICTURES CLASSICS; CELESTE SLOMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C2) This article appeared in print on page C1, C2.

**Load-Date:** October 7, 2024

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[***The Case for Saying ‘I Do’; Nicholas Kristof***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BNT-R161-JBG3-6013-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 30, 2024 Saturday 09:06 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1204 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Kristof Nicholas Kristof became a columnist for The Times Opinion desk in 2001. He has won two Pulitzer Prizes, for his coverage of China and of the genocide in Darfur.

**Highlight:** As evidence grows about the benefits of tying the knot, married people are poised to become a minority.

**Body**

With little notice, the United States may be crossing a historic milestone in family structure, one that may shape our health, wealth and happiness.

Historically, most American adults were married — more than two-thirds as recently as 1970. But the married share has [*crept downward*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), and today only about [*half*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) of adults are married. Depending on the data source, we may already have entered an epoch in which [*a majority*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) are not married.

“Our civilization is in the midst of an epochal shift, a shift away from marriage,” Brad Wilcox, a sociologist who directs the National Marriage Project at the University of Virginia, writes in his new book, “[*Get Married*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html).” “In place of marriage, many Americans are remaining single or simply living together without wedding rings. And to be clear, it’s more of the former than the latter.”

Wilcox believes that perhaps a third of today’s young Americans will never marry. As a [*long-married*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) romantic myself, I find that troubling, but it’s not just soggy sentimentality. Survey data indicates that married couples on average report more happiness, build more wealth, live longer and raise more successful children than single parents or cohabiting couples, though there are plenty of exceptions.

“Fixing what ails America starts with renewing marriage and family life, especially in poor and ***working-class*** communities where the fabric of family life is weakest,” Wilcox argues.

He’s up against a counter view that one should dodge family responsibilities, relish freedom and play hard. Many boys and men flock to the online rantings of [*Andrew Tate*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), the misogynistic influencer facing human trafficking charges, who has argued, “There is zero advantage to marriage in the Western world for a man.”

Some women have likewise celebrated freeing themselves from an institution that often shackled them to cooking, laundry and second-class status at a cost to their careers. As women have enjoyed more economic opportunities, they’re less often forced to marry some oaf who gets violent after a few drinks — and, anyway, what self-respecting woman with independent means would want to marry, say, a fan of Andrew Tate?

Yet even as marriage has receded, the evidence has grown that while it isn’t for everyone, in many cases it can improve our lives more than we may appreciate.

“Marriage predicts happiness better than education, work and money,” Wilcox writes. For example, survey data indicates that getting a college degree increases the odds of describing oneself as “very happy” by 64 percent. Earning a solid income lifts the odds by 88 percent. Being “very satisfied” with one’s job raises them by 145 percent. And marriage increases the odds of being very happy by 151 percent — while a “very happy” marriage boosts the odds by 545 percent.

I’ve long been interested in family structure for two reasons. First, I believe the left made [*a historic mistake*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) by demonizing the Moynihan Report, which 59 years ago this month warned about the consequences of family breakdown. Daniel Patrick Moynihan was prescient, for we now know that households headed by single mothers are [*five times*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) as likely to live in poverty as those with married couples.

Second, loneliness and social isolation are growing problems. One poignant example: Perhaps 100,000 or more dead bodies in America go unclaimed each year, often because there are no loved ones to say farewell. It’s a topic explored in another recent book, [*“The Unclaimed,”*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) by sociologists Pamela Prickett and Stefan Timmermans.

Marriage doesn’t solve loneliness and social isolation, but it helps. And there is good news on the family front: The divorce rate has dropped to a [*50-year low*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), and the share of children raised in an intact family with married parents has increased slightly in recent years. Today about 51 percent of American kids reach adulthood with the same two parents they started out with.

But it’s also true that the marriage rate has collapsed, particularly for ***working-class*** Americans. Of those without a high school diploma, [*more than two-thirds*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) are unmarried.

Wilcox writes that “the American heart is closing,” but I wouldn’t put it that way. I think many Americans want to marry but don’t feel sufficiently financially stable, or they can’t find the right person.

I’m staggered by the [*interest*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) in virtual boyfriends and virtual girlfriends. [*One virtual boyfriend app*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) offers an assortment of possibilities such as “polite and intelligent Edward” or “romantic and cute Daniel.”

“Don’t be shy, he’ll definitely like you,” the app advises. “He knows how to cheer you up, so you won’t feel sad or lonely.”

Just reading that makes me achingly sad. Virtual mates feel like an elegy for civilization.

One reason for the decline in marriage in ***working-class*** communities may be a lack of economic opportunity, particularly for men, and another may be culture and changing norms. That’s worth pondering. In polls, majorities of college-educated liberals seem diffident about marriage, unwilling to criticize infidelity and disagreeing with the idea that children do better with two married parents. Perhaps this liberal lack of enthusiasm for marriage also accounts for the marriage penalties built into benefit programs like Medicaid, in turn disincentivizing marriage for low-income Americans.

Wilcox scolds elites for clinging to traditional values themselves — in the sense that they get married and have kids for the most part — even as they are reluctant to endorse marriage for fear of seeming judgmental or intolerant. Elites “talk left but walk right,” he says.

We are social animals, Aristotle noted more than two millenniums ago, and it’s still true. Spouses can be exasperating (as my wife can attest), but they also can cuddle, fill us with love and connect us to a purpose beyond ourselves. They are infinitely better, for us and for society, than virtual lovers on an app, and that seems worth celebrating openly.

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Update: I have the final figures for my [*2023 holiday giving guide*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), so I owe readers a follow-up and a “thank you.” More than 5,400 readers contributed a total of $7.2 million to the [*three nonprofits I recommended*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), and here’s what the donations will mean in practical terms: 12,150 girls in rural Africa will be supported for a year of high school through [*Camfed*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html); 1,645 young people in the United States will be supported for a year of instruction and mentoring to succeed in college or technical school through [*OneGoal*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html); and 4,218 low-income Americans will get free training in information technology through [*Per Scholas*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) so that they can start better-paying careers in the tech world. All three organizations do excellent work. In addition, 671 readers volunteered to help refugees settle in the United States through my recommended volunteer opportunity, [*Welcome.US*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html). Thanks so much to all who donated and volunteered: People are benefiting here and abroad from your generosity.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.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.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), [*Instagram*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), [*TikTok*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), [*WhatsApp*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html), [*X*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html) and [*Threads*](https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2024/03/coupled-households.html).

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***The N.Y.P.D. Commissioner Resigned***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CY8-KRB1-DXY4-X0BD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 12, 2024 Thursday 17:33 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1337 words

**Byline:** Matthew Cullen Matthew Cullen is the lead writer of The Evening, a Times newsletter covering the day&amp;#8217;s top stories every weekday.

**Highlight:** Also, a billionaire completed the first commercial spacewalk. Here’s the latest at the end of Thursday.

**Body**

Also, a billionaire completed the first commercial spacewalk. Here’s the latest at the end of Thursday.

Edward Caban, the New York City police commissioner, announced today that he had resigned. Officials in City Hall [*had asked Caban to quit after federal agents seized his phone*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) last week as part of a criminal investigation — one of several focused on members of Mayor Eric Adams’s administration.

Caban, who was appointed to his role last summer, explained in an email to the Police Department that the investigation had “created a distraction for the department.” Under his leadership, police officials touted recent drops in the city’s crime rate. But his successes were overshadowed by a series of federal inquiries targeting Caban and other top city officials.

In all, there appear to be at least [*four federal investigations*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) focused on the mayor and some of his most senior aides. One is examining whether Adams and his campaign conspired with the government of Turkey; another is focused on a bribery scheme involving city contracts; the third includes Caban, his brother and other police officials; and a fourth is targeting the mayor’s Asian affairs liaison.

Biden is facing pressure to loosen Ukraine’s arms limits

President Biden appears on the verge of [*clearing the way for Ukraine to launch long-range Western missiles*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) deep inside Russian territory, as long as those weapons were not provided by the U.S.

White House officials said Biden had not made a final decision yet, but the issue will come to a head tomorrow when Britain’s new prime minister, Keir Starmer, makes his first visit to Washington. Britain has [*signaled an interest in letting Ukraine strike inside Russia*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) with its Storm Shadow missiles, but wants Biden’s go-ahead.

Biden has hesitated to allow Ukraine to use American weapons in the same way, particularly after warnings from American intelligence agencies that Russia could respond by aiding Iran in targeting U.S. forces in the Middle East.

In related news, Russian forces stepped up their [*attacks on the strategic city of Pokrovsk*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), Ukrainian officials said.

Harris’s campaign is preparing for a ‘game of inches’

Kamala Harris’s strong debate performance has her campaign riding a political high. But polls show that Donald Trump still commands strong Republican support, and surveys in the battleground states forecast very tight contests. Harris’s aides are preparing for an exceedingly close grind until Election Day.

“This is a game of inches in the swing states,” Gov. Gavin Newsom of California said.

After her success with the strategy during the debate, Harris’s aides want to [*focus the race squarely on Trump’s fitness*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) for office.

Here’s what else to know:

* Trump insisted that there [*“will be no” second debate*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) between him and Harris.

1. Harris [*raised $47 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) in the first 24 hours following her debate.
2. The first general election ballots of 2024 were [*just sent out in Alabama*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Your questions:

We’re asking readers what they’d like to know about the election and taking those questions to our reporters. Today, we turned to Jonathan Weisman, who covers politics.

“Ohio went for Obama in 2008 and 2012. Why is Ohio not seen as an important swing state?” — Maureen Dawn, Ohio

Jonathan: Ohio defines the white ***working-class*** electorate that has drifted away from the Democratic Party. Perhaps most important, the Harris-Walz campaign has made no effort to contest Ohio this year, unlike its efforts in other states once considered swing states, such as Florida.

[*You can send us your questions here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

A billionaire completed the first commercial spacewalk

Two private astronauts, including the billionaire Jared Isaacman, lifted themselves outside their spacecraft this morning to conduct the first-ever commercial spacewalk, hundreds of miles above Earth’s surface. [*Here’s a video of what they saw*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

The successful operation was a collaboration between Isaacman and Elon Musk’s SpaceX. A key goal of the mission is the development of more advanced spacesuits for any attempt at off-world colonization by SpaceX.

More top news

* California: Three major wildfires in the Los Angeles area have [*burned more than 100,000 acres*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), but cooler weather will help firefighters.

1. Syria: Israeli commandos [*carried out a raid that obliterated a Hezbollah missile production facility*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).
2. Hurricane Francine: Residents of southern Louisiana [*survived a harrowing night*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), but power outages were widespread.
3. New York: Prosecutors said that Harvey Weinstein, whose conviction for sex crimes was overturned in April, [*faces a new indictment*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).
4. Gaza: Condemnation of Israel mounted after an airstrike on a shelter killed 18 people. [*Six U.N. employees died*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), the most in a single strike since the war began.
5. Mexico: The country is poised to start electing its judges. [*Mexicans are split on the idea.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)
6. Tech: OpenAI is closing in on a funding round that would [*value it at $150 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).
7. U.S.: Jon Bon Jovi helped [*talk a woman off the ledge of a Nashville bridge*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) that he was filming a music video on.
8. New York City: Happy, the Bronx Zoo’s 50-plus-year-old female Asian elephant, hasn’t been seen in two months. The zoo says she’s in her barn. [*Activists are concerned.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)

TIME TO UNWIND

How much influence does Taylor Swift have?

Taylor Swift is perhaps the biggest pop star in the world, and this week she endorsed Kamala Harris for president. [*Will that matter in November?*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)

Evidence is mixed on the effectiveness of celebrity endorsements. It appears that they’re more important in primaries, when the candidates are similar, than in the general election. But it’s also possible that Swift is different: She has an unusually broad fan base, and could encourage some young people to vote rather than stay home.

A little-known path from Manhattan to the Catskills

Just 231 people are known to have ever completed the Long Path, a 358-mile hiking trail that connects the bustling streets of New York City to the wild landscapes just south of the Adirondack Mountains.

The photographer Casey Kelbaugh knew he wanted to take on the challenge when he saw a trail marker near his house in the Catskills. So he grabbed his camping gear and his camera, and he [*documented his journey*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Dinner table topics

* Commanding attention: During fashion week, the [*streets of New York were overflowing with great clothes*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

1. French delight: Marseille is [*for pizza lovers*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).
2. “The Power Broker”: In an astonishing turn, Robert Caro’s 50-year-old book [*seems more popular and relevant than ever*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).
3. Rising rent: Could your favorite TV and movie characters [*afford their homes today*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)

WHAT TO DO TONIGHT

Cook: These meatballs have a secret: They’re [*half vegetable, half chicken*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Sip: After decades of dry martinis, [*it’s great to go wet*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Watch: “My Old Ass” is a [*buoyant comedy with a big heart*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Read: Laszlo Krasznahorkai&#39;s new novel consists of just once sentence. [*He pulls it off*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Embrace: There’s still plenty of summer to [*enjoy over the next several days*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Relax: Wirecutter said [*these are the best robes*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Hunt: Which Chicago home would you [*buy with a $650,000 budget*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)

Play: Here are today’s [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) and [*Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing). Find [*all of our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

ONE LAST THING

These monkeys have names

Marmosets are certified chatterboxes — just [*listen to them chirp, trill and whistle*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing). The small South American monkeys use their voices to defend territory, announce the discovery of food, warn of danger and find family members hidden by dense forest foliage.

They are also the only nonhuman primates to [*address one another with individual names*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), according to a new study. That finding surprised scientists because marmosets are not considered cognitively advanced, suggesting that perhaps many more animals use names like we do.

Have a friendly evening.

Thanks for reading. I’ll be back tomorrow. — Matthew

Sean Kawasaki-Culligan was our photo editor today.

We welcome your feedback. Write to us at [*evening@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

PHOTO: Edward Caban had faced calls to step down since news broke that he was entangled in an investigation. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dave Sanders for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Sins of the Educated Class***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C6H-15J1-DXY4-X01G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 7, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 25; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 2801 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

When I was young, I was a man on the left. In the early 1980s, I used to go to the library and read early 20th-century issues of left-wing magazines like The Masses and The New Republic. I was energized by stories of workers fighting for their rights against the elites -- at Haymarket, at the 1921 Battle of Blair Mountain, on the railways where the Pullman sleeping car porters struggled for decent wages a few years after that. My heroes were all on the left: John Reed, Clifford Odets, Frances Perkins and Hubert Humphrey.

But I got out of college and realized we didn't live in the industrial age; we live in the information age. The center of progressive energy moved from the ***working class*** to the universities, and not just any universities, but the elite universities.

By now we're used to the fact that the elite universities are places that attract and produce progressives. ***Working-class*** voters now mostly support Donald Trump, but at Harvard, America's richest university, 65 percent of students identify as progressive or very progressive, according to a May 2023 survey of the graduating class.

Today, we're used to the fact that elite places are shifting further and further to the left. Writing for The Harvard Crimson, Julien Berman used A.I. to analyze opinion pieces in college newspapers for their ideological content. ''Opinions of student writers at elite universities'' in 2000, he found, ''weren't all that more progressive than those at nonelite ones.'' But by 2023, opinions at The Crimson had grown about two and a half times more progressive than they were in 2001. More generally, Berman concluded, ''Opinion sections at elite universities have gotten significantly more progressive, and they've outrun their nonelite counterparts.''

Today, we're used to the fact that students at elite universities have different interests and concerns than students at less privileged places. The researchers Marc Novicoff and Robert Kelchen in May published an investigative report in The Washington Monthly titled ''Are Gaza Protests Happening Mostly at Elite Colleges?'' They surveyed 1,421 public and private colleges and concluded, ''The answer is a resounding yes.''

A few schools with a large number of lower-income students, they found, had Gaza protests, ''but in the vast majority of cases, campuses that educate students mostly from ***working-class*** backgrounds have not had any protest activity.'' Among private schools, encampments and protests ''have taken place almost exclusively at schools where poorer students are scarce and the listed tuitions and fees are exorbitantly high.''

I went to an elite university and have taught at them. I find them wonderful in most ways and deeply screwed up in a few ways. But over the decades and especially recently, I've found the elite, educated-class progressivism a lot less attractive than the ***working-class*** progressivism of Frances Perkins that I read about when I was young. Like a lot of people, I've looked on with a kind of dismay as elite university dynamics have spread across national life and politics, making America worse in all sorts of ways. Let me try to be more specific about these dynamics.

The first is false consciousness. To be progressive is to be against privilege. But today progressives dominate elite institutions like the exclusive universities, the big foundations and the top cultural institutions. American adults who identify as very progressive skew white, well educated and urban and hail from relatively advantaged backgrounds.

This is the contradiction of the educated class. Virtue is defined by being anti-elite. But today's educated class constitutes the elite, or at least a big part of it. Many of the curiosities of our culture flow as highly educated people try to resolve the contradiction between their identity as an enemy of privilege, and the fact that, at least educationally and culturally, and often economically, they are privileged.

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.

Imagine you graduated from a prestigious liberal arts college with a degree in history and you get a job as a teacher at an elite Manhattan private school. You're a sincere progressive down to your bones. Unfortunately, your job is to take the children of rich financiers and polish them up so they can get into Stanford. In other words, your literal job is to reinforce privilege.

This sort of cognitive dissonance often has a radicalizing effect. When your identity is based on siding with the marginalized, but you work at Horace Mann or Princeton, you have to work really hard to make yourself and others believe you are really progressive. You're bound to drift further and further to the left to prove you are standing up to the man.

This, I think, explains the following phenomenon: Society pours hundreds of thousands of dollars into elite students, gives them the most prestigious launching pads fathomable, and they are often the ones talking most loudly about burning the system down.

This also explains, I think, the leftward drift of the haute bourgeoisie. As the sociologist Musa al-Gharbi puts it in his forthcoming book, ''We Have Never Been Woke'': ''After 2011, there were dramatic changes in how highly educated white liberals answered questions related to race and ethnicity. These shifts were not matched among non-liberal or non-Democrat whites, nor among nonwhites of any political or ideological persuasion. By 2020, highly educated white liberals tended to provide more 'woke' responses to racial questions than the average Black or Hispanic person.''

Progressivism has practically become an entry ticket into the elite. A few years ago, a Yale admissions officer wrote, ''For those students who come to Yale, we expect them to be versed in issues of social justice.'' Recently Tufts included an optional essay prompt that explicitly asked applicants what they were doing to advance social justice.

Over the years the share of progressive students and professors has steadily risen, and the share of conservatives has approached zero. Progressives have created places where they never have to encounter beliefs other than their own. At Harvard, 82 percent of progressives say that all or almost all of their close friends share their political beliefs.

A lot of us in the center left or the center right don't want to live amid this much conformity. We don't see history as a zero-sum war between oppressor and oppressed. We still believe in a positive-sum society where all people can see their lives improve together.

The second socially harmful dynamic is what you might call the cultural consequences of elite overproduction. Over the past few decades, elite universities have been churning out very smart graduates who are ready to use their minds and sensibilities to climb to the top of society and change the world. Unfortunately, the marketplace isn't producing enough of the kinds of jobs these graduates think they deserve.

The elite college grads who go into finance, consulting and tech do smashingly well, but the grads who choose less commercial sectors often struggle. Social activists in Washington and other centers of influence have to cope with sky-high rents. Newspapers and other news websites are laying off journalists. Academics who had expected to hold a prestigious chair find themselves slaving away as adjunct professors.

In a series of essays culminating in his book ''End Times: Elites, Counter Elites and the Path of Political Disintegration,'' Peter Turchin argued that periods of elite overproduction lead to a rising tide of social decay as alienated educated-class types wage ever more ferocious power struggles with other elites. This phenomenon most likely contributed to surges in social protest during the late 1960s, the late 1980s and then around 2010. Research using Google nGrams shows that discourse mentioning ''racism'' spiked around each of these three periods.

Elite overproduction was especially powerful during the period after the financial crisis. In the early 2010s, highly educated white liberals increasingly experienced a disproportionate rise in depression, anxiety and negative emotions. This was accompanied by a sharp shift to the left in their political views. The spread of cancel culture, as well as support for decriminalizing illegal immigration and ''defunding the police'' were among the quintessential luxury beliefs that seemed out of touch to people in less privileged parts of society. Those people often responded by making a sharp counter-shift in the populist direction, contributing to the election of Donald Trump and to his continued political viability today.

As a nonprogressive member of the educated class, I'd say that elite overproduction induces people on the left and the right to form their political views around their own sense of personal grievance and alienation. It launches unhappy progressives and their populist enemies into culture war battles that help them feel engaged, purposeful and good about themselves, but it seems to me that these battles are often more about performative self-validation than they are about practical policies that might serve the common good.

The third dynamic is the inflammation of the discourse. The information age has produced a vast cohort of people (including me) who live by trafficking in ideas -- academics, journalists, activists, foundation employees, consultants and the various other shapers of public opinion. People in other sectors measure themselves according to whether they can build houses or care for seniors in a nursing home, but people in our crowd often measure ourselves by our beliefs -- having the right beliefs, pioneering new beliefs, staying up-to-date on the latest beliefs, vanquishing the beliefs we have decided are the wrong beliefs.

Nothing is more unstable than a fashionable opinion. If your status is defined by your opinions, you're living in a world of perpetual insecurity, perpetual mental and moral war. The man who saw all this coming was the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who started his major works with a book called ''Distinction'' in 1979.

Bourdieu argued that just as economic capitalists use their resource -- wealth -- to amass prestige and power, people who form the educated class and the cultural elite, symbolic capitalists, use our resources -- beliefs, fancy degrees, linguistic abilities -- to amass prestige, power and, if we can get it, money.

Symbolic capitalists, Bourdieu continued, wage daily battles of consecration, battles over what will be admired and what will be disdained, who gets to be counted among the elect and who is counted among the damned.

Bourdieu's work is so powerful because it shows how symbolic capitalists turned political postures into power tools that enable them to achieve social, cultural and economic might. If exchanging viewpoints is turned into a struggle for social position, then of course conversation will assume the brutality of all primate dominance contests.

These sorts of battles for symbolic consecration are now the water in which many of us highly educated Americans swim. In the absence of religious beliefs, these moral wars give people a genuine sense of meaning and purpose. They give people a way of acting in the world that they hope will shift beliefs and produce a better society.

But it's awful to live in a perpetual state of cultural war, and it's awful to live in a continual state of social fear. The inflammation of the discourse serves the psychic and social self-interests of the combatants, but it polarizes society by rendering a lot of people in the center silent, causing them to keep their heads down in order to survive.

Will these three dynamics continue to drive American society batty?

I can tell a story in which those of us in the educated class, progressive or not, come to address the social, political and economic divides we have unwittingly created.

In this reality we would face up to the fact that all societies have been led by this or that elite group and that in the information age those who have a lot of education have immense access to political, cultural and economic power. We would be honest about our role in widening inequalities. We would abhor cultural insularity and go out of our way to engage with people across ideology and class. We would live up to our responsibilities as elites and care for the whole country, not just ourselves. Most important, we would dismantle the arrangements that enable people in our class to pass down our educational privileges to our children, generation after generation, while locking out most everyone else.

That would mean changing the current college admissions criteria, so they no longer massively favor affluent young kids whose parents invest in them from birth. That would also mean opening up many other pathways so that more people would find it easier to climb the social ladder even if they didn't get into a selective college at age 18.

But there is another possible future. Perhaps today's educated elite is just like any other historical elite. We gained our status by exploiting or not even seeing others down below, and we are sure as hell not going to give up any of our status without a fight.

To see how likely this second possibility is, I urge you to preorder al-Gharbi's ''We Have Never Been Woke.'' It comes out this fall, and it announces him as a rising intellectual star.

I really can't tell what al-Gharbi's politics are -- some mixture of positions from across the spectrum maybe. He does note that he is writing from the tradition of Black thinkers -- stretching back to W.E.B. Du Bois -- who argue that white liberals use social justice issues to build status and make themselves feel good while ultimately offering up ''little more than symbolic gestures and platitudes to redress the material harms they decry (and often exacerbate).''

He observes that today's educated-class activists are conveniently content to restrict their political action to the realm of symbols. In his telling, land acknowledgments -- when people open public events by naming the Indigenous peoples who had their land stolen from them -- are the quintessential progressive gesture.

It's often non-Indigenous people signaling their virtue to other non-Indigenous people while doing little or nothing for the descendants of those who were actually displaced. Educated elites rename this or that school to erase the names of disfavored historical figures, but they don't improve the education that goes on within them. Student activists stage messy protests on campus but don't even see the custodial staff who will clean up afterward.

Al-Gharbi notes that Black people made most of their progress between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s, before the rise of the educated class in the late 1960s, and that the educated class may have derailed that progress. He notes that gaps in wealth and homeownership between white and Black Americans have grown larger since 1968.

He suggests that educated elites practice their own form of trickle-down economics. They imagine that giving diverse college grads university administration jobs and other social justice sinecures will magically benefit the disadvantaged people who didn't go to college.

He charges that while members of the educated class do a lot of moral preening, their lifestyles contribute to the immiserations of the people who have nearly been rendered invisible -- the Amazon warehouse worker, the DoorDash driver making $1.75 an hour after taxes and expenses.

That rumbling sound you hear is the possibility of a multiracial, multiprong, right/left alliance against the educated class. Donald Trump has already created the nub of this kind of movement but is himself too polarizing to create a genuinely broad-based populist movement. After Trump is off the stage it's very possible to imagine such an uprising.

Ruh-roh. The lesson for those of us in the educated class is to seriously reform the system we have created or be prepared to be run over.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A25.

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[***‘The Whole Country Is Falling to Bits’: Britain’s Young Voters Are Frustrated***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CC5-XJ21-DXY4-X1M8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1333 words

**Byline:** Megan Specia Megan Specia reports on Britain, Ireland and the Ukraine war for The Times. She is based in London.

**Highlight:** Many young people in the northern English cities of Liverpool and Manchester say they feel disillusioned by politics.

**Body**

Many young people in the northern English cities of Liverpool and Manchester say they feel disillusioned by politics.

As the flag of a British workers union flapped behind him on a blustery June morning, Liam Kehoe was on strike with colleagues outside Royal Liverpool University Hospital, demanding better pay for porters, cleaners and catering staff. Their wages have failed to keep up with the surge in the cost of living, and many said they were living paycheck to paycheck.

Mr. Kehoe, 26, serves food in the hospital. On Thursday, the day of Britain’s general election, he plans to vote for the center-left Labour Party because of the economic situation and the crumbling state of the National Health Service, he said.

Thinking of the life that his parents built on salaries earned as a nurse and a truck driver, Mr. Kehoe says that young people have been left with far worse prospects after 14 years of a Conservative-led government. “If you go back 30 years ago, houses were a bit more affordable, life was a little bit easier,” he said. “Nowadays, it’s like you can’t afford anything.”

Polls suggest more than half of [*voters under 35 plan to vote for Labour*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/uk-general-election/polls) on Thursday, compared with 27 percent of voters over 65. While the gap between young and old in politics is not new, the extent of the split in Britain in recent years is exceptional, with support for the governing Conservative Party dropping sharply in all but the oldest age group, according to [*recent polls*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/uk-general-election/polls).

Before 2019, the major factor in whether people voted Conservative or Labour [*was income*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/uk-general-election/polls). More recently, “age has replaced class as the defining way in which people vote,” said Molly Broome, an economist with the Resolution Foundation, a British research institute.

The northern English city of Liverpool has long been a Labour stronghold with a proud ***working-class*** tradition. Many young people said their allegiance to the center-left party has been strengthened by a sense that their needs have been ignored by the Conservatives.

Mr. Kehoe and his girlfriend are trying to buy a home. “The housing market is on its knees,” he said. “The whole country is falling to bits because this government is in it for them and not in it for us. They don’t care about us, the little guys at the bottom.”

Others expressed broader discontent at a political system that they said did not account for their needs. Some young people said they would not vote at all, while others would cast ballots for third-party candidates who had little chance of winning more than a few seats but whose ethos was more aligned with theirs.

Much of the political messaging from Britain’s two main parties has focused on the priorities of older generations, experts said, since they make up a large proportion of the electorate, partly because of population shifts. They are also more likely to vote: Some 96 percent of people over 65 are registered to vote, compared with 60 percent of 18- to 19-year-olds and 67 percent of those 20 to 44, [*according to a 2023*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/uk-general-election/polls) electoral commission report.

Politicians have safeguarded some policies that support older people, even as younger generations face worsening standards of living. The pension “triple lock,” for instance, introduced by the Conservative-led government in 2011, ensures that the state retirement income — similar to Social Security in the United States — rises each year by the highest of earnings growth, inflation or 2.5 percent.

While age remains the major dividing factor in support for the two main political parties, there are also divisions within the younger generation, Ms. Broome said. Labour has had a positive swing in polls across all generations, except among millennials who did not graduate from university and those who do not own a home.

“It’s not the fact that they are more likely to vote Conservative; it’s the fact that they are less likely to vote at all,” Ms. Broome said.

Owen Burrows, 21, a porter at the Liverpool hospital, does not plan to vote, he said, despite it being the first general election for which he is eligible.

“I just can’t say there is anyone I actually agree with, so I really wouldn’t be inclined to vote,” he said. He remembers being “baffled” in 2016 when the country voted to withdraw from the European Union.

“With the state the country is in now, and with the whole Brexit situation, it just feels like it’s gone completely wrong,” he said.

Brexit looms large for many. In Liverpool’s Baltic Triangle, a former warehouse district with a thriving creative scene, young men skateboarded in the evening light. The rhythmic roll of their skateboard wheels echoed off brightly painted walls.

One of the skateboarders, Joe McKenna, 26, was the first in his family to go to university. In the Brexit referendum, his first vote, he opted to remain, while both of his parents voted to leave.

“I think that was the first time I noticed a divide between what my parents think about and what I think about,” he said. “Now, we don’t really talk about it, because it’s happened and I think they know it’s not a good situation. But I don’t blame them.”

With the fallout of Brexit in mind, he plans to vote Labour in the upcoming election.

“I see them as the lesser of two evils,” he said. “A lot of ***working-class*** people voted Tory in the last election because they convinced them there would be change. And, obviously, with Brexit, that swayed a lot of opinions toward the Conservative Party.”

Housing is another focus of discontent. Some 70 percent of young British people say they believe the dream of homeownership is over for many in their generation, [*according to a study from the Center for Policy Studies*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/uk-general-election/polls), a British research group. And the data backs up that view: Thirty-nine percent of [*25- to 34-year-olds*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/uk-general-election/polls) owned their homes in 2022-23, down from a peak of 59 percent in 2000.

Even some young Conservatives, like Olivia Lever, 24, said they felt forgotten in this current campaign. Ms. Lever, a founder of the University of Liverpool Young Conservatives and [*director of Blue Beyond*](https://www.economist.com/interactive/uk-general-election/polls), a grass-roots group for young Tories, said there had been no effort to appeal to younger people’s needs.

“In the Conservatives, for some time, there has been a gap between the younger members of the party and the older members of the party,” she said. “With this election — where is the growth? Where is the house building? Where are the jobs? How are we inspiring and empowering people?”

Ms. Lever said that many young people had become “completely disenfranchised with politics because it is very older-people-centered,” pointing to a recent survey her group did of young Tories that asked them to describe the current campaign. Many answered: “Boomer-ist.”

On the other side of the political spectrum, young people who identify with the progressive left also described feeling disenfranchised. At the University of Liverpool, a small protest encampment against the conflict in Gaza sprang up last month, inspired by similar demonstrations in the United States.

Students and recent graduates there expressed frustration that Labour had not immediately called for a cease-fire or condemned Israel’s actions. Aamor Crofts, 21, who is studying wildlife conservation and has been camped here since May, plans to cast her ballot for a Green or independent candidate.

“I don’t see any major party that truly represents me,” she said. Young people, she said, had been left to deal with the fallout from Brexit, economic troubles and skyrocketing house prices. “This isn’t the country we want to inherit,” she said.

PHOTOS: In Liverpool, a longtime Labour stronghold, many young voters are supporting the center-left, saying their needs have been ignored.; Olivia Lever founded a group for fellow young Tories who feel “disenfranchised” as the party has failed to engage with them.; Aamor Crofts, a protester at the University of Liverpool against the conflict in Gaza, is planning to vote Green or independent. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A6.

**Load-Date:** June 30, 2024

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[***Why You May Be Wrong About Harris’s Loss; David Wallace-Wells***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGD-B3N1-DXY4-X1P7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 22, 2024 Friday 12:16 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3825 words

**Byline:** David Wallace-Wells

**Highlight:** We won’t have enough data to tell the full story of the election for some time. But there are a few things we can say for sure now.

**Body**

The presidential election was two weeks ago, and the country’s liberals are already deep into the blame phase. Though we don’t yet have accurate data about how various demographic groups voted and won’t for months, we’ve entered a preliminary round of explanations and recriminations — a menu of lessons to learn about and adjustments to make to the ideology, worldview and strategy of liberals, which, if history is any guide, will both prove hugely influential and probably, in big ways, wrong. Before those premature post-mortems get fully baked into conventional wisdom, though, I wanted to flag a handful of observations about the race and how it’s already being interpreted — some caveats, some counterpoints, some context that may help us understand the meaning of a big messy election in a big messy country, at least until we get the actually reliable voter data.

OK, maybe more than a handful.

1. This was not a landslide.

In the end, it seems, Donald Trump’s margin in the national popular vote [*will be about 1.6 percentage points*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) — the narrowest victory since razor-thin 2000. His margin in the three crucial swing states of the upper Midwest [*will be about 232,000 votes*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) — a bigger win there than in 2016, but slightly smaller than Joe Biden secured in his famously narrow 2020 win in those same states. It looks unlikely that Trump even won a majority of votes.

The election did mark a decisive shift: a broad, uniform move to the right, down to the county level, that carried a Republican to a popular vote win for the first time in 20 years. But this was not a wipeout even like the one in 2008 (let alone 1932, 1972 or 1984). And if recent history is any guide — control of the presidency has now flipped in three consecutive cycles — it may not be an enduring majority, either.

It was an undeniably consequential victory, given the Trumpist transformation of state power it promises. But is it of a scale that demands a national epistemological break, yielding a new set of stories about the country and its direction, the nature of expertise and the course of social history? We’re about to see.

2. Perhaps we should talk less about polarization than parity.

The 2024 election was the fourth consecutive contest in which the popular-vote margin was less than five percentage points; the last stretch like this ended in 1896. As recently as the 1990s, Democrats had maintained continuous control of the House of Representatives for four decades; since 2008, control has flipped back and forth three times.

As Ruy Teixeira and Yuval Levin [*wrote*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) in a report for the American Enterprise Institute titled “Politics Without Winners” in October, “the American party system is in an unusual extended deadlock,” in which “close elections and narrow majorities dominate electoral politics more than at any other point in American history.” You might choose to see this as maddening or healthy or perhaps both.

But even in a global political context historically brutal for incumbents and incumbent parties, Kamala Harris still won 48.3 percent of the vote. This is a country in remarkable electoral balance, in which neither party is ever really more than a few inches from power.

3. In very blue places, the much-hyped red shift reflected Harris losses rather than Trump gains.

At the national level, Trump added more than two million votes to his 2020 totals and Harris underperformed Biden’s 2020 benchmarks by more than seven million. In swing states, where she concentrated her resources and messaging, Harris did her best (though Trump did well, too). But in the most Democratic places, where shrinking margins have produced a kind of liberal vertigo, Trump didn’t actually gain much support; the much-hyped surge right among urban voters was primarily powered by a Harris collapse.

In New Jersey, for instance, Trump won almost 80,000 more votes than in 2020; Harris almost 400,000 fewer votes than Biden did. In Massachusetts, Trump picked up almost 68,000 votes and Harris dropped more than 300,000. In New York, Trump picked up about 223,000 more votes than he did the last go-round; Harris earned almost 850,000 fewer. And in New York City, where the red shift has produced a lot of talk about the reactionary turn of blue cities, [*Trump won over 90,000 more votes than he had in 2020, while Harris won more than 570,000 fewer than Biden had*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760). Elections are won by margins, of course, but if you are trying to take the political temperature of a place, the raw vote totals matter, too. In the streets of New York, there probably aren’t many more Trumpers than you thought — just fewer loyal and committed Democrats.

4. Demographically, the parties are starting to look more and more similar.

Much has been made of the recent class inversion of the two parties, with Democrats increasingly a party of affluent and especially well-educated voters and Republicans gaining support among the poor and ***working class***. In this election, at least to trust the exit polls, Harris [*won voters*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) making over $100,000 and lost those making less than $50,000 and $50,000 to $100,000 — making Trump’s coalition [*by some measures*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) a closer match for Barack Obama’s 2008 coalition. (Of recent coalitions, Harris’s may most closely resemble Bob Dole’s.)

But while the shifts are real, the end result gives a bit of a different picture, as Tim Barker emphasized in a [*powerful and persuasive*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) post-mortem for The New Left Review, in which he argues that the election did not signal a realignment so much as a “dealignment.” In none of the three broad income categories captured by exit polls did either side win voters by more than five percentage points. When pollsters slice the electorate more thinly, into five income categories, neither candidate [*appears*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) to have won more than 53 percent of any of the five groups. In 2008, The Financial Times [*recently calculated*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760), the richest third of Americans were more than 20 percentage points more likely to vote Republican than Democratic, and the poorest third more than 20 percentage points more likely to vote Democratic; in 2024, it estimated, each was within a few points of an even split.

There are a [*few demographics*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) that aren’t moving toward 50-50 — rural voters got more Republican, and Black voters didn’t shift much at all. Hispanic voters got much less Democratic, as did youth and women. But the white vote got a little less red, and education polarization a little less sizable, too. This is not any real comfort to liberals, whose coalition looks much less distinct as a result. But all told, it is less a true inversion than a flattening: It’s not just the country as a whole that is balanced so close to 50/50; most demographic subgroups are trending that way, too.

5. Harris did not run a woke campaign.

This case has been made quite often on cable television and social media and in strategy sessions in recent weeks — by [*Philippe Reines*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760), [*Seth Moulton*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) and [*Elissa Slotkin*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760), among others. But the counterargument has been made memorably by, among others, [*Jon Stewart*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) and [*John Oliver*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760): On the campaign trail, Harris emphasized her past as a prosecutor, her gun ownership, her solidarity with Israel, her administration’s role in record-setting oil and gas production and her party’s pursuit of a harsh border-crackdown bill that was spiked by Republicans for political advantage. Her campaign seemed to highlight Mark Cuban and Liz Cheney more than Shawn Fain or Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, and her swing-state advertising skewed heavily toward bread-and-butter issues rather than social justice or identity politics.

In down-ballot races, Democrats did not toss around the term “Latinx” or make arguments about affirmative action or gender medicine, either. For the most part, they were too busy talking tough about crime and the border, too, and even those who didn’t need to be so careful chose to keep their distance from all the social-justice flash points. Whenever I read election post-mortems advising Democrats to ditch social-justice language, disavow activists and distance themselves from advocacy organizations often derisively referred to as the groups, I think: Isn’t that, broadly speaking, the campaign we all just watched?

Did Harris suffer from stances she and other Democrats had taken in earlier cycles? Probably at least to some degree. Trump certainly emphasized her [*2019 support*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) for transgender medical care for prisoners in the campaign’s closing weeks, and there are obviously ways she might have chosen to more explicitly disavow positions she’d previously taken (perhaps to electoral benefit but also perhaps not). But looking not just at this campaign but also the four years of Democratic positioning and policymaking it follows, it is really hard to see which if any supposedly toxic left-wing positions made their way into public policy or even campaign ads or speeches on the trail. (Check out this 2020 Axios [*interview*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) with Jon Ossoff, for instance, in which he pointedly disavows the Green New Deal, Medicare for All, defunding the police, abolishing ICE and expanding the Supreme Court.) You may think left-wingers are pushing electoral albatrosses on the party, but Democrats as a party have already been running away from them for quite a while. In this cycle, for instance, their message on the border was that Republicans had gotten in the way of a crackdown; at his 2022 State of the Union speech, Joe Biden [*chanted*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) “Fund the police! Fund them! Fund them!” And Democrats in the chamber gave him a standing ovation for it.

6. The left’s culture-war problem may be less about Democratic politicians than about Democratic voters.

So why have Americans continued to associate a social-justice agenda with Democrats, if so few of them have been publicly pushing those positions over the past five years? One answer is that the memory of some of those positions still lingers, no matter the positioning of elected officials. But another possibility is that to the extent Americans are feeling alienated by progressives, they aren’t really voting to reject Democratic politicians so much as Democratic voters, many of whom much more closely resemble the stereotype of professional-class bureaucrats and corporate middle managers wielding D.E.I. agendas than anyone actually running for office.

Large shares of Democratic voters [*remain quite left-wing*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760), and to many Americans they are more visible figures than any politician — their co-workers, their neighbors, those they see on social media. It may well be the case that to the extent that the progressivism of the groups is a problem for Democrats, this is a more straightforward and direct social effect — not mediated by elected officials or their policy positions. And if the conflict is a matter of the broader culture war rather than a partisan dispute, that isn’t exactly something that’s easy for the party to solve. It’s one thing for Democrats to prune their public messaging of anything that might strike the median voter as woke excess — for the most part, they’ve already done that. But appointing Rahm Emanuel [*to head the Democratic National Committee*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) won’t change the makeup of your H.R. department or the kinds of T-shirts or yard signs you see. At least not overnight.

7. Trump’s closing argument was a culture-war complaint about something incredibly rare.

The anti-trans ads that [*dominated*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) Trump campaign spending in the fall, and that highlighted Harris’s 2019 support for gender surgeries for prison inmates, may loom as large in political memories as the Willie Horton ads of 1988. In the closing weeks of the campaign, this messaging blitz [*eclipsed*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) ads concerning the economy, inflation and immigration, and both Republican consultants and Democratic candidates credited it in retrospect with moving an awful lot of undecided voters to Trump.

In the weeks since, it has been tempting for many self-critical liberals to attribute this effect to the political vulnerabilities of a social-justice coalition that includes advocates of gender medicine. Perhaps Harris might’ve benefited electorally from a more emphatic Sister Souljah moment on trans issues, explicitly disavowing her earlier position, however morally grotesque and personally uncomfortable that might have been. But what is perhaps most remarkable to me is that throughout the Biden administration, the total number of such surgeries performed in federal prisons [*was two*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760).

8. Biden’s invisibility as president may have been more costly than his delay in dropping out.

At the start of Biden’s term, administration officials often talked about the need to make their legislative gains concrete to voters — an approach to governance that came to be called [*deliverism*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) — often presented as a lesson learned from the Obama years, when voters were often unaware of what the government was doing on their behalf.

But to the extent that the Biden administration did deliver concrete wins for voters, chiefly through the expanded social-welfare spending allocated as pandemic stimulus, it also allowed much of those gains, including those first rolled out under Trump, to [*disappear and expire*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760), resulting in a sudden collapse in many measures of voters’ well-being. The more enduring investments the administration made — in infrastructure, manufacturing and clean energy — are longer-timeline policies, designed to play out over many years. In the meantime, there is a pretty acute need for salesmanship — of which, over the past four years, there was a pretty acute void in the White House. Perhaps constant speechifying on the state of the economy by the president would have felt as hectoring to voters as the chart-posting of neoliberal economists did on social media. But when you don’t really have a lead messenger, it gets a lot easier for the other side to shape the story.

9. The most pro-labor administration in memory didn’t move unions or their voters.

Biden bailed out the Teamsters pension fund and became the first American president in history to walk the picket line when he joined Shawn Fain’s United Auto Workers strike in 2023. But the Teamsters didn’t endorse Harris, afterward citing her friendliness to big tech and her seeming support for a gig-economy future; their president spoke instead at the Republican National Convention. Overall, according to exit polls, union families voted Democratic by a [*smaller margin*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) than they did [*in 2020*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760). Elsewhere in the electorate, it’s plausible to say the party misunderstood the material challenges of voters or failed to respond adequately to them. But when it comes to union voters, especially, the lesson seems more to be that material considerations have been crowded out by postmaterial factors. Should that be a surprise? It’s been two decades since “What’s the Matter With Kansas?” and many well-off Democrats have been voting somewhat against their own material interests that whole time, too.

10. Have Democrats really forgotten how to say no?

This has been the contention of several post-election post-mortems, including one much passed-around and thoughtful [*guest essay*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) in The Times by Adam Jentleson, the former chief of staff to John Fetterman. He argued that Democrats should be much more strategic in stiff-arming progressive interest groups in order to pursue a centrist supermajority.

But here is a short list of things the Democrats have effectively said no to, in this campaign and over the past couple of years: Medicare for All; free community college; free child care and universal pre-K; a true Green New Deal, of the kind Bernie Sanders campaigned on; major investments in the care economy, as was once promised as the core of Build Back Better; an empathic approach to migration; and a hard line on Israel’s conduct in Gaza.

And what is the list of things the campaign and the party has emphatically said yes to since the 2022 midterms? In the closing days of the presidential race, as the establishment-and-outsiders theme came ever more into focus, I found myself wondering what the Harris campaign or the Democratic Party really stood for, beyond the status quo. Harris proposed a surprisingly [*ambitious*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) national elder-care plan, but it did not appear to have a major effect on the race. She floated [*tax credits*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) for first-time home buyers and talked up the need to [*build more housing*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760). She floated the idea of some price controls to limit inflation, then walked back the proposal. In a time of vague if widespread discontent, it’s hard to win when you look like the embodiment of the system and sell yourself as its defender.

11. We still don’t have a very clear picture of the state of the economy, which is a bit strange given its centrality in our politics.

Voters told exit pollsters that the economy was one of the top determinants of their vote, and in the two weeks since the election, scores of soul-searching Democrats have acknowledged that in the end, the public had been at least as right as the experts over the past couple of years — that the country’s much-touted economic miracle wasn’t actually all that it was cracked up to be, that far too many Americans felt they’d fallen farther behind and that those insisting otherwise were missing the big picture.

Does this mean that the conventional top-line metrics we’ve used now for generations to measure the health of the economy are no good? Or perhaps, even, that they never were? In the immediate aftermath of the election, Annie Lowrey published an [*incisive account*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) of all the things the top-line measures missed. Kyla Scanlon, who coined the term “vibe-cession,” has [*touched*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) on the subject, too, and J. Zachary Mazlish has also offered a [*thorough rundown*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) whose upshot is that yes, the economy was in [*worse shape*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) than the conventional measures suggested. But while some metrics do suggest conditions closer to the perceptions of voters, it’s also the case that those living in swing states believed local economic conditions [*were improving*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) rather than worsening, almost three-quarters of Americans [*steadily reported*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) their own finances were at least OK, and partisan views of the state of the economy [*flipped*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) almost immediately after Election Day. What, exactly, are we meant to learn from all this? In another vibe-cession, are we going to trust the vibe and hunt for the metrics to match?

12. But given what we do know, it is perhaps notable how little Democratic soul-searching has focused on the problem of inflation and how to manage it better next time.

The first inflation post-mortem was really a pre-mortem, the one-man campaign by Larry Summers against the wisdom of Biden’s major pandemic stimulus. In the years that have followed, a remarkable string of credentialed, orthodox economists — including Ben Bernanke, Olivier Blanchard and Peter Orszag — [*have*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) [*demonstrated*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) [*that*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) [*the inflation*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) that voters found so punishing in 2021 and 2022 was not a creation of American fiscal policy but of the underlying conditions of the pandemic recovery.

But if that is the case — if the biggest political challenge of this election cycle was a problem of how we responded to a crisis rather than how we created one — where does that leave us? Some analysts have [*floated*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) the [*possibility*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) that higher interest rates, designed to curb inflation, actually worsened the problem; Summers himself has [*suggested*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) that properly accounting for the higher cost of borrowing could explain three-quarters of the mysterious gap between official inflation figures and public perceptions of the economy. One serious forward-looking proposal was put forward in The Times by the heterodox economist Isabella Weber: [*much more aggressive interventions on price surges when they start*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760). And it is perhaps notable that the political economies of several countries that have defied the global anti-incumbency trend — [*Switzerland*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) and [*Mexico*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760), to name two prominent ones — are defined in part by much more pervasive price controls and much more aggressive price interventions. Spain has also done well to forestall inflation recently, though it hasn’t exactly made its prime minister a national hero — it only helped him win a tight re-election in late 2023.

13. Astroturfing a ‘liberal’ Joe Rogan probably isn’t the answer.

Probably, Harris should have gone on the Rogan podcast. But she did go on “Call Her Daddy,” “Club Shay Shay” and “The Breakfast Club.” And those responding to Trump’s victory with calls to build a liberal equivalent of Joe Rogan misunderstand not only his appeal but also the podcast landscape as it already is.

Apple’s [*top 10 podcasts*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) of the year included two or three liberal-coded news shows and two lifestyle shows with a liberal valence and only Joe Rogan with any conservative reputation. The charts shift somewhat day to day, but thumb through the top 50, and the balance of left-wing and left-coded shows and right-wing and right-coded shows tends to be pretty even.

That’s not to say there’s nothing to the idea that the post-legacy-media environment skews more conservative at the moment. These charts bounce around a lot; Spotify has a more right-wing skew at the top, subscriber-only podcasts probably tell a different story, and the same is probably true for YouTube (on Substack, often cited as a hotbed of anti-liberal contrarianism, a pretty significant share of top [*political newsletters*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) actually skew left). It’s to say that the issue is less an imbalance in the new-media ecosystem than the fact that in a culture dominated in many ways by liberals, the progressive voices are going to sound a bit more establishmentarian, and the countercultural voices are often going to come from — or drift to — the right. In the George W. Bush era, remember, conservatives had the same complaint about liberals, who they believed ran the culture, but the answer wasn’t to give Dennis Miller his own “Daily Show.”

Which returns me to the political metanarrative I [*emphasized*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760) the morning after the election: that the election represents a broad but relatively vague cultural backlash to the liberal establishment; that the establishment is larger than the Democratic Party, though for reasons both longstanding and underscored in the pandemic the party is very much identified with it; and that to return again to political power probably doesn’t require a huge shift in the basic mood of the country but probably does mean liberals need to find some ways to look like outsiders and upstarts again (rather than simply suggesting again that a vote for Democrats is a vote for posttribal national unity and an effective end to the battles of the culture war). As Ted Gioia has memorably [*put it*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760), cultural conflict is now often less a matter of left and right than of top-down and bottom-up. Probably, we would all do well to consider many fewer subjects in such narrowly partisan terms.

David Wallace-Wells (@dwallacewells), a writer for Opinion and a columnist for The New York Times Magazine, is the author of “The Uninhabitable Earth.” Sign up for his newsletter [*here*](https://x.com/NateSilver538/status/1856967494570782760).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ibrahim Rayintakath FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 25, 2024

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[***Keir Starmer Is U.K.’s New Prime Minister***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CDB-KP31-DXY4-X00T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 517 words

**Byline:** Stephen Castle, Mark Landler and Megan Specia Stephen Castle is a London correspondent of The Times, writing widely about Britain, its politics and the country&amp;#8217;s relationship with Europe. Mark Landler is the London bureau chief of The Times, covering the United Kingdom, as well as American foreign policy in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. He has been a journalist for more than three decades. Megan Specia reports on Britain, Ireland and the Ukraine war for The Times. She is based in London.

**Highlight:** The 61-year-old former human rights lawyer lacks the star power of some of his predecessors but led a remarkable turnaround for the Labour Party.

**Body**

The 61-year-old former human rights lawyer lacks the star power of some of his predecessors but led a remarkable turnaround for the Labour Party.

Keir Starmer became prime minister of Britain on Friday after his Labour Party delivered a decisive win in the general election.

“Across our country, people will be waking up to the news that a weight has been lifted, a burden finally removed from the shoulders of this nation,” a jubilant Mr. Starmer told supporters in central London in the early hours of Friday morning.

Using the analogy of a rising “sunlight of hope,” pale at first and getting stronger, he said the country had “an opportunity after 14 years to get its future back.”

Mr. Starmer replaces Rishi Sunak, who took office less than two years ago and called Mr. Starmer to congratulate him.

Mr. Starmer, a 61-year-old former human rights lawyer, has led a remarkable turnaround for the Labour Party, which just a few years ago suffered its worst election defeat since the 1930s. He [*has pulled the party to the political center*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/21/world/europe/uk-election-labour-party.html) while capitalizing on the failings of three Conservative prime ministers.

“He has been ferociously — some would say tediously — boring in his discipline,” Jill Rutter, a research fellow at the London research group U.K. in a Changing Europe, [*told The New York Times recently*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/21/world/europe/uk-election-labour-party.html). “He’s not going to set hearts racing, but he does look relatively prime-ministerial.”

Mr. Starmer was raised in a left-wing, ***working-class*** family in Surrey, outside London. He was not close with his father; his mother, a nurse, suffered a debilitating illness that took her in and out of the hospital. Mr. Starmer became the first college graduate in his family, studying first at Leeds University, and then law at Oxford.

He was named after Keir Hardie, a Scottish trade unionist who was Labour’s first leader. As a young lawyer, he represented protesters accused of libel by McDonald’s. He later rose to become Britain’s chief prosecutor and was awarded a knighthood.

Elected to Parliament in 2015, he succeeded the left-wing Jeremy Corbyn as Labour leader in 2020 and began remaking the party. He dropped Mr. Corbyn’s proposal to nationalize Britain’s energy companies and promised not to raise taxes on working families. He committed to supporting Britain’s military, hoping to banish an anti-patriotic label that clung to Labour during the Corbyn era.

Mr. Starmer also rooted out [*the antisemitism that had contaminated the party’s ranks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/21/world/europe/uk-election-labour-party.html) under Mr. Corbyn. Though he has not drawn a link between that and his personal life, his wife, Victoria Starmer, comes from a Jewish family in London.

In his early morning speech on Friday, he told supporters that it was the deep changes in the party that had allowed for the decisive victory, but he added that now, the hard work would begin.

“I don’t promise you it will be easy. Changing a country is not like flipping a switch,” he said. “We will have to get moving immediately.”

PHOTO: Keir Starmer, leader of the Labour Party, in Whitland, Wales, on Wednesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Stefan Rousseau/Press Association, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2024

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[***Key Bridge Was Emblem Of Blue-Collar Baltimore***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BNC-4JK1-JBG3-60PT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 28, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 650 words

**Byline:** By Campbell Robertson and JoAnna Daemmrich

**Body**

The bridge, which collapsed on Tuesday, had become an emblem of Baltimore's identity as a working port city.

There are more heavily trafficked routes across the Baltimore Harbor than the Francis Scott Key Bridge. The Harbor Tunnel carries double the daily traffic of the Key Bridge and the Fort McHenry Tunnel much more than that.

But the Key, with its gently sloping arch and views that no tunnel could match, had become an emblem of Baltimore's identity as a working port city.

On Tuesday, from vantage points across the harbor, people stood in disbelief at the sight of parts of the 1.6-mile span jutting jaggedly out of the water, the result of a catastrophic cargo ship crash that toppled the bridge and left six workers missing.

''It's the blue-collar bridge,'' said Kurt L. Schmoke, Baltimore's mayor in the 1990s and now president of University of Baltimore. The Chesapeake Bay Bridge, 22 miles away, the only bridge in Maryland that was longer, is all about leisure, a gateway to the beach. The tunnels are all function, a way of all but bypassing Baltimore on the way from Washington, D.C., to New York City.

''The Key Bridge,'' Mr. Schmoke said, ''was definitely for work.''

When the Key Bridge opened in 1977, the Harbor Tunnel was constantly clogged with traffic, reflecting the increased commuting among the fast-growing suburbs of Baltimore and along the I-95 corridor. The bridge was a release valve for the traffic and a godsend for the ***working-class*** communities that sat on either end of it. They now had a direct route to the jobs at the plants and distribution centers that line the Harbor.

''The bridge spanned working Baltimore, both metaphorically and literally,'' said Rafael Alvarez, 65, the son of a harbor tugboat engineer who has written more than a dozen books about Baltimore's ***working class***.

On the northern end was Sparrows Point, once home to the massive Bethlehem Steel Plant, which was once the largest working mill in the world and is now the site of distribution centers for Amazon, Home Depot and Under Armour. On the other end, Curtis Bay, long home to chemical plants, including a paint company that Mr. Alvarez remembers emitting white clouds so thick they had to close the bridge.

Tens of thousands of Baltimoreans lived and worked in these areas, Mr. Alvarez said.

The six men who are missing were part of this tradition of working Baltimore: members of a construction crew, working overnight hours filling potholes on the bridge.

As the morning unfolded, and cars and trucks from a legion of government agencies went to and from the collapse site, some of the people who knew the bridge best were forced, this time, to take it in at a distance.

They gathered on a highway embankment across from a Dollar General to get a look at the broken bridge. There were whispered conspiracy theories among the crowd, pointed concerns about getting to work and doctor's appointments and bafflement at how this could have happened.

Others just recollected.

''When I got my license in '75, the only way to get back and forth was the tunnel,'' said James Metzger, 66, retired from the automotive industry.

From the windows at his high school, not far from where he was standing, Mr. Metzger would look out and watch the bridge being built, he said. Around that time he was seeing a girl who lived on the other side; a bridge had romantic implications along with everything else.

One day in 1977, Mr. Metzger said, his father, a truck driver, was coming back home from his route and happened upon the bridge's ribbon cutting. His father had seen the governor, he said, and even kept a piece of the ribbon. The bridge had been a part of their lives ever since.

Until Tuesday morning, when Mr. Metzger's current girlfriend had called. ''She was on the way to work,'' he said. ''She said, 'I'm seeing police cars and helicopters. And the Key Bridge is gone.'''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/26/us/key-bridge-baltimore-identity.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/26/us/key-bridge-baltimore-identity.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Members of the news media and onlookers gathered on an embankment near the collapsed bridge. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Turning Stockyards Into Cash Cows***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D25-T6G1-JBG3-616D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 26, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1; SQUARE FEET

**Length:** 1497 words

**Byline:** By Patrick Sisson

**Body**

It seems everyone is a little country these days: Markets for western-themed fashion have been re-energized and country music is hotter than it's been in decades.

''We call it the 'Yellowstone effect,''' said Joel Cowley, the chief executive of the Calgary Stampede in Alberta, one of the largest rodeos in the world. ''There's a romanticism about the West and the cowboy that comes and goes. But I'm not sure in my lifetime that I've ever seen it as high as it is now.''

Cowboy culture going mainstream has translated to economic opportunities for cities and towns with a Western heritage. This summer, 1.5 million fans attended the Calgary Stampede to experience the annual rodeo show filled with concerts, cattle and circus performers. Those 10 days were a record turnout for the Canadian city's marquee event, and officials are trying to emulate that vibrancy for the other 355 days of the year. Similar moves are taking place in other cities known for their cowboy culture including Denver, Houston and Kansas City, Mo.

In Calgary, that means transforming the area where the Stampede is held, and the adjoining neighborhoods, into a year-round entertainment and cultural district that influences growth and investment downtown, said Kate Thompson, the president and chief executive of Calgary Municipal Land Company, whose organization is charged with redeveloping the area, which has hosted fairs since 1886.

''We sometimes joke that we're building an Olympic Village while hosting an Olympics,'' she said.

Calgary, like other cities and towns that were once shipping points for livestock, is discovering that the low-lying, unfavorable, often flood-prone land that made sense to devote to livestock and processing cattle instead of homes and businesses offers a hotbed for new developments.

These cities hope their real estate projects will result in something similar to the successful stockyards redevelopment in Fort Worth. There, local leaders worked with developers for over a decade to capitalize on the city's cow town heritage. The success of that project brought scores of sports and entertainment events, millions of visitors and new developments, including hotels, restaurants and retail, with plans for more.

Ms. Thompson's group, which is owned by the city of Calgary, has been one of the driving forces behind transforming roughly 290 acres of fairgrounds, parking lots and low-density development east of downtown into a new district with multiple arenas, restaurants, stores and hundreds of residential units. The first phase included a new light rail stop near the park, $100 million in infrastructure improvements and a $500 million expansion of the BMO Centre arena that began hosting events in June.

Next, the group has plans to build thousands of additional residential units and venues for art and opera, as well as parks, a youth center and the Stampede Trail, a wide commercial street that can be closed to traffic for festivals.

Similar redevelopment projects are in the works throughout the United States. In Denver, a $1 billion-plus project transforming 240 acres of stockyards, where the National Western Stock Show takes place, has been building new educational and entertainment facilities on underutilized land. In Houston, county officials recently announced a project to redevelop NRG Park and continue to host its famous rodeo, including potentially developing mixed-use projects on the venue's underused parking lots.

And in Kansas City, Mo., the American Royal Livestock Show is breaking ground on a new $350 million, 127-acre suburban home. The West Bottoms neighborhood, where the stock show once stood, is the focus of a $500 million investment. West Bottoms is modeled on the Dumbo neighborhood of Brooklyn, said Ian Ross, the founder of Somera Road, the West Bottoms' project developer, where after decades of abandonment, rundown warehouses were reborn as galleries and work spaces starting in the 1980s.

''The West Bottoms was where Kansas City was born, where the cattle trade began,'' he said. ''I think people are seeking those authentic, story-driven neighborhoods and are eager to help bring them back to life, unlike these new, somewhat sterile mixed-use developments.''

It helps that these western cities have momentum, with growing populations and economies, making it more feasible to build or redevelop real estate that may have been on the periphery or devoted to industries that have receded or departed. The Meatpacking District in New York City and Fulton Market, once a center for produce in Chicago, are two examples.

''The bottom line is cities are looking at underutilized land to accommodate population growth,'' said Greg Kwong, an executive vice president at CBRE. ''The fact that you have a western or stockyard theme could even be coincidental.''

Big-city stockyards for holding animals before they were slaughtered had fallen into decline by the 1950s, when changes in marketing, logistics and refrigeration made it easier for companies to process and package meat in one location.

But in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, they were instrumental in growing cities in the Western United States and Canada, especially after the introduction of the railroads and refrigerated train cars. This created nodes for shipping livestock and processing cattle, said Dominic Pacyga, an academic who curates the Packingtown Museum, located in a Chicago industrial park near where the city's own famous Union Stock Yard once stood. Stock shows and agricultural fairs grew out of this economic shift as means to promote these industries to consumers and companies in the East.

Since then, special events like the Calgary Stampede and the National Western Stock Show have kept these campuses alive as yearly highlights. Now, city leaders see a new future for these sites.

''There's real estate pressure,'' said Brad Buchanan, the chief executive of the National Western Center Authority in Denver. ''There's an opportunity to add to the future of this place without losing what got us here in the first place.''

Many of the new developments maintain the area's regional identity and heritage, and various project architects have reused wooden posts or exposed steel beams, or taken visual inspiration from ranches and barns. But developers are also leveraging investment, including government funds to, in part, build sites that showcase the future of agriculture and livestock.

The National Western Center is home to a Colorado State University campus called CSU Spur, which focuses on agriculture and sustainability. That campus finished construction in January 2023. A majority of the funding -- $688 million -- for that project, which includes new equestrian and livestock centers and entertainment venues, comes from bonds in measures that lawmakers had passed to fend off a threat from the National Western Stock Show moving to the neighboring city of Aurora.

Near the Spur, the Exchange Building, where the chalkboards that traders once used to note the day's cattle prices still hang, just commenced a redevelopment plan to turn the space into a hub for start-ups focused on the future of water technology and food. Andrew Feinstein, a fifth-generation Denver resident whose firm, EXDO Development, played an instrumental role in revitalizing the stockyards-adjacent RiNo neighborhood, learned that his great-uncle, a union leader, had taken meetings in the building.

Mr. Feinstein sees the site as an iconic asset that nobody has yet reimagined, one that, over time, will have significant effects on surrounding areas.

But the opportunities come with challenges and sometimes unintended consequences. The projects can be difficult to take on, since a lack of modern infrastructure can complicate construction and efforts to reconnect neighborhoods.

Michael Hancock, the former mayor of Denver who played a crucial role in the National Western Center project, said that adding modern pipes and roads, as well as cleaning up the environmental challenges of a former cattle lot, presented hurdles. And most neighborhoods clustered around the stockyards have large populations of ***working-class*** and immigrant residents who worry the redevelopments will place pressure on local housing markets.

Neighborhood groups, including the GES Coalition, which represents Denver residents in Globeville and Elyria-Swansea, are worried that new developments will lead to rising rents and have pushed the National Western Center to consider more community-focused projects. Mr. Feinstein said that he expected the accusations of displacement, but that he saw the investment and new infrastructure that came with the stockyards project as a rising tide that would help locals and the city.

''Denver is trying to hold on to its Western heritage and its Western spirit, while embracing modernity,'' Mr. Feinstein said. ''And I think if we get things right at the National Western Campus, we'll pull that off.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/15/business/stockyards-redevelopment.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/15/business/stockyards-redevelopment.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Cowboy culture's entrance into the mainstream has translated to economic opportunities for cities with a Western heritage, like Calgary, Alberta. Above, a calf roping event this summer at the Calgary Stampede, an annual rodeo show. (B1)

This summer, 1.5 million fans attended the Calgary Stampede to experience the annual rodeo show.

The 10-day event in Calgary, Alberta, is filled with concerts, cattle and circus performers.

The first phase at the Calgary fairgrounds included a new light rail stop near the park, $100 million in infrastructure improvements and a $500 million expansion of the BMO Center arena. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMBER BRACKEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

In Denver, a $1 billion-plus project is building educational and entertainment facilities on 240 acres of stockyards that include an agricultural exhibit, center, and an area where spectators can watch veterinarians perform surgery (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES STUKENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B5) This article appeared in print on page B1, B5.

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2024

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[***Can the G.O.P. Really Become the Party of Workers?; News analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CT5-3S21-DXY4-X22C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 2350 words

**Byline:** Noam Scheiber Noam Scheiber is a Chicago-based reporter who covers workers and the workplace. He spent nearly 15 years at The New Republic, where he covered economic policy and three presidential campaigns. He is the author of &amp;#8220;The Escape Artists.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** A new generation of Republicans is learning to love labor. It’s not clear if labor will love them back.

**Body**

The most surprising moment of this year’s Republican National Convention may have come on its first night, when the president of the Teamsters railed in prime time against corporate elites and denounced a “war against labor” by business groups. The gasps from some in the hall were almost audible on television.

But in many ways, it was a little-noted [*speech*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) the week before, by Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, that was more revealing about the party’s evolving relationship with organized labor.

If anything, Mr. Hawley, a rising Republican star who is one of the Senate’s [*most conservative members*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/), seemed to outflank the Teamsters’ leader. His [*speech*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/), delivered at the National Conservatism Conference, criticized Republicans who “cheerleaded for corporate tax cuts and low barriers for corporate trade, then watched these same corporations ship American jobs overseas.” Mr. Hawley concluded that, “in the choice between labor and capital,” his party must “start prioritizing the workingman.”

Since at least the Nixon era, Republicans have nodded rhetorically at the ***working class***, asserting that their party stands for the cultural values these voters hold dear. And for just as long, Democrats have called that pitch hollow, insisting that Republicans have sought to dupe blue-collar voters into supporting policies that benefit the wealthy. Speaker after speaker at the Democratic National Convention this week went on in this vein.

What’s far less common is for a Republican to agree with that critique. “The recent Republican Party, the 1990s party, privileged the money crowd in just about every possible way,” Mr. Hawley said in his speech.

He is no anomaly. Senator [*JD Vance*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) of Ohio, the party’s vice-presidential nominee, has lamented the corrosive effects of cheap labor and proposed lifting the minimum wage. Other Republican senators, like Roger Marshall of Kansas and Marco Rubio of Florida, have joined them in criticizing corporate labor practices or seeking to give workers more say on the job.

These populist Senate Republicans are only the most visible portion of a larger movement. They have worked closely with a new generation of think tanks and intellectuals, who flesh out proposals for what a conservative economic populism might look like. That ecosystem has even come to include certain labor unions and other left-leaning groups that want to nurture a political coalition for reining in the free market.

And looming over all of them is Donald J. Trump, who has made his own overtures to workers based on their economic interests. It was, after all, Mr. Trump who put Mr. Vance on his ticket and [*brought*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) the Teamsters to his convention.

So is the Republican Party poised to become the party of workers? Judging strictly from its leader, the answer is probably no. Yet Mr. Trump may be only a bit player in this drama. When it comes to rethinking the relationship between conservatism and labor, the project runs far deeper and broader than the nominee.

A Break With Republican Orthodoxy

The issues that animate Mr. Trump — immigration, trade, competition with China — have obvious implications for workers, but in many ways he is more nationalist than populist. His interest in them often stems from a sense that America is [*taken advantage of*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) by foreign rivals, not a direct identification with workers’ concerns. He has [*frequently venerated*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) the entrepreneur rather than the worker as the indispensable economic actor.

His actions as president tended to reflect these priorities. Mr. Trump [*enacted tariffs*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) on imports of machinery and metals. He also renegotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement, long seen by organized labor as a cause of job losses. But many of the new agreement’s key labor provisions came [*at the insistence of congressional Democrats*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/), who had the power to block the deal.

Meanwhile, the Labor Department and the National Labor Relations Board under Mr. Trump generally took a deregulatory approach to worker issues and union protections. His administration [*argued*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) that employers should be able to prevent workers from bringing class action lawsuits, and sought [*funding cuts*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) for workplace safety programs. His deputy labor secretary once [*worked as a lobbyist*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) to prevent the federal minimum wage from applying to the Northern Mariana Islands, a U.S. commonwealth where some workers earned less than $1 an hour.

But if Mr. Trump didn’t necessarily embrace workers, his breaks with Republican orthodoxy prompted a broader reappraisal of conservative thought that grew to include labor issues.

“It’s like what Kamala Harris might say — it allowed a discussion of what could be, unburdened by the past,” quipped Oren Cass, a former policy aide to Senator Mitt Romney whose think tank, American Compass, pushes Republicans to adopt more a populist economic agenda. Launched in [*2020*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/), American Compass advocates not just policies in the Trumpian sweet spot — like higher tariffs — but also those that would directly shift power to workers, like enabling more of them to bargain collectively with employers.

“The economic nationalism on the trade and globalization side created actual space to do pro-worker policy,” Mr. Cass said.

After President Biden took office, mainstream Democrats emphasized a [*similar combination*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) of economic nationalism and worker-centric policies. Many Republicans seemed to feel a political imperative to follow suit. Republican senators like Mr. Rubio, Mr. Hawley, Tom Cotton of Arkansas and later Mr. Vance, who had been exploring some of these ideas, built on [*proposals*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) informed by American Compass and like-minded groups, and even a few labor unions.

Mr. Vance has [*spoken favorably*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) about sectoral bargaining — the idea that workers and employers should collectively bargain over wages and benefits on an industrywide basis — while he and Mr. Hawley [*signed*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) [*letters*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) to Amazon raising concerns about its treatment of delivery drivers.

Mr. Vance is a co-sponsor of [*a bill*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) backed by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Romney that would gradually raise the federal minimum wage to $11 an hour from the current $7.25, while mandating measures to ensure that the pay increase benefits only workers authorized to work in the United States.

And Mr. Vance, Mr. Hawley and Mr. Rubio [*backed*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) a bipartisan railway safety measure after the train derailment last year in East Palestine, Ohio, that would advance a [*top priority*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) for rail unions: a requirement that freight trains operate with at least two-person crews.

At their most expansive, some of these Republicans articulate an entire philosophy built around family-sustaining work and vibrant communities, along with a suspicion of large corporations and high finance. In his recent speech, Mr. Hawley chided Republicans who “sang the praises of global integration while Wall Street bet against American industry and bought up single-family homes — so that after the banks took the workingman’s job, he couldn’t afford a house for his family to live in.” You don’t have to squint hard to see a conservative version of Elizabeth Warren in this language — or, you know, [*William Jennings Bryan*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/).

Union officials and liberal politicians remain skeptical, saying that for all the heterodox thinking, the Republican Party remains the key obstacle in Congress to enacting strong worker protections.

“It’s a total con,” said Sara Nelson, the president of the Association of Flight Attendants. She notes that no Senate Republican has backed the PRO Act, a package of changes that would make it easier for workers to unionize and costlier for employers to retaliate against them. (Mr. Hawley has [*hinted*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) he could back a version of it.)

“Every single thing they’re holding up to show they’re pro-worker is a one-and-done,” she said, adding that it has long been possible to find a few Republican allies on specific issues. “I’m sorry, I don’t believe you unless you’re willing to put permanent power in the hands of workers.”

Even Mr. Cass concedes that some of the legislation backed by the labor-minded Republicans, while earnest in its expression of policy goals, is partly intended as a political exercise. The minimum-wage-cum-immigration-enforcement bill introduced by Mr. Cotton, for example, has little chance of enactment given the politics of immigration on the Democratic side.

“We’ve seen that there’s some messaging involved — ‘now watch Democrats vote against a minimum-wage increase,’” he said. (Mr. Cass and other conservatives argue that immigration restrictions are pro-worker since they tighten the job market.)

On the other hand, optimists note that as recently as five years ago it would have been hard to imagine a Republican vice-presidential nominee who had supported collective bargaining and [*suggested raising corporate taxes*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) and had recently walked a United Automobile Workers picket line.

“I still think it’s going better and faster than anybody who was rooting for it would have any right to expect,” said Jennifer Harris, a former Biden administration official now at the Hewlett Foundation, which finances groups on the left and the right seeking alternatives to free-market policies, including Mr. Cass’s.

Even the [*much-derided*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) [*Project 2025*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/), the governing manifesto assembled by the conservative Heritage Foundation and [*later disavowed*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) by Mr. Trump, nods at the recent trend lines. The 900-page document includes a collection of familiar proposals, like expanding school vouchers and easing fossil-fuel regulations, as well as more of-the-moment libertarian ideas, like [*amending child labor regulations*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) so that teenagers can take more hazardous jobs.

But it also includes pronouncements on how “American workers lack a meaningful voice in today’s workplace” and proposes that labor regulators do more to help reinstate workers who are fired for trying to unionize.

‘Small, Trust-Building Steps’

For all of the Republicans’ embrace of workers at their convention, the party appeared to lurch in the opposite direction just weeks later.

In an Aug. 12 interview, Mr. Trump [*heaped praise*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) on Tesla’s chief executive, Elon Musk, for what he claimed was Mr. Musk’s commitment to firing workers on strike. Days later, he interrupted his [*own economic policy speech*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) to cede the mic to a prominent financier, whose brilliance he gushed about.

These developments appeared to demoralize the worker-minded precincts of the conservative intelligentsia. “You can fawn over Elon Musk or you can run a populist political campaign, but you can’t do both,” [*wrote*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) the conservative commentator Sohrab Ahmari, a founder of Compact, an online magazine that features populist thinkers across the political spectrum.

Mr. Ahmari and some of his allies also question whether Republicans have moved as far toward labor as the party’s financial backers will tolerate. Whatever their political incentives to court workers, Republicans still depend far more than Democrats on money [*from small and medium-size businesses*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/senator-hawley-delivers-national-conservatism-keynote-the-christian-nationalism-we-need/) whose labor costs have a large impact on their bottom lines.

“The guy who owns a tire distributor and goes to rubber-chicken dinners where self-made men are toasted — of all the various segments of capital, that person is the least reform-minded,” Mr. Ahmari said in an interview. If there is a path forward, he argues, it involves “small trust-building steps” between Republican politicians and unions.

That’s essentially what the Teamsters president, Sean O’Brien, has undertaken since 2022, long before he was invited to speak at the Republican convention.

The union’s federal legislative director, Sunshine McBride, cited the relationship with Mr. Hawley as especially fruitful. In addition to signing letters to Amazon about its treatment of delivery drivers, Mr. Hawley was the only Senate Republican to support a rule making it easier for them to unionize, which the Teamsters are pushing for. He has joined a Teamsters picket line and asked the Treasury Department to modify a loan to a bankrupt trucking company to help save the jobs of Teamsters members.

The union has reciprocated, contributing $5,000 to Mr. Hawley’s re-election campaign. It’s not hard to imagine other industrial unions, like steelworkers or machinists, eventually forging similar relationships and helping to shift the party over time.

Still, other factions of the labor movement will be loath to get on board. Some of the labor-friendly Republicans take positions — like questioning the integrity of the 2020 election — that make them uncomfortable allies even for politically moderate unions.

And in the end, their understanding of labor may be too narrow to fully accommodate today’s ***working class***. As their platonic ideal, Mr. Hawley and Mr. Vance often evoke a lone breadwinner in a production job whose spouse can afford to stay home and raise children. They give shorter shrift to the millions of people — often women — who work in health care or at restaurants and retail outlets, or who may have less traditional families.

“Time was, a workingman could support his family — a wife and children — on the work of his own hands,” Mr. Hawley said in his National Conservative Conference speech. “Now Americans toil away in dead-end jobs in cubicles, servicing the global corporations, while paying outrageous sums for housing and health care.”

Mr. Hawley said in an interview that he believes service jobs must be made better paying, too, and that he’s agnostic about how families allocate work and child-rearing, so long as one parent can stay home if he or she chooses. But gender politics aside, there may be something anachronistic about the worldview — a vision of an economy that existed before global corporations and may no longer be attainable.

That vision will almost certainly appeal to some workers. Whether it captivates the full range of the labor movement is far less clear.

PHOTOS: A recent speech by Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri concluded that his party must “start prioritizing” workers. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Former President Donald J. Trump’s overtures to workers have been based on their economic interests. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B3) This article appeared in print on page B1, B3.

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2024

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[***Was It Written by ChatGPT, or by a Novelist?; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXT-JBF1-JBG3-60WX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1235 words

**Highlight:** Three readers could pick the story written by Curtis Sittenfeld; another calls the experiment unfair. Also: Afghan women; athletes and crowds; pro-union workers.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*An Experiment in Lust, Regret and Kissing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/20/opinion/beach-read-ai.html),” by Curtis Sittenfeld (Opinion guest essay, Sept. 1):

As Ms. Sittenfeld noted, ChatGPT is fast but soulless; it writes toneless prose. As my college writing professor told us, unending descriptions are dull. Ms. Sittenfeld’s writing deftly blends description with lots of conversation, something that ChatGPT cannot do well easily.

One more reason that ChatGPT is soulless is that it has no idea what it is writing about. It’s really just an algorithm for stringing together linguistic patterns that it has indexed over the whole internet. Being a good pattern matcher is an accomplishment, but it’s a long way from matching human creativity.

ChatGPT does not know whether anything it writes actually corresponds to the real world because it has no knowledge of the real world beyond the patterns it picks up from the internet. It doesn’t know that the sentence “my cat is green” could not be true (unless I painted my cat green).

And, alas, that huge internet database includes work that is copyrighted. So I share Ms. Sittenfeld’s disgust in the way her work was used without compensation.

Candy Sidner

Newton, Mass.

The writer is a fellow of the Association for the Advancement of A.I. and of the Association for Computational Linguistics.

To the Editor:

I enjoyed your piece pitting Curtis Sittenfeld against ChatGPT in a beach-read showdown. However, while entertaining, it was like asking a chef to make her favorite dish while telling a novice cook to “do something with tofu” — then acting surprised when the meal was bland. The prompt given to ChatGPT was flavorless. By neglecting to optimize prompting techniques, you inadvertently asked the A.I. to generate generic, inoffensive content based on minimal input.

Large language models — the technology used by many A.I. chatbots — often require clear, detailed instructions, including about tone, style and context. For instance, Claude, an A.I. chatbot, produced [*a more emotive and descriptive story*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/20/opinion/beach-read-ai.html) when given a nuanced prompt to write a summer beach romance through the lens of climate disruption anxiety.

With thoughtful prompting, A.I. can currently approach — though not always match — the creativity and emotive expression of skilled writers. And chatbots are evolving rapidly.

Given these capabilities, a more illuminating experiment might explore how successful authors like Ms. Sittenfeld could use A.I. to enhance their creative process rather than viewing it as a competitor. This approach better explores A.I.’s role and interplay in creative writing.

Creativity in the digital age is not about what A.I. can do but what we can do with A.I.

(I used A.I. to help write this letter.)

Hank Weiss

Madison, Wis.

To the Editor:

Curtis Sittenfeld asked us to judge which story ChatGPT wrote and which she wrote. It was clear to me that the first story was hers. In fairness, I was reading critically, plus I am a fan and have read most if not all of her books.

The ChatGPT story was boring and, like Ms. Sittenfeld, I wouldn’t have finished it if I hadn’t considered it “assigned reading.” Too many cliché adjectives and no surprises. One other thing: In the first story, the main character had a “situational flaw” — in that particular setting, she was a liar. Unexpectedly flawed characters are a hallmark of Ms. Sittenfeld’s fiction — and make it that much more readable.

Here’s what troubles me. If it hadn’t been a test, would I just assume the writer was having a bad day or had gotten sloppy or maybe I had outgrown her? Would I ever have suspected it was ChatGPT? No, I would not.

I am still betting on people as well, but this leaves me feeling unsettled. I am beginning to wonder if we are entering a not so brave new world of “reader beware.”

Ellen J. Reifler

Swampscott, Mass.

To the Editor:

I found the Sittenfeld vs. ChatGPT beach read contest fascinating.

When I read the first piece I was pretty sure it was the “real thing”; when I read the second I was absolutely positive. The second piece was a cliché-ridden collection of words saying absolutely nothing. It lacked subtlety, nuance and irony and, yes, was just plain boring.

It is comforting to know that imagination, creativity and talent remain uniquely human qualities, and ChatGPT can’t compete. I too am still betting on people!

Hanina Levin

New York

Solidarity With Afghan Women

To the Editor:

Re “[*Unspeakable New Suffering for Afghan Women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/20/opinion/beach-read-ai.html)” (front page, Sept. 5):

I cannot read this piece and stay silent. I must use my words, my voice, my outrage and speak up.

American women can do the same and use their voices at the polls this November. Don’t let a bunch of bullying men (running for offices up and down the ballot, and sitting on the Supreme Court) take us back in time and take control of our reproductive rights.

Speak up while you can — for yourself, your daughters and your granddaughters. Or be prepared to answer their questions, like the young women of Afghanistan wondering how the freedoms they’ve only heard about, like going to school, could have been replaced with unbearable repression.

Not being allowed to speak in public — even at a store — makes them part of a vanishing generation of women whose very thoughts are not valued. One of the best ways to show solidarity is to value your freedom and vote for all American women to have a choice.

Susan Perry

Westminster, Vt.

To the Editor:

Why are Taliban men afraid of women?

Ellen Creane

Guilford, Conn.

Shh! Athletes at Play!

To the Editor:

“[*Keeping Courtside Order in a Sea of Affluence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/20/opinion/beach-read-ai.html)” (front page, Sept. 8) reported about how stadium attendants control late and unruly spectators at professional tennis matches.

I have seen the same thing at professional golf matches where the attendants even hold up signs telling the fans to be quiet. These pampered athletes need to learn how to play in the real world.

When a quarterback tries to figure the speed, angle and distance of his next pass, there are 50,000 screaming fans and 11 very large men trying to knock him down. They do not sulk if some fans walk to their seats or get up to buy a beer while they are playing.

James B. Berg

Egg Harbor Township, N.J.

Workers Support Unions

To the Editor:

Re “[*Workers Deserve So Much More Than America’s Unions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/20/opinion/beach-read-ai.html),” by Oren Cass (Opinion guest essay, Sept. 1):

Mr. Cass suggests that workers might prefer a “new form of representation” over representation by a traditional labor union. Considerable evidence suggests otherwise.

Public approval of unions has reached its highest level since the 1960s, with nearly [*70 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/20/opinion/beach-read-ai.html) of those surveyed expressing support. In 2023 we saw the highest number of union representation elections since 2016, with workers voting for unions [*79 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/20/opinion/beach-read-ai.html) of the time.

[*Nearly half of nonunion workers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/20/opinion/beach-read-ai.html) told pollsters in 2017 that they would join a union if given the opportunity. That figure is 50 percent higher than when the same question was posed two decades earlier.

Mr. Cass is attempting a familiar sleight of hand, portraying himself as pro-worker while suggesting that unions are not needed by most members of the ***working class***. This claim will come as news to the thousands of workers who are forming unions and see them as an effective vehicle for advancing their interests.

Robert Bussel

Eugene, Ore.

The writer is the former director of the Labor Education and Research Center at the University of Oregon.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Fromm Studio FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***It’s Unclear What Kamala Harris Thinks About Corporate Power. But the Signs Are Worrisome.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNH-KPJ1-DXY4-X00T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2024 Wednesday 09:59 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 930 words

**Byline:** Matt Stoller

**Highlight:** Take a look at the people around her.

**Body**

What does Kamala Harris think about corporate power?

This is an important question to ask about any presidential candidate, but it’s especially relevant in Ms. Harris’s case. After all, she is a high-ranking member of the Biden administration, which has sought to combat corporate power — in the form of monopolies, unfair competitive practices and price fixing — with a vigor that we hadn’t seen in decades.

Over the past three and a half years, the administration has sued four enormous corporations on allegations that they have engaged in unfair competition: Apple, Meta, Amazon and Google. On Monday, in a major victory for the administration, the judge in another Google antitrust case ruled that the company is an illegal monopolist. The administration has sought to stop price-fixing and consolidation in the meat, real estate and supermarket industries, and to eliminate junk fees on credit cards and bank accounts. The chair of the Federal Trade Commission, Lina Khan, is seeking to block private equity financiers from consolidating health care providers. The administration is even suing to break up Ticketmaster’s owner.

Behind all these efforts is a vision of commerce: that conducting business means making or doing something useful for a profit, not extracting cash using coercion; that focusing on a high stock price over productivity may lead to disasters like Boeing’s safety crisis; that innovation and entrepreneurship should be prioritized over finance. It’s also a view of how to preserve political freedom: Corporate power must be checked by competition.

At the moment we don’t know if Ms. Harris shares this vision. Addressing corporate power [*was not a big part*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html) of what she did as the attorney general of California, as a U.S. senator or as vice president. And as a candidate, while she has mentioned price gouging, medical debt and corporate landlords, she has not laid out a full policy agenda.

Some signs, however, are worrisome.

It’s often said in politics that “personnel is policy,” so consider the people around her. One of Ms. Harris’s closest advisers is her brother-in-law Tony West, who is taking a leave from his job as the chief legal officer of Uber to help with her presidential campaign. Mr. West, a high-level Justice Department official in the Obama administration, is reportedly bringing in a host of campaign officials. The team now includes former corporate advisers. David Plouffe, who worked for Uber and advised TikTok and the cryptocurrency exchange Binance, has also joined the team.

During the Obama administration, Mr. West had a leading role in the flawed response to the financial crisis. The commercial strategies of his current employer, Uber, are based in part on controlling markets and undercutting labor standards.

In addition, a key supporter of Ms. Harris is the billionaire LinkedIn co-founder Reid Hoffman. Mr. Hoffman seems to believe that Wall Street and big business are what make America great. Indeed, he co-wrote a book called “Blitzscaling” that endorses the business strategy of raising a lot of money from investors to corner a market.

What, if anything, does the presence of such people in Ms. Harris’s orbit imply about her governing agenda? On one level, not too much: It just means that she is familiar with a lot of people involved in the Obama administration and on Wall Street. That’s not unusual among politicians.

But that’s not the end of the story. Mr. Hoffman has publicly [*encouraged*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html) the firing of Ms. Khan, saying that she was “waging war” on American business, and has bemoaned tariffs. (I [*criticized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html) Mr. Hoffman on X about some of this, and he [*responded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html) by criticizing me.) In the face of these remarks, Ms. Harris has been silent. While a campaign aide [*has said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html) that there are no discussions about replacing Ms. Khan, that is hardly an endorsement of the campaign to check corporate power.

Ms. Harris’s pick for vice president, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, is a positive sign: As governor, he has helped block the merger of health care entities, cap insulin prices and ban noncompete agreements.

But as a lifelong Democrat, I remain a bit worried. In his 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump repeatedly denounced close ties between Democrats and Wall Street. If and when he does so again, Ms. Harris could have a tough time responding — unless she runs on the administration’s record of challenging corporate power.

If Ms. Harris does become president, retreating from this agenda would be a serious mistake. During the Clinton and Obama administrations, which were both overly sympathetic to big business, ***working-class*** and rural voters left the party in droves, fueling the rise of figures like Mr. Trump. That could happen again.

More important would be the cost to our liberties. America needs safe airplanes, reliable medicine and our own semiconductor fabrication plants. That requires prioritizing real businesses over extractive ones, and fair competition over monopolies.

Hopefully Ms. Harris understands that, even if her advisers may not.

Matt Stoller ([*@matthewstoller*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html)) is the director of research at the American Economic Liberties Project and the author of “Goliath: The 100-Year War Between Monopoly Power and Democracy.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.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/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html), [*Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html), [*TikTok*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html), [*WhatsApp*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html), [*X*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html) and [*Threads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/30/business/kamala-harris-california-business.html).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nathan Howard/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 8, 2024

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[***For Many in Baltimore, the Key Was the City’s ‘Blue Collar’ Bridge***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BN1-S6Y1-DXY4-X13S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 26, 2024 Tuesday 11:34 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 674 words

**Byline:** Campbell Robertson and JoAnna Daemmrich Campbell Robertson reports on Delaware, the District Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Virginia, for The Times.

**Highlight:** The bridge, which collapsed on Tuesday, had become an emblem of Baltimore’s identity as a working port city.

**Body**

The bridge, which collapsed on Tuesday, had become an emblem of Baltimore’s identity as a working port city.

There are more heavily trafficked routes across the Baltimore Harbor than the Francis Scott Key Bridge. The Harbor Tunnel carries double the daily traffic of the Key Bridge and the Fort McHenry Tunnel much more than that.

But the Key, with its gently sloping arch and views that no tunnel could match, had become an emblem of Baltimore’s identity as a working port city.

On Tuesday, from vantage points across the harbor, people stood in disbelief at the sight of parts of the 1.6-mile span jutting jaggedly out of the water, the result of a catastrophic cargo ship crash that toppled the bridge and left six workers missing.

“It’s the blue-collar bridge,” said Kurt L. Schmoke, Baltimore’s mayor in the 1990s and now president of University of Baltimore. The Chesapeake Bay Bridge, 22 miles away, the only bridge in Maryland that was longer, is all about leisure, a gateway to the beach. The tunnels are all function, a way of all but bypassing Baltimore on the way from Washington, D.C., to New York City.

“The Key Bridge,” Mr. Schmoke said, “was definitely for work.”

When the Key Bridge opened in 1977, the Harbor Tunnel was constantly clogged with traffic, reflecting the increased commuting among the fast-growing suburbs of Baltimore and along the I-95 corridor. The bridge was a release valve for the traffic and a godsend for the ***working-class*** communities that sat on either end of it. They now had a direct route to the jobs at the plants and distribution centers that line the Harbor.

“The bridge spanned working Baltimore, both metaphorically and literally,” said Rafael Alvarez, 65, the son of a harbor tugboat engineer who has written more than a dozen books about Baltimore’s ***working class***.

On the northern end was Sparrows Point, once home to the massive Bethlehem Steel Plant, which was once the largest working mill in the world and is now the site of distribution centers for Amazon, Home Depot and Under Armour. On the other end, Curtis Bay, long home to chemical plants, including a paint company that Mr. Alvarez remembers emitting white clouds so thick they had to close the bridge.

Tens of thousands of Baltimoreans lived and worked in these areas, Mr. Alvarez said.

The six men who are missing were part of this tradition of working Baltimore: members of a construction crew, working overnight hours filling potholes on the bridge.

As the morning unfolded, and cars and trucks from a legion of government agencies went to and from the collapse site, some of the people who knew the bridge best were forced, this time, to take it in at a distance.

They gathered on a highway embankment across from a Dollar General to get a look at the broken bridge. There were whispered conspiracy theories among the crowd, pointed concerns about getting to work and doctor’s appointments and bafflement at how this could have happened.

Others just recollected.

“When I got my license in ’75, the only way to get back and forth was the tunnel,” said James Metzger, 66, retired from the automotive industry.

From the windows at his high school, not far from where he was standing, Mr. Metzger would look out and watch the bridge being built, he said. Around that time he was seeing a girl who lived on the other side; a bridge had romantic implications along with everything else.

One day in 1977, Mr. Metzger said, his father, a truck driver, was coming back home from his route and happened upon the bridge’s ribbon cutting. His father had seen the governor, he said, and even kept a piece of the ribbon. The bridge had been a part of their lives ever since.

Until Tuesday morning, when Mr. Metzger’s current girlfriend had called. “She was on the way to work,” he said. “She said, ‘I’m seeing police cars and helicopters. And the Key Bridge is gone.’”

PHOTO: Members of the news media and onlookers gathered on an embankment near the collapsed bridge. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Key Stops***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BR8-S261-JBG3-60NW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 6, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Travel Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 315 words

**Body**

Key stops

Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, a sprawling and immaculately kept museum, houses Hindu, Jain and Buddhist sculptures.

The Bombay Poetry Crawl offers a walking tour through one of Mumbai's most rapidly gentrifying areas and traces the city's ***working-class*** roots through poetry.

The Kanheri Caves are an ancient Buddhist complex of more than 100 caves, some dating 2,000 years, in Sanjay Gandhi National Park. Some of the caves have pillared prayer halls and carved Buddhist deities.

Where to Eat

Masque is a high-end restaurant that reinvents traditional Indian dishes in modern, surprising ways over a nine-course tasting menu.

Kala Ghoda Cafe serves healthy breakfasts, including spicy egg dishes.

Swati Snacks, a Mumbai institution, offers street-food classics and traditional favorites in a bright, clean setting.

Aaswad Upahar and Mithai Griha is a popular, no-frills restaurant in the Dadar neighborhood that offers a mango-themed thali (a platter filled with various small dishes) in April and May, when the fruit is in season.

Bastian at the Top, a sceney rooftop restaurant with lavish décor that includes an indoor swimming pool, is worth a stop to take in the views of the bay over a drink.

Where to stay

The Taj Mahal Palace, an ornate hotel open since 1903, looks over the Arabian Sea and the Gateway of India arch. A memorial in the lobby commemorates the 2008 terror attack at the hotel. Rooms start at 23,550 rupees, or about $282.

Sea Green Hotel, on the curved shoreline called the Queen's Necklace, has basic rooms with gorgeous bay views. Rooms start at around 9,000 rupees.

The Grand Hotel is a century-old establishment in the city's historic Ballard Estate district, which is also home to one of Mumbai's best-known Parsee restaurants, Britannia & Co. You can walk to many of the city's attractions. Rooms start at around 6,850 rupees.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/01/travel/06hours-mumbai-box.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/01/travel/06hours-mumbai-box.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page C9.

**Load-Date:** April 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Great Migrations***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69M6-4J21-DXY4-X04S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 12, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 23; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1384 words

**Byline:** By Arlie Russell Hochschild

**Body**

As autoworkers strike across the country, ''Hillbilly Highway'' and ''Black Folk'' offer two views of the search for a better life by ***working-class*** migrants in the middle of the 20th century.

HILLBILLY HIGHWAY: The Transappalachian Migration and the Making of a White ***Working Class***, by Max Fraser

BLACK FOLK: The Roots of the Black ***Working Class***, by Blair LM Kelley

Between 1900 and 1970, millions of Americans left the South for the North, West and Midwest. Max Fraser's ''Hillbilly Highway'' traces the movement of about eight million of them, poor whites from the ''Upper South'' -- states such as Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky -- to industrial parts of the Midwest, cities such as Detroit, Cincinnati and Chicago. In ''Black Folk,'' Blair LM Kelley ties the exodus of another six million or so to a moving memoir of Black family migration, as well as to the wider sweep of time from slavery to the present. Together, these two migrations have helped shape two sides of our current perilous political moment.

Fraser, a scholar of labor history at the University of Miami, corrects several misconceptions. The usual view is that Southern Black people moved north during the first half of the 20th century, but Southern whites stayed put or went west when the Dust Bowl came in the 1930s. Yet many poor white migrants left debt-burdened farms, dead-end jobs and shuttered mills and mines, and ventured north on the ''hillbilly highway'' to settle in poor white ghettos such as Chicago's Uptown, Muncie's Shedtown and Dayton's East End. There, like Black migrants, most found better lives than those they left behind.

Fraser also challenges writers who blame poor white Southerners for the rise of the anti-union right in the North. ''Transappalachian migrants were early and eager supporters of Midwestern industrial unions,'' Fraser notes, ''in both radical hotbeds like Detroit and provincial outposts like Muncie.'' They initiated work stoppages and slowdowns with and without union leadership.

And the transplanted hillbilly did not always vote conservative. When the Alabama governor George Wallace, an arch-segregationist, ran for president in 1968, only 6 percent of Chicago's hillbilly Uptown neighborhood voted for him -- a much lower proportion than the citywide average of 12 percent or the second- and third-generation European immigrant turnout of 17 percent. White blue-collar workers have since moved farther to the right, Fraser says, but hillbillies were no more or less likely to do so than other groups of white voters.

Blair LM Kelley's ''Black Folk'' also has a bone to pick. When we think of ''the American ***working class***,'' we think of whites, she notes. But much of that class is Black, and, compared with white laborers, a higher proportion of all Black people are part of it. Kelley, a professor of Southern studies at the University of North Carolina and the author of ''Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship,'' tells the poignant story of her grandfather John Dee, the son of a Georgia sharecropper.

Seated in a wagon with his four siblings and the family's belongings, Dee left behind a familiar place, a can't-get-ahead life and a mountain of debt. The family landed in North Carolina. Dee married in 1938 and pressed on to Philadelphia, where he sought work as a carpenter and his wife, Brunell, a high school graduate -- rare for rural Southerners of any race at the time -- aspired to an office job.

But while the North offered Black migrants freedom to vote and a far lower risk of lynching, it didn't offer a fair crack at the factory or clerical jobs on offer to white workers. Brunell, unable to find office work, earned money as a housekeeper.

What Black migrants badly needed was access to well-paying jobs and to real union support, and for the most part, until the 1960s, both were denied to them. Dee did manage to join a local branch of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, but found himself assigned to jobs in areas hostile to Black workers. Other Black workers were barred entirely from white-dominated unions; the 1918 charter of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors specified that workers should be white.

As Kelley shows, many Black workers formed their own unions. In 1905, a washerwoman's union in Richmond, Va., boycotted streetcars with segregated seating, bankrupting the company. In the 1930s and '40s, A. Philip Randolph won better pay and hours for Black workers through his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and pushed the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration to desegregate all federal jobs.

Both white and Black migrants were used by Northern business interests toward their own ends. In the 1910s and '20s, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Akron, Ohio, sent recruiters into Appalachia to urge poor white people to move north to nonexistent jobs. ''They were laying off men instead of hiring them,'' one migrant reported. With a labor surplus, the company could undercut union activism, at least for a time, and spark antagonism between new migrants and white old-timers, who accused hillbillies of stealing jobs and undermining wages.

Some corporations also actively recruited Southern Black workers to break Northern white strikes, a fact missing from both books. In the nationwide steel strike of 1919, as the historian Stephen H. Norwood has written, steel companies recruited 30,000 to 40,000 Black workers, including thousands of recent Southern migrants in Chicago, to undermine the steelworker unions. And what about those unions? Were such unions the same ones that Fraser's poor white migrants could join but from which Kelley's Black migrants were barred? Fraser does not discount the possibility.

By 1940, nearly 11 percent of Southern-born white people and more than 15 percent of Southern-born Black people had left the South. Though studded with obstacles, the migration of Black people out of the South infused Northern cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia and New York with energy and talent, helped to galvanize the civil rights movement and created solid support for the modern Democratic Party.

As for the migration of white people from the Upper South to the Midwest, Fraser suggests that at least some hillbillies brought union activism and left-leaning votes with them when they traveled north, but his story ends around 1970. In ''The Americanization of Dixie'' (1974), the journalist John Egerton, generalizing about whites from all over the South, argued that white migration helped ''Southernize'' the North. More recently, a group of American economists has argued that ''the Southern white diaspora played an important role in shaping'' the modern conservative constituencies that gave us the presidency of Donald Trump.

Of course, much depended on what Southern white migrants did after they came north. If they become highly educated or live in a city, and happen to be young (say, the migrant's children), they're more likely to be liberal. But, as political scientists such as Katherine Cramer point out, the ones who stay on the farm often vote Republican because they strongly resent an ''urban elite'' that they feel both ignores and controls them.

According to a revealing 2020 Pew poll, 45 percent of Americans have stopped talking about politics with someone because of something their interlocutor said -- 45 percent of conservative Republicans and 60 percent of liberal Democrats say they've done this. White people are more likely to cut off conversation than Black people: 50 percent versus 37 percent.

The 2024 election cycle has barely begun, and Joe Biden and Donald Trump have already made their way to Detroit to court ***working-class*** voters. Some foresee a replay of the North-South civil war, with Donald Trump playing to the Southernization of the North and Joe Biden to the Northernization of the South. Race is again central, and we're having a hard time talking about it. The very human stories in these two books could be just the thing to break the ice.

HILLBILLY HIGHWAY: The Transappalachian Migration and the Making of a White ***Working Class*** | By Max Fraser | Illustrated | 320 pp. | Princeton University Press | $32

BLACK FOLK: The Roots of the Black ***Working Class*** | By Blair LM Kelley | Illustrated | 338 pp. | Liveright Publishing | $30

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/27/books/review/hillbilly-highway-max-fraser-black-folk-blair-lm-kelley.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/27/books/review/hillbilly-highway-max-fraser-black-folk-blair-lm-kelley.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Employees working on radiators for the Ford Motor Company in Detroit in the 1920s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ULLSTEIN BILD VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page BR23.

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2023

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[***A Man Goes to See His Daughter’s Play. Turns Out It’s About Him.; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPT-DSW1-DXY4-X1W3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 13, 2024 Tuesday 16:42 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 917 words

**Byline:** Joumana Khatib

**Highlight:** In Jo Hamya’s second novel, “The Hypocrite,” a 20-something playwright puts her absent, aging writer dad on blast.

**Body**

In Jo Hamya’s second novel, “The Hypocrite,” a 20-something playwright puts her absent, aging writer dad on blast.

THE HYPOCRITE, by Jo Hamya

Even bad, absent daddies can set aside ego to appreciate the trappings of a classic. In “The Hypocrite,” Jo Hamya’s sharp and agile new novel, an unnamed, aging writer admits the brilliance of a nearly 10-minute sex scene to open his daughter’s latest play. It’s a shame the actor thrusting onstage is a venereal, self-regarding avatar of the writer himself, otherwise he’d tell his daughter how clever she was.

We are in London, in the summer of 2020. The city is cautiously stirring to life after months of lockdown. The play has been warmly received by critics, and its 20-something playwright, Sophia, is unquestionably talented. Also: wounded, blinkered, petulant.

Her father is a middle-aged novelist of moderate renown who is said to “offend people for a living,” and whose views aren’t quite prehistoric but are premodern enough that I’d prefer not to hear his feelings about women breastfeeding in public. At a glance, he resembles Martin Amis during a low moment. He saw Sophia only intermittently during her childhood, hasn’t published a book in years, hasn’t navigated the shifting cultural tides terribly well. Settling into his seat at the theater, he had no idea what he was in for.

Their longest stretch of time together, a Sicilian vacation a decade earlier in which Sophia took dictation for his novel-in-progress, is the play’s subject. Her memory is ferociously loyal, but unsparing: She nails precise details of the dill-scented kitchen where they worked, his cherished purple shirt, the sexual encounters he thought he’d kept secret. Within moments, the humiliation sets in — he is reduced to a version of himself that had sex “like a pig and wrote like a dictator,” as the audience howls with laughter.

Still, there are crumbs of mercy. Thank God Sophia hasn’t cast someone who can replicate the sputtering of his orgasms.

And thankfully, nobody in this appropriately claustrophobic story emerges the clear hero. No one is that doomed L-word, likable. Hamya bats our sympathies between characters: Sophia, the neglected child who craves both her father’s approval and his artistic toppling; her father, who seems baffled by how quickly he’s encountered irrelevance; and Sophia’s mother, who is justifiably fed up after loving two self-engrossed yet profoundly un-self-aware writers.

While her father watches his persona flayed onstage, Sophia and her mother pick at an unbearable lunch, and the story leaps between restaurant and theater. “When I read his books, they’re like prolonged rape scenes in films,” Sophia confesses. But she’s met with little solidarity. With each act, Sophia’s mother becomes drunker, crueler, mounting a stubborn defense of her ex. “It’s not very feminist, she says, to write an entire play about your absent father.”

In less capable hands, the novel might have become a tiresome examination of how sexual mores evolve between generations, or a flimsy inversion of Oedipal myth. But as in her 2021 debut novel, “[*Three Rooms*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/28/books/review/three-rooms-jo-hamya.html),” Hamya is attuned to the precarity that young women inherit, the realization that no amount of privilege, education or artistic chops could confer the freedom or power they desire.

During the play’s intermission, Sophia’s father spars with a young freelance writer who barely keeps at bay her disdain for him. Countless hours spent online prepared her to rattle off a litany of groups he’s insulted: “Jews. Muslims. Catholics. Christians,” she sneers. “Jeremy Corbyn. Paris Hilton. The ***working class***. Old people. Old authors. Young authors.” All the while, Sophia’s father limply grasps an unlit cigarette and later struggles not to wet himself — paging Dr. Freud!

His opponent and the exchange more broadly feel garishly typecast, cartoonish. In this one interlude the book loses its footing. Overall, Hamya’s staging is savvy; each scene is packed with implication and, often, wit. With Sophia’s father trapped in his seat and flooded by her point of view, unable to protest or rebut, the setup resembles a tidy revenge fantasy, as if it were done up with hospital corners. Tidy, but also limiting: “I’m frustrated,” Sophia tells her therapist, “by having come up in an age where bonding over trauma seems more correct than bonding over a shared laugh.”

The novel’s most gutting sequence details a stilted FaceTime call after the performance, with Sophia’s father in a cafe restroom, raw with emotion, his brioche and coffee balanced on the toilet cistern. Sophia weeps as she did when she was a young girl. He refuses, gently, to join the Wi-Fi, unwilling to attempt a solution beyond his comfort that might ease their connection.

Who is the hypocrite of the title? The unexpectedly thin-skinned career provocateur, or the playwright who doesn’t accept that her fixations might be as megalomaniacal and scalding as her father’s? Privately, the aging writer concedes that the play is “like the novel Sophia helped him write, but better.” By the end he’s planning his next act, a dreadful-sounding “internet novel” structured like the Bible, and it seems clear that father and daughter will joust for another round through their writing.

“You’ve Me Too’d me. Is there anything I’m allowed to say?” he asks her, crossly. “Or will it end up in the sequel?”

THE HYPOCRITE | By Jo Hamya | Pantheon | 233 pp. | $26

Joumana Khatib is an editor at the Book Review.

This article appeared in print on page BR11.

**Load-Date:** September 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Newark Schools Struggle to Keep Students Cool***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C9C-0571-JBG3-6110-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 20, 2024 Thursday 11:35 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 539 words

**Byline:** Liam Stack and Nate Schweber Liam Stack is a Times reporter who covers the culture and politics of the New York City region.

**Highlight:** Many buildings lack air-conditioning, despite years of calls for improvements to old buildings.

**Body**

Many buildings lack air-conditioning, despite years of calls for improvements to old buildings.

As the school year winds to a close in Newark, some students are celebrating for a perhaps unexpected reason. For many, classes letting out for the summer means a chance to cool down.

Over the last several days, the heat wave has made staying inside some of the city’s aging school buildings, [*some of which lack working air-conditioning*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/newark/2023/9/8/23863675/newark-nj-heat-wave-schools-air-conditioner-touchless-water-fountains/), almost unbearable.

Simone Machado pulled her son Bryan, 10, out of school at Ann Street Elementary early on Thursday because she was worried about how he would handle the heat. By the time she got there, a bright red rash had already bloomed across his neck.

He said his fourth-grade classroom was “very, very hot.” He was afraid to go back on Friday, he said, when temperatures in Newark were forecast to reach almost 100 degrees. The only silver lining was that it would be the last day of school.

“I don’t want to go, the rashes are going to get worse and worse,” he said. “School’s over tomorrow, thankfully.”

Newark’s mayor issued a [*“code red” warning as temperatures hit the high 90s*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/newark/2023/9/8/23863675/newark-nj-heat-wave-schools-air-conditioner-touchless-water-fountains/), and the city encouraged residents to find [*recreational centers or pools to cool down*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/newark/2023/9/8/23863675/newark-nj-heat-wave-schools-air-conditioner-touchless-water-fountains/).

A spokeswoman for the Newark Board of Education, Nancy J. Deering, said it was monitoring schools during the heat wave. “Even on the hottest days, our classrooms are safe and well ventilated,” she said in an emailed statement, noting that many schools have “well-functioning” cooling systems.

“In the dozens of schools that are in aging facilities without air-conditioning throughout, fans are provided as needed,” she added.

Andre Teixeira also rushed to Ann Street Elementary School in the Ironbound, a ***working-class*** neighborhood, to pick up his child early. When he got there his daughter, Amelie, 6, was dripping with sweat. When asked how she felt, she replied simply: “Hot.”

Mr. Teixeira said the heat in the school frustrated him.

“It’s disappointing,” he said. “And this is considered one of the best schools in the Ironbound.”

Studies have shown that [*heat can hurt learning*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/newark/2023/9/8/23863675/newark-nj-heat-wave-schools-air-conditioner-touchless-water-fountains/). New Jersey has funded some new buildings, the news outlet Chalkbeat has reported, but [*many of the city’s older school buildings*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/newark/2023/9/8/23863675/newark-nj-heat-wave-schools-air-conditioner-touchless-water-fountains/) — some of which are over a hundred years old — remain in disrepair.

In her statement, Ms. Deering said that updating the city’s older school facilities was “a priority.” She added: “We have also prioritized providing air-conditioning in large spaces such as cafeterias to provide temporary relief and limited outdoor activities as necessary.”

At West Side High School, across town from Ann Street, students loped out of the building as the school day ended. Jahsir Graham, 15, said that being in class felt “like you’re in a boiling pot of water.”

“It’s excruciatingly painful,” he said.

Nearby, Mamina Napoleon, 18, said that over the years she had spent studying inside Newark’s sweltering schools, she had learned to conserve her energy to avoid overheating.

“I just walk really slow,” she said. “Because I learn that when I walk fast I get even hotter.”

PHOTO: Jahsir Graham, 15, said that being in class felt “like you’re in a boiling pot of water.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Bryan Anselm for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***51 Men Convicted in the Pelicot Rape Trial: What to Know***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D08-TN11-JBG3-60TP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2024 Tuesday 10:09 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1395 words

**Byline:** Ségolène Le Stradic and Catherine PorterS&amp;#233;gol&amp;#232;ne Le Stradic is a reporter and researcher covering France.

**Highlight:** Dominique Pelicot was sentenced to 20 years for drugging and raping his wife, and inviting other men to join him in violating her. Most of the other men were also convicted.

**Body**

Dominique Pelicot was sentenced to 20 years for drugging and raping his wife, and inviting other men to join him in violating her. Most of the other men were also convicted.

Dominique Pelicot, [*who admitted to drugging and raping his wife for almost a decade*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/french-rape-trial-51-men-dominique-pelicot.html) and inviting dozens of strangers to join him, was convicted on Thursday of aggravated rape and other charges and sentenced to the maximum 20 years in prison.

The court also convicted the [*50 other defendants*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/french-rape-trial-51-men-dominique-pelicot.html), most of them on rape charges.

[*The monthslong case*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/french-rape-trial-51-men-dominique-pelicot.html) has riveted and stunned France. It also transformed how the nation discusses sexual violence and made Ms. Pelicot, who has since divorced her husband, a feminist hero for pushing to make the trial public.

Here’s what to know about the trial.

What is the case about?

Dominique Pelicot, 72, is a retired real estate agent and salesman who until his arrest lived in [*Mazan, a city in southeastern France*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/french-rape-trial-51-men-dominique-pelicot.html) with a population of 6,300.

In 2020, police began investigating Mr. Pelicot after three women reported him trying to film up their skirts in a supermarket. During the investigation, they found many thousands of photographs and videos of rapes and sexual abuse on his computer and other electronic devices.

Many of the videos and photos showed Ms. Pelicot unconscious, being sexually penetrated by dozens of men. A couple of pictures showed their daughter Caroline sleeping. She said she does not own the lingerie she was wearing in the pictures, and that she never sleeps in that position. The couple’s daughter-in-law and former daughter-in-law also appeared on a handful of pictures taken without their knowledge while undressing in the bathroom. The three women were also plaintiffs in the trial, and Mr. Pelicot was additionally convicted of taking and distributing their photographs.

The police charged Mr. Pelicot in November 2020 and spent almost two years identifying and charging the other men involved in the rapes.

In court, most of the men accused said that they had met Mr. Pelicot on a website implicated in more than 23,000 police cases in France from 2021 to 2024. The chat site has since been shut down by the French authorities.

What were the various sentences?

Most of the other defendants received sentences of eight to 10 years, less than the 10- to 18-year terms that the public prosecutor had recommended.

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. Mr. Maréchal 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 that 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.
3. The longest sentence apart from Dominique Pelicot’s was 15 years, for a man who went to the couple’s house six times and did not use a condom despite knowing that he was H.I.V. positive.

Some of the men will go free because of time already served.

Who are the others convicted in the rape trial?

The French news media have labeled the 50 other defendants “Monsieur Tout-le-monde,” or “Mr. Every Man,” because of how varied and ordinary they appear — short, tall, flabby, lean, cleanshaven, bearded, bald, ponytailed. 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.

How did Gisèle Pelicot find out she was raped?

For years, Ms. Pelicot had been losing hair and weight. She had started forgetting whole days, and sometimes appeared to be in dreamlike trances. Her children and friends worried she had Alzheimer’s or a brain tumor.

But in late 2020, after she was summoned to a police station in southern France, she learned a shattering story: Her husband of 50 years had secretly been drugging her into a deep sleep, the police said, and then raping her along with dozens of men he had invited into the couple’s home, in abuse that lasted nearly a decade.

Ms. Pelicot, who has divorced her husband but used her former married name during the trial, is now 72. Feminist activists and writers have lauded her courage, strength, and dignity in confronting her horrifying experience. They have also praised her rare decision to fling open the court’s doors onto her intimate hell and insist that the trial be made public, when it could have stayed private.

She also insisted that [*the grim videos her husband took of those encounters*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/french-rape-trial-51-men-dominique-pelicot.html) be played publicly as irrefutable proof. She stayed in the courtroom while the videos were shown, revealing the men, sitting on benches nearby, touching her inert body and engaging in sexual acts, while her husband encouraged them.

“It was difficult for me to make the decision to broadcast these videos, but it was also a way of finding out the truth,” [*she told the court in October.*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/french-rape-trial-51-men-dominique-pelicot.html) One of her lawyers, Antoine Camus, said the country needed “to look rape straight in the eyes.”

How has the case changed France?

The trial has sent shock waves through France, prompting debates about the legal definition of rape, the notion of consent, and drugging someone against their will — called “chemical submission” in France.

News from the Avignon courthouse has appeared in national and international media constantly since September, with more than 180 news organizations signed up to attend. Domestically, feminists and politicians alike have used the trial to speak out against violence against women and the prevalence of rape culture.

The case has also widened perceptions of who might commit sexual crimes. “Sexual offenders are often imagined as being dysfunctional misfits, when, in reality, they are Mr. Everyman,” said Audrey Darsonville, a professor of criminal law at the University of Nanterre and an expert on rape. “That’s what this trial reminds us.”

Who judged the trial?

The trial took place before five professional judges.

Following [*a law passed in 2019,*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/french-rape-trial-51-men-dominique-pelicot.html) regional criminal courts adjudicate the trials of crimes that are punishable by 15 to 20 years, such as rape or robbery. To speed up the proceedings, these courts use only magistrates, not juries. In these criminal courts, all decisions, including verdicts, are taken by a simple majority vote.

Where are the photographs of Mr. Pelicot?

During the trial, the court prohibited taking any photographs of victims or of accused people in the courthouse without their written consent. Photographs said to be of some of the men outside the court emerged today, but they had covered their heads and faces with hoods, caps and face masks.

Ms. Pelicot and her children have given their consent through their lawyers, which is why they appear in photographs from court.

A “perp walk” for defendants is not customary in France, where it would be considered harmful to preserving the presumption of innocence of the accused. The French media have largely abstained from giving the last names of the men, apart from Mr. Pelicot, in keeping with French tradition.

What happens after the trial?

The verdicts in the trial do not necessarily mean that it is the end of the case. Some of the accused intend to appeal no matter the verdict and the sentence. If they do so, a new trial would be held within a year, this time with three professional judges and a nine-person jury.

Dominique Pelicot is also being investigated in the rape and murder of a 23-year-old woman in 1991 and in the attempted rape of a 19-year-old in 1999. He has admitted to the attempted rape but denies any involvement in the 1991 homicide. No trial date has been set.

PHOTO: Gisèle Pelicot arriving at court in Avignon, France, in September to testify against her former husband. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lewis Joly/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***New York Democrats' Split Over Israel Takes Center Stage in Tense Debate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C1K-P3S1-DXY4-X0MM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 15, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1119 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

A rancorous clash between Representative Jamaal Bowman and his Democratic opponent, George Latimer, exposed sharp divisions in their party.

Democrats' smoldering divisions over the war in Gaza flared in New York on Monday, as Representative Jamaal Bowman, one of the House's most endangered incumbents, debated a party rival over Israel's war tactics, American military aid and a powerful pro-Israel group.

In many ways, their exchanges echoed those playing out from Congress to college campuses. But for Mr. Bowman, there was something more at stake: His sharp criticism of Israel has put him at risk of losing his seat in a primary in the New York City suburbs next month.

That possibility appeared to be front of mind as he began the race's first televised debate in White Plains, N.Y. Mr. Bowman joined his more moderate opponent, George Latimer, in reiterating support for two states -- one Palestinian and one Jewish -- and condemning antisemitism. He steered clear of incendiary terms like ''genocide'' that have cost him key Jewish support. Both candidates let some deeper differences slide.

The comity lasted all of 25 minutes.

Friction spiked -- and never really abated -- after the conversation turned to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the influential pro-Israel lobby that helped push Mr. Latimer into the race and has pledged millions of dollars to defeat Mr. Bowman and other members of the House's left-wing ''Squad.''

Sensing a rare opportunity to go on the attack, the congressman accused Mr. Latimer, the Westchester County executive, of being ''bought and paid for'' by the group and its deep-pocketed funders, who Mr. Bowman said also support ''right-wing Republicans who want to destroy our democracy.''

Mr. Latimer did not take the gibe kindly. The group, as he quickly pointed out, has deep ties to Democratic leadership, but its brook-no-criticism approach to Israel's deadly counteroffensive in Gaza has alienated large numbers of Democratic lawmakers and voters.

Mr. Latimer, 70, pointed out that he had a long liberal record supporting abortion rights, gun restrictions and other issues -- and then took his own shot back at Mr. Bowman, 48.

''If he had a stronger record as congressman, he wouldn't have to attack me,'' he said. ''He wouldn't even have to mention my name.''

Things quickly devolved. Mr. Latimer suggested the incumbent had done little more than ''preach and scream'' from the steps of the Capitol in two terms in Washington. Mr. Bowman, who is Black, accused his white opponent of playing ''the Southern strategy in the North'' by portraying him as ''the angry Black man.''

The News 12 moderator, Tara Rosenblum, frequently intervened to try to restore order.

The fight underscored just how raw the race has become in the run-up to the June 25 primary and how a contest that began over American policy toward Israel has exposed deeper cleavages over race, class and ideology that divide the modern Democratic Party.

The safely Democratic district itself is one of the most diverse in the country, stretching from ***working-class*** precincts of the Bronx to some of the nation's wealthier suburbs in Westchester County. The primary electorate could be roughly a quarter Jewish, making it one of the most Jewish seats in the country. But the district is also nearly 50 percent Black and Latino.

Mr. Bowman, a former middle school principal in the Bronx, had no political experience before he defeated a powerful Democratic incumbent in a 2020 primary. He has positioned himself as a champion of Black, ***working-class*** and left-leaning New Yorkers; and turned heads with viral, outspoken confrontations with Republicans around the Capitol.

Mr. Latimer, by contrast, is a fixture of the New York Democratic establishment after decades rising through state and local offices. He is a middle-of-the-road liberal and has a strong base of support in the Westchester County business community and its more affluent suburbs. He has pitched himself as a steady hand who will not generate unflattering headlines.

No public polling firms have tested the race yet. Allies of Mr. Bowman and Mr. Latimer have each leaked private survey data suggesting their candidate is ahead, but even some of Mr. Bowman's allies worry he has become the underdog.

In addition to attracting AIPAC's ire, Mr. Bowman has found himself explaining several unrelated embarrassing episodes. The Daily Beast turned up an old blog where Mr. Bowman dabbled in conspiracy theories about the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. And he pleaded guilty to a criminal charge last fall after pulling a fire alarm in a House office building.

On Monday, the two men did find some common ground. Though they quibbled about their records, both said there was an urgent need to build more affordable housing, offered welcoming stances toward the influx of migrants arriving in New York and indicated support for President Biden.

But it was their differences that consumed the most time in the one-hour debate -- especially related to Israel.

The candidates differed on whether a common protest chant, ''from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free,'' constituted hate speech. The phrase has a long, contested history.

Mr. Bowman said he knew the phrase hurt some people, but he aligned himself with those who characterize it as a hopeful cry for Palestinian freedom.

Mr. Latimer disagreed, saying that the expression's goal was ''to try to delegitimize Israel.''

As time went on, Mr. Bowman reiterated his basic outlook on the conflict, one that has alienated even some longtime Jewish allies but has also gradually gained more acceptance in his party.

He criticized American tax dollars being used to fund Israeli weapons, reminded voters that he was one of the first members of Congress to call for a permanent cease-fire and closely aligned himself with the Palestinian cause.

''Going after Hamas in this way is not going to end the cycle of conflict that has been going on for 75 years,'' Mr. Bowman said. ''We can have a free Palestine and fight antisemitism.''

Mr. Latimer was more defensive of Israel, but repeatedly appeared hesitant to share details about his own views. All but invited to criticize the government of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu -- a stance adopted by many Democrats -- he took a conspicuous pass.

He also declined to offer a substantive view on the wave of pro-Palestinian demonstrations sweeping college campuses this spring. And he said he would leave it to Mr. Biden and his administration to steer the war to its proper end.

''Statements that are made outside of that may not be helpful,'' he said, ''and in fact may be counterproductive.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/13/nyregion/bowman-latimer-debate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/13/nyregion/bowman-latimer-debate.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** May 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Big Business Saw an Ally in Adams, and Overlooked His Issues***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-C9N1-DXY4-X2MR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 6, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1833 words

**Byline:** By Jeffery C. Mays and Stefanos Chen

**Body**

New York's business community threw its support behind Mr. Adams, and continued backing him even as his legal problems began to threaten the governance of the city.

It wasn't quite love at first sight, but it did not take New York's business elite long to embrace Eric Adams.

As he rose to the top of the polls in the mayor's race in 2021 -- and more traditionally business-friendly candidates sank to the bottom -- the power brokers who help shape city politics looked past Mr. Adams's previous ethical problems and backed his candidacy.

Over the nearly three years since he took office, many in the business community stuck by him as his legal troubles mounted, at least in part because of his pro-business agenda.

Now, corruption charges imperil Mr. Adams's ability to enact any policy goals, and even threaten to end his mayoralty. And some in the business community are grappling with the responsibility they may bear for a crisis that has engulfed the city.

John Catsimatidis, the billionaire grocery store chain owner, said big business was willing to overlook Mr. Adams's issues because he ''was the best-case scenario for the business community.'' That held true, he said, even as it became clear that he was surrounding himself with unqualified and in some cases unscrupulous aides and advisers.

''No matter what stupid thing the people around him did, Adams was the boss,'' said Mr. Catsimatidis, who donated $2,100 to Mr. Adams's re-election campaign, the maximum permitted, according to public records.

Now, as Mr. Adams's prospects for re-election dim and calls for his resignation continue, business leaders are grappling with the implications for City Hall.

''What I hear is people frightened that they'll get somebody that hates the business community,'' Mr. Catsimatidis said.

Olivia Leirer, the co-executive director of New York Communities for Change, a nonprofit antipoverty group, said business leaders are in a crisis they helped to create.

''They shot themselves in the foot,'' said Ms. Leirer, whose group often spars with business leaders on housing and other issues. ''This makes it much harder to do business in the city, when you don't have an effective government.''

In the days since Mr. Adams's indictment, many business leaders have gone quiet.

The Real Estate Board of New York, the industry's main lobbying arm, did not respond to requests for comment about the indictment. Neither did the Association for a Better New York, a business group whose members include tech firms like Amazon and major commercial developers including SL Green.

Kathryn Wylde, the president of the Partnership for New York City, a business advocacy group that represents some of the biggest companies in finance, real estate and management, said that business leaders' reluctance to weigh in on the mayor's troubles reflected a longstanding reluctance to wade into political scandal.

She said the business community should not be blamed for Mr. Adams's current predicament because they see their responsibility as helping whomever is mayor.

Many business leaders are concerned about the ''stability of the city,'' she said, which creates an environment conducive for businesses to thrive. Amid a rush of resignations from high-ranking city officials, one of the goals of business leaders is making sure the people working for the administration don't ''desert ship because they think the ship is sinking,'' Ms. Wylde said.

But records and interviews showed that many business leaders continued to support Mr. Adams long after federal agents seized his phone last November, and a number of his close associates' homes were searched.

Mr. Adams's re-election campaign raised more than $1 million in the first half of the year, more than twice his closest opponent, according to campaign finance records.

Members of the Dolan family, which owns Madison Square Garden, gave maximum donations of $2,100, for a total of $8,400 through July, the latest month data was available.

A spokeswoman for James Dolan, the chief executive of MSG Entertainment, did not respond to a request for comment.

Former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, a billionaire, donated $5,000, the maximum allowed, to Mr. Adams's legal defense fund in December.

Hal Fetner, a major real estate developer, also gave the maximum donation to Mr. Adams's re-election campaign in July.

''I have no regrets about my past donation to the mayor's re-election campaign,'' Mr. Fetner said in a statement, adding that he will reserve judgment until after a possible trial.

An ally with issues

Not long after taking office, Mr. Adams welcomed leaders from some of the city's most influential companies into his residence at Gracie Mansion. He also set up a weekly Friday 7:30 a.m. call with business leaders.

''There was definitely a feeling in the business community that he had the right orientation and was definitely much more receptive to hearing from us,'' said Steve Rattner, chairman and chief executive of Willett Advisors LLC, the investment firm that manages the personal and philanthropic assets of Mr. Bloomberg.

Business leaders saw reasons to count Mr. Adams as an ally.

The business community just lived through eight years of Bill de Blasio -- a mayor they viewed as generally hostile to their needs. In an interview, Mr. de Blasio said he could have been more ''diplomatic'' but cited growth in jobs and housing during his tenure that shows he was able to have success working with the business community.

Business leaders saw a much more pliant partner in Mr. Adams, who publicly drew parallels between business interests and the city's economic health. Mr. Adams met regularly with business leaders; he held news conferences to herald billion-dollar development projects and storefront restaurants; he was an ebullient booster for New York City businesses at a time when the coronavirus pandemic had laid the city low.

And he had regular conversations with Mr. Bloomberg -- both a former mayor and a towering figure in the city's business world.

Fabien Levy, a spokesman for Mr. Adams, said the mayor has catered to the needs of both business leaders and the ***working class***, by expanding affordable housing and improving public safety, among other things. ''This isn't a one or another scenario,'' he said.

But there was tension. Several business leaders believed Mr. Adams did not have the right team to execute his vision. There wasn't always follow through on the issues that came up during the weekly calls. In an effort not to embarrass the mayor, some members of the board of the Partnership for New York City, often made up of leaders of the most important industries in the city, spoke privately with Mr. Adams regarding their concerns, but those efforts were unsuccessful.

''He said, 'I'm comfortable with who I'm comfortable with,''' Mr. Rattner said. ''And that was the end of that.''

There were signs in Mr. Adams's past that suggested his associations could lead him into trouble.

In 2009, as a state senator in charge of leading the Racing, Gaming and Wagering Committee, Mr. Adams was found by the State Inspector General to have shown ''exceptionally poor judgment'' in his relationships with lobbyists seeking to win a contract at the Aqueduct Racetrack in Queens. Federal investigators did not bring charges against him.

As Brooklyn borough president in 2014, Mr. Adams was again investigated for a conflict of interest, after his staff members solicited local businesses to donate to a nonprofit that he controlled. No formal action was taken and the mayor denied wrongdoing.

John Kaehny, executive director of Reinvent Albany, a good government group, said the business community ''chose to ignore'' Mr. Adams's potential flaws.

''Maybe the package is a bit unsavory, but he's a known quantity, and has the support of some conservative elements in New York,'' Mr. Kaehny said.

A Different World

Behind the scenes, business groups are quietly working to find Mr. Adams's replacement. Separately, Ms. Wylde met recently with Jumaane Williams, the public advocate, who would become mayor if Mr. Adams were to resign or be removed.

At the same time, the business world has been careful not to repudiate the mayor, in the event that he recovers from the indictment, said Lori Yue, an associate professor at Columbia Business School who studies the intersection of business and politics.

''The business community has to weigh the risk,'' she said. ''Cut ties now, or maintain them and be stigmatized later.''

But with Mr. Adams now facing a crop of left-leaning candidates looking to replace him, and the prospect of more criminal charges, some of the business world's favored policies may be in jeopardy.

The mayor's so-called City of Yes zoning proposals, which could enable more than 100,000 new homes to be built, could be hamstrung by emboldened opponents. The Queens Civic Congress, a network of community groups that have criticized the plan, demanded on Monday that the plans be postponed, because of the ongoing federal investigations.

The moment reflects a departure from the kind of influence Big Business once exerted on City Hall.

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mayor Eric Adams with Kathryn Wylde, left, the president of the Partnership for New York City, who said business leaders have a longstanding reluctance to wade into political scandal. Jumaane Williams, above, the city's public advocate, would replace Mr. Adams as mayor, should he leave. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

JOHN LAMPARSKI/GETTY IMAGES FOR EMPIRE STATE REALTY TRUST) This article appeared in print on page A16.

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The New York Times

October 5, 2024 Saturday

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk

**Length:** 1833 words

**Byline:** By Jeffery C. Mays and Stefanos Chen

**Body**

New York's business community threw its support behind Mr. Adams, and continued backing him even as his legal problems began to threaten the governance of the city.

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As he rose to the top of the polls in the mayor's race in 2021 -- and more traditionally business-friendly candidates sank to the bottom -- the power brokers who help shape city politics looked past Mr. Adams's previous ethical problems and backed his candidacy.

Over the nearly three years since he took office, many in the business community stuck by him as his legal troubles mounted, at least in part because of his pro-business agenda.

Now, corruption charges imperil Mr. Adams's ability to enact any policy goals, and even threaten to end his mayoralty. And some in the business community are grappling with the responsibility they may bear for a crisis that has engulfed the city.

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Now, as Mr. Adams's prospects for re-election dim and calls for his resignation continue, business leaders are grappling with the implications for City Hall.

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In the days since Mr. Adams's indictment, many business leaders have gone quiet.

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Kathryn Wylde, the president of the Partnership for New York City, a business advocacy group that represents some of the biggest companies in finance, real estate and management, said that business leaders' reluctance to weigh in on the mayor's troubles reflected a longstanding reluctance to wade into political scandal.

She said the business community should not be blamed for Mr. Adams's current predicament because they see their responsibility as helping whomever is mayor.

Many business leaders are concerned about the ''stability of the city,'' she said, which creates an environment conducive for businesses to thrive. Amid a rush of resignations from high-ranking city officials, one of the goals of business leaders is making sure the people working for the administration don't ''desert ship because they think the ship is sinking,'' Ms. Wylde said.

But records and interviews showed that many business leaders continued to support Mr. Adams long after federal agents seized his phone last November, and a number of his close associates' homes were searched.

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Business leaders saw reasons to count Mr. Adams as an ally.

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Business leaders saw a much more pliant partner in Mr. Adams, who publicly drew parallels between business interests and the city's economic health. Mr. Adams met regularly with business leaders; he held news conferences to herald billion-dollar development projects and storefront restaurants; he was an ebullient booster for New York City businesses at a time when the coronavirus pandemic had laid the city low.

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But there was tension. Several business leaders believed Mr. Adams did not have the right team to execute his vision. There wasn't always follow through on the issues that came up during the weekly calls. In an effort not to embarrass the mayor, some members of the board of the Partnership for New York City, often made up of leaders of the most important industries in the city, spoke privately with Mr. Adams regarding their concerns, but those efforts were unsuccessful.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: At a time when New York City's economy was reeling from the effects of the pandemic, Mayor Eric Adams was seen as a booster for the city's business interests. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dave Sanders for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



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The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1882 words

**Highlight:** New York’s business community threw its support behind Mr. Adams, and continued backing him even as his legal problems began to threaten the governance of the city.

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[***Primaries Show Fault Lines for New York Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CB4-H3X1-DXY4-X016-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 24, 2024 Monday

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**Byline:** By Grace Ashford and Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

Several State Assembly contests have become contentious as the June 25 primary nears, with the party grappling between moderate and progressive forces.

In Brooklyn, a State Assembly race has attracted the involvement of marquee figures like Hakeem Jeffries, the House Democratic leader, and Letitia James, the New York State attorney general.

In East Harlem, race and ethnicity have cast shadows over another contest, with the question of whether the neighborhood should be represented by a Latino. And in Westchester County, a Democratic primary fight has included ugly accusations of lies, betrayal and purloined emails.

If there was any illusion that Democrats in New York would play nice until November's all-important general election, these contests for the Assembly in Tuesday's primaries suggest otherwise.

At the heart of many of these contests lies a long-simmering tension between institutional and progressive Democrats that has come to dominate many debates inside the State Legislature, including those involving housing and criminal justice.

''Democratic primaries are still a competition for the soul of the party. It's not a formality,'' said Trip Yang, a Democratic consultant and strategist. ''There are public policy differences and differences in approach.''

Progressives argue that their mainstream Democratic colleagues have not done enough to improve the lives of ***working-class*** voters of color, leaving them frustrated and open to switching parties, as evidenced by the increasing numbers of Black and Latino men who have become Republicans. To stanch the bleeding, progressives argue, Democrats must reignite their base by addressing society's inequalities with housing and health policies that shift power from the corporate class to working people.

''This is absolutely the right time for change,'' said Claire Cousin, 31, a mother of three who is challenging Assemblywoman Didi Barrett in the Hudson Valley. She said her own struggle to pay rent while running for office captured the problems that ***working-class*** people faced.

''There are so many elected officials that are just not doing a good job at keeping their finger on the pulse,'' she said.

But centrists remain skeptical that progressives can turn catchy slogans about transformative change into policies that can be implemented. This skepticism has only grown as progressive gains of years past -- from state climate goals to a cannabis program that aimed to right the wrongs of racially biased drug enforcement -- have stumbled and lost ground.

As Republicans continue to make inroads on issues like crime and immigration, centrist Democrats see progressives as a threat to the delicate moderation the party has struggled to achieve. At stake is the kind of political power that communities build over generations.

One of the most hotly contested elections along those fissures is in the Brooklyn neighborhood of Bedford-Stuyvesant, where Assemblywoman Stefani Zinerman is being challenged by Eon Huntley, a first-time candidate who is backed by the Democratic Socialists of America.

Although Mr. Huntley is Black, Ms. Zinerman sees the primary challenge as a direct attack on traditional Black political power; her candidacy is being supported by Mr. Jeffries and Ms. James.

''I think that the D.S.A. had decided a while ago that they wanted to take over this part of Brooklyn,'' said Ms. Zinerman, a Black moderate.

Mr. Huntley, a married father of two who lived in public housing as a child, works in sales at Bergdorf Goodman. He said that too many moderate Democrats were siding with developers and not addressing housing affordability or calling for higher taxes on the wealthy to fund affordable child care.

''People are trying to protect the status quo,'' Mr. Huntley said.

One issue that illustrates the divide is ''good-cause eviction,'' which is designed to protect tenants from being forced out of their homes under certain circumstances. Mr. Huntley supports the effort; Ms. Zinerman opposes it because she says it will hurt small landlords.

But Ms. James insisted that Ms. Zinerman cared most about ''issues that she confronts every day: the conditions of public housing, child care expenses and education,'' she said.

Ms. Zinerman said she supported tenant protections and aligning affordable housing costs more closely with the income of local residents. She said she was also focused on fighting the epidemic of deed theft, which she viewed as an effort to disenfranchise the ''legacy'' residents of Bed-Stuy.

The tension between more moderate Democrats and their left-leaning counterparts is clear across the state. In the Hudson Valley, Ms. Barrett, a six-term assemblywoman, stresses her experience fighting for mainstream Democratic issues like reproductive rights and green jobs.

But Ms. Cousin, who has the support of the Working Families Party, says that Ms. Barrett is not the environmental champion she claims to be, pointing to the assemblywoman's support of a 2023 push to change the way methane was calculated that scientists said would weaken the state's climate goals.

Ms. Barrett countered that she was ''a lifelong environmentalist,'' noting past achievements in expanding access to electric vehicles, making homes more efficient and modernizing the electric grid. She defended her record as practical, saying: ''My priorities as energy chair have been how we reach our climate goals and how we are going to pay for it.''

Across the Hudson River, Assemblywoman Sarahana Shrestha, who is backed by the D.S.A., is seeking to fend off a challenge from Gabriella Madden, a staff member for former Assemblyman Kevin Cahill, whom Ms. Shrestha unseated in 2022.

Ms. Madden has accused Ms. Shrestha of being too absolutist to be effective. Ms. Shrestha has pointed to the passage of the Build Public Renewables Act, which she championed, as proof that transformative change is a process.

Other races have included more personal attacks.

In East Harlem, Assemblyman Eddie Gibbs is facing a challenge from Xavier Santiago, the head of the local community board in a race about representation that has turned nasty.

Mr. Santiago, who is Latino, is backed by Representative Adriano Espaillat and former City Council Speaker Melissa Mark-Viverito. Mr. Gibbs, who is Black, is backed by Mayor Eric Adams and Assembly Speaker Carl E. Heastie. Mr. Gibbs said he believed he was being challenged because some people wanted a Latino to represent the district, which is 41 percent Hispanic.

Mr. Santiago said that he wanted to ''unite'' the district and ''represent everyone'' because Mr. Gibbs had failed to work well with members of the community to address affordable housing and gun violence.

''There's been a blatant, utter lack of leadership in the community,'' he added.

Mr. Santiago's campaign has also mailed fliers referencing the fact that Mr. Gibbs served three years for manslaughter, a crime he committed as a teenager.

Mr. Gibbs said he thought that Mr. Santiago was relying on divisive racial politics; his own background as a formerly incarcerated person was one of the reasons he was elected, Mr. Gibbs said. He has since used his platform to help incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people and has had five pieces of legislation signed into law.

''I'm an activist and a fighter,'' he said. ''I answer to the community.''

And in Westchester County, rancor has filled another primary rematch, this one between a former assemblyman, Thomas J. Abinanti, and the current officeholder, MaryJane Shimsky, a former county legislator.

Mr. Abinanti has accused Ms. Shimsky of selling out the district to wealthy neighbors by supporting a state law that would allow Edgemont, a well-to-do community in the district, to become its own village -- leaving the town of Greenburgh and depriving it of significant tax revenue.

The law actually adds additional hurdles for areas looking to incorporate, such as an evaluation of the financial effects on the broader locality. But the final version of the law contains an exemption for Edgemont until 2040.

Ms. Shimsky maintains that she was blindsided by the exemption, which New York Focus reported was negotiated by a more senior member of the Assembly and by Andrea Stewart-Cousins, the State Senate majority leader, as a last-minute amendment.

Mr. Abinanti and Ms. Shimsky both oppose Edgemont's incorporation.

Mr. Abinanti also accused Ms. Shimsky of using his office's email list without authorization. He has highlighted those accusations and others in emails and mailers that say ''Shimsky lies again'' and ''purloined emails.''

Ms. Shimsky said she did not steal Mr. Abinanti's email list, and that his accusations show why she was the best person to represent the district.

''In solving the big problems that the state is facing, you need someone in Albany who is capable of working well with all others and building coalitions,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/nyregion/democrats-primaries-race-ny.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/nyregion/democrats-primaries-race-ny.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: One of the most hotly contested elections is in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, where Assemblywoman Stefani Zinerman, left, is being challenged by Eon Huntley, a first-time candidate. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAILA STEVENS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Ms. Cousin disputes Ms. Barrett's claim of being an environmental champion, pointing to her actions on methane. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAUREN LANCASTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MICHAEL M. SANTIAGO/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Must Not Repeat the Mistakes of Globalization; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6B1G-2NW1-DXY4-X4CJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 4, 2024 Thursday 09:31 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1630 words

**Byline:** Ro Khanna

**Highlight:** The advent of A.I. doesn’t have to mean the death of labor.

**Body**

Last September, tech’s biggest names trekked to Capitol Hill for a forum on artificial intelligence. In a meeting closed to journalists, executives briefed nearly [*two-thirds of the Senate*](https://fedscoop.com/sen-schumers-first-ai-insight-forum-focuses-on-2024-election-federal-regulators/) on the future of A.I. A few respected labor and civic leaders were present, but the tech titans dominated the headlines.

There’s an assumption in Silicon Valley that the first trillionaire may well be an A.I. entrepreneur, so tech leaders were eager to share their thoughts on some rules of the road. They warned of killer robots and the “Terminator” scenario, of misinformation and fake videos but gave short shrift to broader issues of economic fairness and wealth disparity that are of more urgent concern to most Americans.

Watching Mark Zuckerberg, Bill Gates and Sam Altman lead a confab on the ethical principles and regulations that should guide A.I. development was reminiscent of Davos conferences in the 1990s and early 2000s.

You remember the story that those Davos conferences broadcast to the world: Everyone will be able to get a knowledge job. Consumer goods will become cheaper. Globalization coupled with the internet will lead to prosperity for everyone.

Well, it didn’t quite work out that way.

What these Davos participants missed was how unfettered globalization hollowed out the ***working class*** here at home. We are all familiar with the consequences now: shuttered factories and rural communities that never saw the promised jobs materialize. As the American dream slipped away from them, many people developed deep and justified resentment. They saw the obscene concentration of wealth and opportunity in districts like mine in the heart of Silicon Valley. The evangelists for the new economy were prescient about the wealth generation that globalization and the internet would unleash but wrong that it would increase economic opportunities for all Americans.

Like globalization, A.I. will undoubtedly bring benefits — tremendous benefits — to our economy, with higher productivity, personalized medicine and education and more efficient energy use. Generative A.I. has the potential to help those with fewer resources or experience [*quickly learn and develop new skills*](https://urldefense.com/v3/__https:/mitsloan.mit.edu/ideas-made-to-matter/workers-less-experience-gain-most-generative-ai*:*:text=**BGenerative*20AI*20seems*20to*20be,get*20better*20at*20their*20jobs.__;I37igJwlJSUlJSUlJQ!!Bg5easoyC-OII2vlEqY8mTBrtW-N4OJKAQ!P_iRwXtD5GAzBpQ8FTUod7xQLnJMcf4HkG1hQRdOwsSPS6YaLwaxRpIXtlvYXIwFvvr8O1ydfne4PYRBbuSLmP_mPP0k7A$). The real challenge, though, is how to center the dignity and economic security of ***working-class*** Americans during the changes to come. And unlike the Industrial Revolution, which spanned half a century at least, the A.I. revolution is unfolding at lightning speed.

Today the Democratic Party is at a crossroads, as it was in the 1990s, when the dominant wing in the party argued for prioritizing private-sector growth and letting the chips fall where they may. The criticism of this approach offered around that time by Senator Paul Wellstone, Senator Russ Feingold and Representative Bernie Sanders (as he was then) — that the offshoring globalization debacle was not helping the ***working class*** and was, in fact, hurting it — was largely ignored.

When it comes to A.I., the fault lines for the Democratic Party similarly run between business and labor, between donors and grass-roots activists and between those concerned foremost with our global competitiveness and those concerned with the economic well-being of the ***working class***.

The tension between business and labor became clear in the battle over proposed legislation in California, A.B. 316, which divided me and many California legislators from Gov. Gavin Newsom. The bill would have required, for at least five years, a human driver on board self-driving trucks weighing more than 10,000 pounds that are transporting goods or passengers.

Tech companies argue that replacing human drivers with A.I. is feasible, will reduce labor costs and will therefore make it cheaper to transport goods and services. They lobbied heavily against the bill. The bill nonetheless passed overwhelmingly, with support from more than 80 percent of the California Legislature and more than 70 percent of California voters. Unfortunately, Mr. Newsom sided with the business advocates in September and vetoed the bill.

I supported A.B. 316 because drivers say it’s currently an unnecessary risk to have large trucks on public roads without a human on board. This is especially true if there is extreme weather, hazardous conditions or heavy cargo on board. No one understands the safety risks at play here better than the drivers themselves, and it’s both foolish and insulting to suggest they would make up such concerns to keep jobs that do not add value. We wouldn’t trust planes to fly without pilots, even with the most sophisticated and well-tested autopilot systems, and we shouldn’t trust large trucks to drive without operators.

It’s not just the A.I. concerns of truck drivers that are causing divides in the Democratic coalition. Last summer, some California politicians were hesitant to support the Writers Guild of America strike publicly, given Hollywood’s cultural importance and fund-raising power. I was proud to join the picket line. As in the case of self-driving trucks, the issue comes down to giving workers a say.

Writers were intrigued by the ways A.I. could help as a research tool and unlock new potential for movies and TV but were concerned that studios might rush to use A.I. to write cookie-cutter scripts and sacrifice imagination and creativity on the altar of profits. It’s better for writers, not executives, to slowly discover the best uses of A.I. in entertainment. In their [*new contract*](https://www.wired.com/story/us-writers-strike-ai-provisions-precedents/#:~:text=In%20short%2C%20the%20contract%20stipulates,AI%20without%20their%20say%2Dso.) with the studios, the writers won important A.I. guardrails concerning credits and compensation — protections that can evolve over time. Even though writers’ jobs are very different from truck drivers’ jobs, labor solidarity is one of the few countervailing forces that can blunt the dehumanization of work motivated by short-term profit maximization in a world where A.I. is capable of suddenly disrupting both blue- and white-collar work.

That said, workers need more than just a voice and guardrails. They should also share in company profits, whether they are working for a trucking company, a production studio or a car manufacturer. Like many chief executives, workers should receive compensation based on profits and the company’s performance, not solely hours worked. It’s the only way workers can fully thrive as A.I. increases America’s productive capacity.

Of course, there are Beltway skeptics of pro-labor policies. What about the threat that leading A.I. companies will flee to China if we pay workers here more? they ask. Don’t raise worker bonuses or have them share in profits, or we’ll lose the global race, they warn. We caved to that blackmail in the 1990s and 2000s, and look where it has landed us. Ordinary Americans are tired of hearing about abstract notions of our global competitiveness while their pay doesn’t keep up and their costs of living rise.

There are already reports that A.I. could displace [*tens of thousands of jobs*](https://www.newsweek.com/mass-layoffs-happening-2024-hiring-freeze-1855942) this year at big companies, potentially causing damage to their culture and their local communities — and starting a concerning trend. A work force committee at each company should weigh in on how A.I. could help employees better do their existing jobs, whether new hiring should slow down and what new credentialing or roles for affected employees could look like before restructuring and letting people go.

This is not to dismiss the need for dynamism, fluidity and flexibility in our markets. American companies must continue to adopt cutting-edge technology. These technologies can unleash a manufacturing revolution here at home — which America should celebrate, in part because jobs in the trades that require craftsmanship appear less likely to be eliminated. It’s a development that can reverse the decline of new American factories. Even so, federal policy should require public companies to have active worker participation when making decisions on how A.I. will change jobs that have functions that might be automated and provide tax incentives to companies that give workers a direct stake in their profits.

Here’s the balance we need to strike. We should encourage disruptive innovation at our universities, start-ups and even large companies but prioritize the perspective and earnings of workers in the adoption of any such technology that develops. This is a vision for democratic innovation that will still allow us to compete economically and militarily but not at all human costs. Democratic innovation recognizes that the need for social cohesion may be the ultimate determiner of the success of the American experiment and American leadership.

The Democratic Party cannot claim to be the party of the ***working class*** if we allow A.I. to erode the earnings and security of the ***working class***. The party can be forgiven once for the mistake of abetting globalization to run amok, just not twice.

Technologies — our technologies — are meant to complement and enhance human initiative, not subordinate or exploit it. We must push for workers to have a decision-making role in how and when to adopt technologies, and we must insist on workers’ profiting from the implementation of these technologies. Our generational task is to ensure that A.I. is a tool for lessening the vast disparities of wealth and opportunity that plague us, not exacerbating them.

Ro Khanna, who represents the 17th Congressional District in California, which includes Silicon Valley, is the author of “[*Dignity in a Digital Age: Making Tech Work for All of Us*](https://urldefense.com/v3/__https:/www.simonandschuster.com/books/Dignity-in-a-Digital-Age/Ro-Khanna/9781982163365__;!!Bg5easoyC-OII2vlEqY8mTBrtW-N4OJKAQ!P_iRwXtD5GAzBpQ8FTUod7xQLnJMcf4HkG1hQRdOwsSPS6YaLwaxRpIXtlvYXIwFvvr8O1ydfne4PYRBbuSLmP-hwESJUw$).”

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Liam Eisenberg FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 4, 2024

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[***Democrats’ Split Over Israel Takes Center Stage in Tense Primary Debate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C1B-VKW1-DXY4-X0G0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 13, 2024 Monday 23:34 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1111 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Fandos Nicholas Fandos is a Times reporter covering New York politics and government.

**Highlight:** A rancorous clash between Representative Jamaal Bowman and his Democratic opponent, George Latimer, exposed sharp divisions in their party.

**Body**

A rancorous clash between Representative Jamaal Bowman and his Democratic opponent, George Latimer, exposed sharp divisions in their party.

Democrats’ smoldering divisions over the war in Gaza flared in New York on Monday, as Representative Jamaal Bowman, one of the House’s most endangered incumbents, debated a party rival over Israel’s war tactics, American military aid and a powerful pro-Israel group.

In many ways, their exchanges echoed those playing out [*from Congress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) to [*college campuses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html). But for Mr. Bowman, there was something more at stake: His [*sharp criticism of Israel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) has put him at risk of losing his seat in a primary in the New York City suburbs next month.

That possibility appeared to be front of mind as he began the race’s first televised debate in White Plains, N.Y. Mr. Bowman joined his more moderate opponent, George Latimer, in reiterating support for two states — one Palestinian and one Jewish — and condemning antisemitism. He steered clear of incendiary terms like “genocide” that have cost him key Jewish support. Both candidates let some deeper differences slide.

The comity lasted all of 25 minutes.

Friction spiked — and never really abated — after the conversation turned to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the influential pro-Israel lobby that [*helped push Mr. Latimer into the race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) and has [*pledged millions of dollars*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) to defeat Mr. Bowman and other members of the House’s left-wing “Squad.”

Sensing a rare opportunity to go on the attack, the congressman accused Mr. Latimer, the Westchester County executive, of being “bought and paid for” by the group and its deep-pocketed funders, who Mr. Bowman said also support “right-wing Republicans who want to destroy our democracy.”

Mr. Latimer did not take the gibe kindly. The group, as he quickly pointed out, has deep ties to Democratic leadership, but its brook-no-criticism approach to Israel’s deadly counteroffensive in Gaza has alienated large numbers of Democratic lawmakers and voters.

Mr. Latimer, 70, pointed out that he had a long liberal record supporting abortion rights, gun restrictions and other issues — and then took his own shot back at Mr. Bowman, 48.

“If he had a stronger record as congressman, he wouldn’t have to attack me,” he said. “He wouldn’t even have to mention my name.”

Things quickly devolved. Mr. Latimer suggested the incumbent had done little more than “preach and scream” from the steps of the Capitol in two terms in Washington. Mr. Bowman, who is Black, accused his white opponent of playing “the Southern strategy in the North” by portraying him as “the angry Black man.”

The News 12 moderator, Tara Rosenblum, frequently intervened to try to restore order.

The fight underscored just how raw the race has become in the run-up to the June 25 primary and how a contest that began over American policy toward Israel has exposed deeper cleavages over race, class and ideology that divide the modern Democratic Party.

[*The safely Democratic district*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) itself is one of the most diverse in the country, stretching from ***working-class*** precincts of the Bronx to some of the nation’s wealthier suburbs in Westchester County. The primary electorate could be roughly a quarter Jewish, making it one of the most Jewish seats in the country. But the district is also nearly 50 percent Black and Latino.

Mr. Bowman, a former middle school principal in the Bronx, had no political experience before he [*defeated a powerful Democratic incumbent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) in a 2020 primary. He has positioned himself as a champion of Black, ***working-class*** and left-leaning New Yorkers; and turned heads with [*viral, outspoken confrontations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) with Republicans around the Capitol.

Mr. Latimer, by contrast, is a fixture of the New York Democratic establishment after decades rising through state and local offices. He is a middle-of-the-road liberal and has a strong base of support in the Westchester County business community and its more affluent suburbs. He has pitched himself as a steady hand who will not generate unflattering headlines.

No public polling firms have tested the race yet. Allies of Mr. Bowman and Mr. Latimer have each [*leaked*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) [*private survey data*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) suggesting their candidate is ahead, but even some of Mr. Bowman’s allies worry he has become the underdog.

In addition to attracting AIPAC’s ire, Mr. Bowman has found himself explaining several unrelated embarrassing episodes. The Daily Beast [*turned up*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) an old blog where Mr. Bowman dabbled in conspiracy theories about the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. And he pleaded guilty to a criminal charge last fall after [*pulling a fire alarm*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) in a House office building.

On Monday, the two men did find some common ground. Though they quibbled about their records, both said there was an urgent need to build more affordable housing, offered welcoming stances toward the influx of migrants arriving in New York and indicated support for President Biden.

But it was their differences that consumed the most time in the one-hour debate — especially related to Israel.

The candidates differed on whether a common protest chant, “from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free,” constituted hate speech. [*The phrase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/30/us/politics/democrats-israel-gaza.html) has a long, contested history.

Mr. Bowman said he knew the phrase hurt some people, but he aligned himself with those who characterize it as a hopeful cry for Palestinian freedom.

Mr. Latimer disagreed, saying that the expression’s goal was “to try to delegitimize Israel.”

As time went on, Mr. Bowman reiterated his basic outlook on the conflict, one that has alienated even some longtime Jewish allies but has also gradually gained more acceptance in his party.

He criticized American tax dollars being used to fund Israeli weapons, reminded voters that he was one of the first members of Congress to call for a permanent cease-fire and closely aligned himself with the Palestinian cause.

“Going after Hamas in this way is not going to end the cycle of conflict that has been going on for 75 years,” Mr. Bowman said. “We can have a free Palestine and fight antisemitism.”

Mr. Latimer was more defensive of Israel, but repeatedly appeared hesitant to share details about his own views. All but invited to criticize the government of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu — a stance adopted by many Democrats — he took a conspicuous pass.

He also declined to offer a substantive view on the wave of pro-Palestinian demonstrations sweeping college campuses this spring. And he said he would leave it to Mr. Biden and his administration to steer the war to its proper end.

“Statements that are made outside of that may not be helpful,” he said, “and in fact may be counterproductive.”

This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** May 14, 2024

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[***Lost***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CMX-6S01-JBG3-602W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 4, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 21; FICTION

**Length:** 861 words

**Byline:** By Kate Tuttle

**Body**

In Liz Moore's new novel, ''The God of the Woods,'' a pair of missing siblings spark a reckoning on the banks of an Adirondack lake.

THE GOD OF THE WOODS, by Liz Moore

Liz Moore's ''The God of the Woods'' opens in nostalgic territory: It's 1975, and Barbara and Tracy are cabin mates at Camp Emerson in the Adirondacks.

Tracy is 12 and gawky, only there because her father has forced her to attend so he can spend more time with his new girlfriend. (Her parents are divorced -- yet another factor that's adding to Tracy's feelings of awkwardness and disconnection.) Barbara is a mature and rebellious 13, coolly self-assured and into punk rock. She's also the only living child of the extremely wealthy family that founded the camp.

As summer progresses from camp's early days to the annual survival trip to the final dance, the girls form a bond of friendship and fascination, broken only on the morning their counselor wakes up and notices that Barbara's bunk is empty.

Those of us with fond memories of summer camp (mine was Al-Gon-Quian in northern Michigan) will recognize the way campers enter into intense relationships, test themselves against childhood fears and begin to grow into who they'll become, all under the less-than-watchful eyes of young counselors concerned with dramas of their own.

When Barbara's counselor, Louise, realizes that one of her campers is missing, she knows exactly what's at stake: Barbara is one of the Van Laars. Her summer house looms over the camp. Moore writes of this family, ''They function as a distant presence on a hill to the north, frequently sighted local celebrities about whom the children and counselors of Camp Emerson speculate and gossip.''

It turns out that, instead of watching over her charges the night before, Louise was at a clandestine campfire with her secret boyfriend, John Paul McLellan, a godson of the Van Laars. She fears losing her job and having to return to a dismal home life with an alcoholic mother in Shattuck, the drab, ***working-class*** hamlet nearby.

''The God of the Woods'' moves swiftly from the drama at camp to the shock and horror of Barbara's mother. Alice hasn't been particularly close to her daughter, but the girl's disappearance is eerily reminiscent of an earlier tragedy, when her first child, an 8-year-old son nicknamed Bear, went missing in 1961. He was never found. This staggering loss left Alice a wraith, addicted to sedatives and incapable of mothering Barbara beyond the occasional hectoring at her to eat less and dress better, believing that ''part of a mother's duty was to be her daughter's first, best critic.'' No matter how often Alice's husband, Peter, and the local police argue that Barbara is likely a runaway, it's impossible for Alice to ignore the echoes of that first loss.

Alice isn't alone; others also see connections between the children's disappearances. Both occurred during house parties where the Van Laars hosted friends and business associates. The police are a presence, of course, as they were in the days following Bear's vanishing. It soon becomes clear that, from the stone-faced family to their hung-over guests to the salt-of-the-earth camp directors, everyone has secrets to hide.

But Moore's novel is more than just a mystery about children lost in the woods. It concerns the relationships between parents and children and haves and have-nots. From the start, it's clear that Moore is firmly on the side of Louise and all the good-hearted people of Shattuck who spent days trying to find Bear. They get the best lines. A local man jokes that the Van Laars' summer house is named Self-Reliance despite the fact that the townspeople hauled all the building supplies through rough woods on behalf of Barbara's great-grandfather. The Van Laars do nothing to correct this impression. As Judy, an ambitious police investigator, muses, rich people ''generally become most enraged when they sense they're about to be held accountable for their wrongs.''

I wish Moore had painted the reprehensible Van Laars with more nuance; villains are better when we can see ourselves in them, after all. A few red herrings fall away without resolution, and there are some less-than-convincing details. Would an adolescent from Albany, no matter how sophisticated, really be into punk rock in the summer of 1975, a year before the Ramones released their first album and the Sex Pistols put out their first single? Would an old New York family like the Van Laars, with all the ancestral prejudices that implies, really be so entangled, personally and professionally, with the Irish Catholic McLellans?

These are small complaints. Moore's portrayal of Alice's maternal devastation is acutely, painfully real. And her fictional summer camp felt as vivid to me as my own (although we did not shower daily as her campers do -- perhaps Al-Gon-Quian was simply a grungier place).

There are a lot of ways to get lost, Moore suggests. If you're lucky, a path in the woods will help you find your way home.

THE GOD OF THE WOODS | By Liz Moore | Riverhead | 496 pp. | $27Kate Tuttle needs a bio. tkt kt tk tkt kt tk tkt kt kt kt tkt kt kt kt tkt kt kt kt kt

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/02/books/review/the-god-of-the-woods-liz-moore.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/02/books/review/the-god-of-the-woods-liz-moore.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page BR21.

**Load-Date:** August 4, 2024

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[***For Vance, an Idyllic Appalachian Startup Became a Hard Lesson***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7R-CNP1-JBG3-608V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2024 Tuesday 23:35 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 2492 words

**Byline:** Danny Hakim and Austyn GaffneyDanny Hakim is a reporter on the Investigations team at The Times, focused primarily on politics.

**Highlight:** During JD Vance’s brief career as a venture capitalist, few startups attracted his support more than AppHarvest, a now bankrupt plan to build greenhouses across Appalachia.

**Body**

During JD Vance’s brief career as a venture capitalist, few startups attracted his support more than AppHarvest, a now bankrupt plan to build greenhouses across Appalachia.

For JD Vance, it seemed like the perfect investment.

In February 2018, he was working as a venture capitalist when he learned about AppHarvest. Its founder, Jonathan Webb, was a Kentucky native who wanted to build giant greenhouses in Appalachia that would put locals to work. For Mr. Vance, an Ohioan and chronicler of Appalachia with political aspirations, the idea sounded enticing.

“We really try to identify where a given economic trend matches up with a new technology” and then “put as much money into that company as you can,” he said in a podcast interview a couple of years later. He called AppHarvest “a pretty perfect elucidation of that thesis.”

Within three years, the company would file for bankruptcy.

Mr. Vance, 40, spent less than a half-decade as a Silicon Valley investor, but those years were a pivotal period when he laid the groundwork for his political career — as a Republican senator from Ohio and now the running mate of former President Donald J. Trump.

When he co-founded his own firm in 2019, Narya Capital, some of its investments would mirror his evolving beliefs. One was Rumble, an unfiltered video-sharing service that bills itself as “immune to cancel culture” and is awash in the kind of [*false claims*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) that Mr. Vance [*has embraced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) during the presidential campaign. Both Narya and Mr. Vance also invested in Hallow, a Catholic prayer app; he [*converted to Catholicism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) in 2019.

None, however, attracted his attention the way AppHarvest did. His memoir, “Hillbilly Elegy,” had described Appalachia as “hemorrhaging jobs and hope”; AppHarvest was pitched as a solution to the declining coal industry there, ready to provide hundreds of workers health insurance and living wages.

The buzzy company became emblematic of Silicon Valley overreach. While Mr. Vance was on the board, it outlined overambitious expansion plans and rushed to go public before it had any revenue. The company faced soaring interest rates and spiraling labor costs, churning through workers in sweltering greenhouses that drew complaints. Eventually, despite its promises to Appalachians, it turned to migrant labor and even acquired a robotics startup in hopes of automating production. Last year, AppHarvest collapsed, just as a number of other [*indoor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) [*farming*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) ventures did.

“Senator Vance believed in AppHarvest’s mission and wishes the company would have succeeded,” Luke Schroeder, a spokesman for Mr. Vance, said in a statement.

“Decisions to hire outside labor were made months after Senator Vance departed the company,” he added. “Senator Vance believed in AppHarvest’s mission to create jobs for local workers and disagreed with the decision to depart from that mission.”

The New York Times reviewed AppHarvest’s securities and bankruptcy filings and talked to former employees and executives, financial analysts and Kentuckians who worked with the company.

Mr. Vance never had any operational role and left the board in April 2021, before the company’s finances unraveled. But for a time it was one of his largest personal investments, at least on paper, according to Senate disclosures. He was lead partner on AppHarvest at two different investment firms, including Rise of the Rest, a fund started by the AOL co-founder Steve Case that became one of AppHarvest’s largest investors. After Mr. Vance co-founded Narya with the right-wing venture capitalist Peter Thiel, he briefly sat on AppHarvest’s board and its audit committee before departing to run for Senate.

While many average investors suffered losses, a few insiders cashed in handsomely — though Mr. Schroeder said Mr. Vance’s shares had never vested and he never profited. He was not named in shareholder lawsuits that accompanied AppHarvest’s demise.

But one lingering question is why Mr. Vance and the other professional investors who poured millions into the company and its idealistic vision didn’t place tighter controls around Mr. Webb. He was a founder with little relevant experience, surrounded by top executives who often lacked a background in farming, let alone the demanding field of controlled-environment agriculture.

“I was always puzzled why AppHarvest screwed up so badly, because they should’ve been an easier bet,” said Eric Stein, a business professor with a focus on indoor agriculture at Penn State Great Valley.

He noted that the company drew on technology long used in the Netherlands, the world leader in indoor farming. And it had ready-made customers through contracts with large distributors like Mastronardi Produce, which today operates three of the four greenhouses built by AppHarvest. While the company was adept at attracting attention, however, it lacked operational expertise.

“I don’t think you run a greenhouse with star power,” Mr. Stein said, referring to celebrity board members like Martha Stewart. “You need good horticulturalists.”

Mr. Webb, now 39, was not a horticulturalist. But he appealed to Mr. Vance, who would come to call him a “dear friend.”

After graduating from the University of Kentucky with a marketing degree in 2008, Mr. Webb tried his hand as a [*singer-songwriter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) before pausing that dream to apply for almost 150 jobs in renewable energy, by his count. He didn’t get a single interview, so he started scouting properties for solar and wind developers.

He sought out influential people. “I would go into people’s offices and say I had an appointment, and I didn’t have an appointment,” Mr. Webb said in a [*2021 interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html). (He declined to comment for this article.)

By 2014, he was hired by a government contractor for renewable energy projects. Describing the work, an AppHarvest securities filing said Mr. Webb had once “led a public-private partnership on behalf of the Department of Defense, developing what was then the largest solar project in the southeastern United States.”

But his role was more modest. Charlie Snyder, Mr. Webb’s former boss at the contractor, said Mr. Webb was a project analyst who coordinated efforts to install solar panels on military bases in Georgia, working as a middle man between the government and a large utility.

“He had big dreams that we were going to go do these massive projects, and we turned out to be facilitators,” Mr. Snyder said. “We never pushed dirt. We didn’t build anything,” though he said they had played a key supporting role in such projects.

Still, Mr. Webb was determined. In January 2017, he posted a picture on Facebook of a bedroom wall he had turned into a chalkboard to jot down business ideas. He began looking for greenhouse sites in Eastern Kentucky and launched AppHarvest the next year.

He had just “about spent everything I had,” he recalled in a Fox interview, when he reached out to Mr. Vance, whom he had met through a mutual acquaintance and who was then working for Mr. Case.

“Like I’m not leaving the room, you will have to call security,” he said of their discussions. “I don’t care what the dollar amount is. I need some money. It’s got to come from Steve. I’ll get the credibility. I’ll be able to go raise more money. So that went on for about a week to 10 days. And I got him to write a $150,000 check.”

Mr. Webb would cultivate an image as something of a countercultural entrepreneur.

“I’m anti-Wall Street — this is the first stock I’ve ever owned,” he said in 2021 of AppHarvest, while noting that he had also invested in Bitcoin and Dogecoin, a lesser known cryptocurrency that was [*a favorite*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) of the Kiss bassist Gene Simmons.

Mr. Vance has a more storied career trajectory. While he was at Yale Law School, he was [*deeply influenced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) by a 2011 speech by Mr. Thiel about the purposelessness of most high-powered jobs. Within a few years he would be working at Mr. Thiel’s venture capital firm, Mithril Capital.

But he may have seen some of himself in Mr. Webb. The two aspiring businessmen were both in their early 30s, both intent on carving careers out of Appalachian transition and both from ***working-class***, churchgoing families.

While Mr. Webb may have had limited experience, he was a skilled fund-raiser, taking in nearly $800 million from investors like the former NBA star Blake Griffin and Rupert Murdoch’s son James.

“This is psychotic to me, the amount of money we’ve raised,” Mr. Webb said in the 2021 interview. By contrast, he described running the business as far more challenging. “The reality is, none of us had a clue what we were doing.”

Mr. Webb talked about building a dozen massive greenhouses before perfecting operations at the original Morehead facility, which he said could fit “50 football fields under glass.”

Promoting the company, Mr. Vance told Axios that “we looked at lots of ag startups,” but felt that the others lacked “a really good business model.”

While Mr. Vance was on the board, the company planned to go public before it even had revenue, by merging with a special-purpose acquisition company. The strategy was then a prevailing though controversial trend on Wall Street.

AppHarvest quickly ran into problems. At Morehead, where it grew tomatoes, the company battled disease and pests and struggled to meet the grade-A standard required by Mastronardi.

Shares surged after its Nasdaq debut in February 2021 but quickly fizzled. Mr. Vance, who was mulling a Senate run, would not stay much longer. Once an outspoken Trump opponent, his rhetoric abruptly shifted.

At the time, Eastern Kentucky suffered severe flooding. Mr. Webb donated $500,000 during a telethon to aid victims. Organizers discussed including Mr. Vance as well, but dropped the idea after texting one another about controversial statements Mr. Vance had made, including a broadside assailing [*diversity training*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html), according to interviews and text traffic reviewed by The Times. (Mr. Vance [*has given to charity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) amid regional flooding, including a $10,000 check in 2022.)

When he left AppHarvest in mid-April of 2021, there were reports that his departure was related to his social media postings. He derided the idea at the time, posting that he had been talking to other board members and decided that “I’m going to keep speaking my mind, and I’d rather do that unconstrained by the demands of a public board.”

Mr. Vance remained an advocate. That July, on a podcast interview, he said one of the investments he was “most proud” of was AppHarvest. In mid-August 2021, he attended Mr. Webb’s wedding in Lexington.

But the company’s finances looked precarious after reporting a $32 million net loss that same month. Still, AppHarvest remained a darling of local politicians, including Gov. Andy Beshear, a Democrat. The company originally hired hundreds of locals, but a growing reliance on migrant, or “contract,” workers was played down. They began arriving between July and September 2021, according to public filings, although some employees recalled them coming even earlier that year.

When Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky, visited the Morehead plant in November 2021, Spanish-speaking workers were sent home, according to five greenhouse workers interviewed as part of an investigation [*published by Grist and the Kentucky Center for Investigative Reporting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/business/media/rumble-social-media-conservatives-videos.html) in 2023. The report found a chaotic corporate work environment and unsafe greenhouse conditions.

“I think we were pushed harder than what was humanly possible with it being that hot,” said Chelsie Ratliff, who worked in the Morehead greenhouse from June 2022 to May 2023.

An internal “heat mitigation” report reviewed by The Times showed that work was only fully halted if the heat index climbed past 140 degrees. Ms. Ratliff said thermometers displaying the time and temperature were often covered by gray plastic bags. She got sick from mold covering the tomato plants. She was told to work faster and take fewer bathroom breaks, and she waited three weeks for a requested N95 mask.

While Mr. Vance was involved with the company, he “was not aware of employee accounts of unsafe working conditions,” his spokesman said.

“Had he been aware, he would have taken action,” he continued.

By late 2022, the company brought in Tony Martin, an executive with experience in the indoor agriculture industry, as chief operating officer.

“Great companies have ideals, and their ideal is to employ local labor,” Mr. Martin said on a March 2023 earnings call. “But when you’re faced with a thin labor pool and a high attrition rate, oftentimes it’s difficult to attract, retain and recruit the appropriate labor force. In the United States, we can rely on contract agricultural labor.”

Alison Davis, an agricultural economics professor at the University of Kentucky, was skeptical from the start, noting that it would be hard to get a high enough price for tomatoes to justify construction and labor costs.

“It was just another attempt to save the region without really understanding what the regional needs were,” Dr. Davis said. “They just assumed coal miners would switch and suddenly pick tomatoes. That didn’t happen.”

By the time it filed for bankruptcy, AppHarvest’s 500 contract workers outnumbered its other 416 employees, only 30 percent of whom were salaried. One shareholder lawsuit accused the company of making inflated projections; Mr. Webb and other executives settled for more than $5 million. But some insiders had profited. Robert Laikin, the chairman of the acquisition company that had merged with AppHarvest, bought and sold 162,500 shares between late January and mid-March of 2021 for a profit exceeding $2.1 million.

Colin Greenspon, Narya’s chief executive and co-founder, said in a statement that “as with any transformative company, it wasn’t without risk. We, and I’m sure the many other institutions that invested in AppHarvest, are disappointed that it fell short.”

Both Mr. Vance and Mr. Webb have moved on. Mr. Vance talks a lot about his Appalachian roots while campaigning, but not about AppHarvest. Mr. Webb was among the executives awarded a $540,000 payout a week before bankruptcy was declared. He appears to be leaving tomatoes behind. The Nuclear Company, his latest venture, aims to develop new power plants. Fund-raising has already begun.

PHOTOS: Employees in a greenhouse at AppHarvest in Morehead, Ky., in 2021. The company filed for bankruptcy in 2023. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LUKE SHARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B1); During JD Vance’s brief career as a venture capitalist, he backed the start-up, AppHarvest, a now bankrupt plan to build greenhouses across Appalachia. At left, the founder and chief, Jonathan Webb, who cultivated an image as a countercultural entrepreneur. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUKE SHARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JENN ACKERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); After Mr. Vance co-founded Narya with the right-wing venture capitalist Peter Thiel, above, he briefly sat on AppHarvest’s board. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCO BELLO/GETTY IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES) (B2) This article appeared in print on page B1, B2.

**Load-Date:** October 27, 2024

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[***Paraguay Adores a Cartoon Mouse Named Mickey. Just Don't Bring Up Disney.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYW-0J11-JBG3-63DX-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Laurence Blair and MarÃ­a Magdalena ArrÃ©llaga

**Body**

One is a colossus spanning theme parks, merchandise and movies, with 150 Academy Awards, 225,000 employees and annual revenue of nearly $90 billion.

The other is a third-generation family firm with 280 workers that packages hot sauce, soy beans, multicolored sprinkles, a herb called horsetail, six varieties of panettone and seven kinds of salt for sale in Paraguayan supermarkets.

Yet Mickey (MEE-kay) is a household name to rival Disney across the little-touristed South American nation of 6.1 million. In fact, a visitor might assume they're partners.

There are the red uniforms worn by Mickey's staff. There's its family-friendly slogan: ''the obligation to be good!''

Above all, there's the cartoon mouse -- also called Mickey, and indistinguishable from Mickey Mouse -- whose iconic circular ears adorn the gates of the company's factory, its trucks and a mascot in heavy demand at Paraguayan weddings.

But don't get it twisted, said Viviana Blasco, 51, sitting in the capital, AsunciÃ³n, among Mickey-branded stationery, T-shirts, and coffee cups.

There's ''the Disney Mickey,'' said Ms. Blasco, one of five siblings who run the business, and ''the Paraguayan Mickey, our Mickey.''

Still, if the Paraguayan Mickey seems remarkably similar to the Disney one, it may not be entirely a coincidence.

Paraguayans are notoriously creative -- some would say light-fingered -- when it comes to intellectual property.

Factories churn out knockoff Nike, Lacoste, and Adidas clothing. Paraguay's educational authorities warned last year that Harvard University Paraguay -- in Ciudad del Este, the country's second-largest city and a counterfeiting hot spot -- was awarding bogus medical degrees. (The school has no connection to the more famous Harvard.)

Paraguay ranks 86th out of 125 countries in an index compiled by the Property Rights Alliance, a research institute based in Washington, scoring 1.7 out of 10 for copyright protection.

But Mickey, the Blasco family enterprise, has survived multiple legal challenges leveled by Disney.

It is also a remarkably beloved institution that speaks to Paraguay's peculiar history, gastronomy and national identity.

The Mickey saga began, Ms. Blasco said, in 1935.

Paraguay had just endured a deadly conflict with Bolivia over the Chaco, a tangle of sun-baked scrub. An earlier conflagration, the War of the Triple Alliance (1864-70), had seen Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay wipe out half of Paraguay's population.

It was still reeling from both.

Ms. Blasco's grandfather, Pascual, the son of Italian immigrants, saw an opportunity to spread some joy -- and turn a profit. He opened a tiny shop selling fruit and homemade gelato. It was called Mickey.

Exactly where the idea came from, said Ms. Blasco, remains ''something of a mystery.''

But Pascual, she said, often vacationed in Buenos Aires -- Argentina's cosmopolitan capital, known for movie theaters showing international films. Mickey Mouse was making his silver-screen debut, including in ''The Gallopin' Gaucho'' (1928).

''On one of his trips, he must have seen the famous mouse,'' Ms. Blasco said.

Whatever its origins, Mickey was a hit. A few years later, Pascual opened the Mickey Ice Cream Parlor, CafÃ© and Confectioners.

By 1969, Mickey was selling rice, sugar and baking soda in packages now decorated with the eponymous mouse. In 1978, the business moved to a factory topped by a 62-meter illuminated Christmas tree.

Ms. Blasco denied that her family had appropriated Disney's property.

''We didn't take it, we built a brand over many years. Mickey grew in parallel to Walt Disney,'' Ms. Blasco said, becoming ''deeply implanted in Paraguayan culture.''

That affinity was evident at several stores that stock Mickey products in Luque, a ***working-class*** suburb of AsunciÃ³n.

The Mickey mascot was taking photos with fans, including Lilian PavÃ³n, 54, a pediatric nurse. ''I'm a fanatic of Mickey products,'' she said, praising, in particular, the company's breadcrumbs and oregano.

But her feelings for the 7-foot felt rodent go beyond condiments, she added, as Mickey bumped fists with shoppers and distributed ring-shaped biscuits called chipa.

As children, she said, she and her friends hoarded Mickey Mouse pencil cases, notebooks and stickers. They dreamed of visiting Disneyland or Walt Disney World. But the cost of flying to Anaheim or Orlando made the pilgrimage ''impossible,'' even as an adult, Ms. PavÃ³n said.

''I'm happy just to see Mickey in places like this,'' she added, standing in the chilled meats aisle of El Cacique, a budget supermarket.

Mickey resonates with Paraguayans' sense of nostalgia, said Euge Aquino, a TV chef and social media influencer who uses its ingredients to make comfort food like pastel mandi'o (yuca and beef empanadas).

Paraguay is not known for its haute cuisine, she admitted.

It's flat, hot, and a long way from foreign foodie trends.

''Our climate is pretty difficult,'' Ms. Aquino, 41 said, ''so you cultivate and eat whatever grows.''

What grows is mainly yuca or cassava and corn, which is sacred to the native GuaranÃ­ people. But what local dishes lack in pizazz, she said, they make up for in flavor and meaning.

Paraguayans still knead yuca starch and milled corn to make chipa during Holy Week. They infuse their yerba mate with fragrant herbs like boldo, burro, and begonias. They stuff their soups, stews and casseroles with aniseed, saffron, cloves, nutmeg, paprika and cilantro, all purveyed by Mickey in serving-size sachets.

''A moment, a taste, an aroma is a memory,'' said Ms. Aquino, as a sopa paraguaya -- a spongy ''soup'' made with Mickey corn flour -- turned golden-brown in her oven. ''And that memory can generate so many emotions. It's your mom's or your grandmother's cooking.''

Mickey's popularity, she said, also has a lot to do with the mascot handing out candy outside the factory gates every Christmas: a tradition dating back to 1983.

Ms Aquino recalled feeling goose bumps as she waited outside the factory during the annual festivity in the early 1990s.

''There was no social media, there were no cellphones, there was nothing,'' Ms. Aquino said. ''Then suddenly Mickey comes along, and you're like, 'Wow!' It was madness.''

''He's a rock star,'' she said.

By now, a ''peaceful coexistence'' reigns between Mickey and its United States doppelgÃ¤nger, said Elba Rosa Britez, 72, the smaller company's lawyer.

This truce was hard-won.

In 1991, Disney filed a trademark violation claim with Paraguay's Ministry of Business and Industry that was rejected. The company then filed a lawsuit, but in 1995 a trademark tribunal ruled in Mickey's favor.

Disney appealed again, taking the dispute to Paraguay's highest court.

There, one judge agreed that Paraguayans could easily confuse the Disney Mickey and the Paraguayan Mickey.

But Disney didn't reckon on a ''legal loophole,'' Ms Britez explained.

The Mickey trademark had been registered in Paraguay since at least 1956 -- and Pascual's descendants had since renewed it -- without protest from the multinational.

In 1998, Paraguay's Supreme Court issued its final ruling. Through decades of uninterrupted use, Mickey had acquired the right to be Mickey.

''I jumped for joy,'' Ms Britez said.

Mickey's legal immunity in Paraguay, Ms. Blasco acknowledged, might not extend to selling its products abroad. ''We've never tried.''

The Paraguayan firm that represented Disney declined to comment. Disney officials did not respond to requests for comment.

During a recent national holiday, the man inside the Mickey mascot costume was warming up in an air-conditioned metal container inside the company's factory that serves as his office.

Ms. Blasco asked The New York Times to withhold Mickey's identity from the Paraguayan public to preserve some of the ''magic'' behind the mascot.

''Seeing the smiles on the kids' faces is priceless,'' the mascot said, before straightening his bow-tie and strolling out to his adoring public.

''Mickey!'' they shouted, ''Mickey!''

Mickey posed for photos, scattered sweets into strollers and passed popcorn through car windows to wide-eyed toddlers. Bus drivers honked their horns. A road-building crew waved. A worker leaned out of a garbage truck, pumped his fist and yelled: ''Hey, Mickey!''

Some lining up to meet the mascot said Mickey's David-vs-Goliath triumph against Disney filled them with national pride.

''It's nice,'' laughed Maria del Mar Caceres, 25, a stay-at-home mother. ''At least we won at something.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/world/americas/paraguay-mickey-mouse-disney.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/world/americas/paraguay-mickey-mouse-disney.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: In Paraguay, Mickey is a thirdgeneration family firm that packages hot sauce, soy beans and other grocery products. Its mascot may look familiar. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIA MAGDALENA ARRELLAGA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

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[***Inside the Battle for America’s Most Consequential Battleground State***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4Y-SSJ1-JBG3-62GW-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Kamala Harris and Donald Trump are pouring more money, time and energy into Pennsylvania than anywhere else, waging an ad war as they crisscross the state.

**Body**

Kamala Harris and Donald Trump are pouring more money, time and energy into Pennsylvania than anywhere else, waging an ad war as they crisscross the state.

When Vice President Kamala Harris rolled out her economic agenda, she went to Pittsburgh. When she unveiled her running mate, she went to Philadelphia. And when she had to pick a place for Barack Obama’s first fall rally this Thursday, it was back to Pittsburgh.

Former President Donald J. Trump has earmarked the greatest share of his advertising budget for Pennsylvania and has held more rallies in the state than in any other battleground since Ms. Harris joined the race — including two on Wednesday and three in the last week.

Welcome to the United States of Pennsylvania.

There may be seven main battlegrounds in the race for the White House in 2024, all of which could prove crucial. But Pennsylvania stands apart as the state that top strategists for both Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump have circled as the likeliest to tip the election.

Both candidates are pouring more money, time and energy into the state than anywhere else, with Ms. Harris, Mr. Trump and their allies set to spend $350 million just on television ads in Pennsylvania — $142 million more than the next closest state and more than Michigan and Wisconsin combined.

Part of Pennsylvania’s pivotal role is its sheer size: The state’s 19 electoral votes are the biggest prize of any battleground. Part of it is polling: The state has been virtually tied for months. And part of it is math: It is daunting for either Mr. Trump or, especially, Ms. Harris to reach the 270 Electoral College votes needed to win without it.

“If we win Pennsylvania,” Mr. Trump said at a recent rally in the state, “we win the whole thing.”

A ‘microcosm of America’

What makes Pennsylvania so compelling — and confounding — for both parties is the state’s unusual mix of demographic and geographic forces.

It is home to urban centers such as Philadelphia with a large population of Black voters whom Democrats must mobilize. It has fast-growing, highly educated and mostly white suburbs where Republicans have been bleeding support in the Trump years. There are struggling industrial towns where Mr. Trump needs to maximize his vote, and smaller cities booming with Latino immigrants where Ms. Harris aims to make gains. And there is a significant, albeit shrinking, rural population. White voters without college degrees, who make up Mr. Trump’s base, still account for roughly half the vote.

“This is almost a microcosm of America,” said Austin Davis, Pennsylvania’s Democratic lieutenant governor.

The campaigning in Pennsylvania is fierce and everywhere — the intensity of a mayoral street fight playing out statewide, with consequences for the whole country. Ms. Harris is running online ads targeting voters in heavily Hispanic pockets of eastern Pennsylvania and radio ads featuring Republicans voting for her on 130 rural radio stations. Her team said they knocked on 100,000 doors in the state last Saturday, the first time the campaign had reached that threshold in a day.

Mr. Trump has dispatched his running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, to make more stops in the state than in any other, according to a campaign official, and the state is also where Mr. Trump held his lone town hall with Sean Hannity on Fox News.

On Wednesday, Mr. Trump is returning for two rallies, in Scranton and Reading, his eighth and ninth in the state just since Ms. Harris entered the race. In Reading, a majority-Hispanic city, Mr. Trump has been offering free haircuts at his offices there on Sundays during Hispanic Heritage Month, according to the campaign.

And while the former first lady Melania Trump has yet to campaign anywhere, Ms. Harris’s husband, Doug Emhoff, knocked back a beer while watching a football game recently in a Philadelphia suburb and spoke at a large get-out-the-vote concert last Friday featuring the singer Jason Isbell in Pittsburgh.

The campaigns are even trying to keep key Pennsylvania activists and officials happy. It was no accident that at both the Republican and Democratic conventions, only delegates from the nominee’s home states had better seats than Pennsylvania’s.

“It’s the center of the universe,” said Cliff Maloney, who is leading a multimillion-dollar effort called the Pennsylvania Chase to get more Republicans to vote by mail in the state.

Mr. Davis, the lieutenant governor, said the last time he saw Ms. Harris, he joked that she should rent an apartment in the state. She laughed. But in September, Ms. Harris was in Pennsylvania one out of every three days — a remarkable share for a single battleground.

Gov. Josh Shapiro, a Democrat, was not selected as Ms. Harris’s running mate, but he has made numerous appearances for her, including at her rally in Wilkes-Barre, at a bus-tour kickoff in Philadelphia and at another event with the writer Shonda Rhimes in a suburb of Philadelphia.

Ms. Harris now has more than 400 staff members on payroll in the state spread across 50 offices, according to her campaign. The Trump campaign declined to comment on its Pennsylvania staff but said it had more than two dozen offices in the state.

On a recent Saturday, Ms. Harris’s Pittsburgh headquarters was abuzz with volunteers grabbing packets of literature to canvass local neighborhoods. One mother and daughter had driven through Hurricane Helene’s remnants from Illinois to volunteer. “I want to put my rubber on the road where it really matters,” Beth Hendrix, 53, said of the decision to trek to Pennsylvania.

On the wall behind them was a poster of the 65,000-seat Pittsburgh Steelers football stadium. It serves as both a door-knocking goal and a stark reminder that the excruciatingly small difference between winning and losing the state in 2016 was even less than the number of seats in the stadium.

Only 44,292 votes.

Bullishness on both sides

At times, the national race has looked shockingly local.

Ms. Harris has picked up spices at Penzeys in Pittsburgh (she purchased a creamy peppercorn dressing base, among other items), stopped by a local bookstore in Johnstown and [*grabbed Doritos*](https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1056859569133813&amp;id=100044293396335&amp;set=a.469444884541954) at a Sheetz gas station in Moon Township. Mr. Trump has swung through a Sprankle’s market in Kittanning (he bought popcorn and gave one shopper $100) and stopped for cheesesteaks at Tony and Nick’s in Philadelphia.

Just how evenly divided is Pennsylvania today? It is currently the only state in the nation where Democrats control one chamber of the State Legislature and Republicans the other. And the margin in the state’s lower chamber is a single seat. The state is also home to one of the nation’s most costly Senate races and two competitive House seats that could tip control of Congress.

Democrats are bullish that the party has won key races for governor and the Senate in recent years, including in 2022. But Republicans are optimistic because voter registration has swung sharply toward the G.O.P.

The day that Mr. Trump won Pennsylvania in 2016 there were roughly 916,000 more Democrats than Republicans in the state. As of Monday, that figure had dwindled to 325,485.

Earlier this year, one of the most competitive suburban counties ringing Philadelphia, Bucks County, tipped to the Republican column by voter registration. And in September, Luzerne County, just outside Scranton, became the latest to turn red by registration. Mr. Trump won the county in 2016 by 19 percentage points, only four years after Mr. Obama carried it narrowly.

One X factor is the regional impact of the assassination attempt on Mr. Trump in Butler County. Some local supporters predicted in interviews that it would inspire the pro-Trump area to turn out in droves. Mr. Trump held a large rally there on Saturday with guests that included the world’s richest man, Elon Musk.

Abraham Reynolds, a 23-year-old who runs a cleaning business in North East, Pa., was at the Butler rally when Mr. Trump was shot. “That really encouraged me to go out and take action,” said Mr. Reynolds, who became a campaign volunteer and is now a Trump captain.

Precision targeting

No demographic stone is being left unturned by either side.

In their debate, Ms. Harris dug deep into the state’s demographic ledger as she laced into Mr. Trump’s desire to walk away from the war in Ukraine. “Why don’t you tell the 800,000 Polish Americans right here in Pennsylvania how quickly you would give up?” she scolded him.

Mr. Trump has plotted his own appeals to that population, including a late September trip to attend mass at a Polish Catholic shrine in Bucks County on the same day as the Polish president, Andrzej Duda. The trip had to be scrapped over [*security concerns*](https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1056859569133813&amp;id=100044293396335&amp;set=a.469444884541954).

The two campaigns have also used policy as a wedge.

Mr. Trump has tried to use Ms. Harris’s opposition to fracking during her 2020 primary run to weaken her support, especially in western Pennsylvania, which is home to some of the world’s largest deposits of underground natural gas. Ms. Harris has since reversed that position.

Kenneth Broadbent, the business manager of Steamfitters Local 449 in Pittsburgh, said that his union [*had endorsed*](https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1056859569133813&amp;id=100044293396335&amp;set=a.469444884541954) Ms. Harris but that his membership remained divided. Though Ms. Harris [*gave a shout-out*](https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1056859569133813&amp;id=100044293396335&amp;set=a.469444884541954) to the jobs created by a local battery plant in her Pittsburgh economic speech, Mr. Broadbent said his members wanted to hear more about jobs.

“She needs to come out with an energy policy,” he urged.

Mr. Trump has even dangled some specific policy proposals for the state, sometimes clumsily. As president, he signed the law that eliminated deductions for state and local taxes from federal returns. As a candidate, he has promised to reverse that law.

“For all the suburban households paying high property taxes here in Pennsylvania,” he said at a recent rally in Indiana County, “I will restore the SALT deduction.” The tax break applies chiefly to high earners, and Mr. Trump was speaking in a ***working-class*** community.

Few people applauded.

“You guys don’t know what the hell it is,” Mr. Trump said of the tax break. “That’s a good one.”

Some of the most precision targeting has occurred online. Pennsylvania is the first state to top $50 million in ad spending this year on Google.

Mr. Trump’s campaign spent more than $80,000 to show one longer video on Google’s platforms, just in Philadelphia, [*about Ms. Harris’s shortcomings for the local Black community*](https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1056859569133813&amp;id=100044293396335&amp;set=a.469444884541954).

Ms. Harris, meanwhile, has been running online ads in majority Hispanic cities like Reading and using a narrator with a Caribbean accent to better appeal to Puerto Rican and Dominican populations there, according to her campaign.

“It’s a margins game,” said Dan Kanninen, Ms. Harris’s battleground states director.

Ama Sarpomaa contributed reporting.

Ama Sarpomaa contributed reporting.

PHOTO: It is daunting for either former President Donald J. Trump or, especially, Vice President Kamala Harris to reach the 270 Electoral College votes needed to win the White House without taking Pennsylvania. (PHOTOGRAPH BY New York Times photographs by Doug Mills and Erin Schaff FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 9, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why Breaking Up Google Would Be Hard to Do; DealBook Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D50-84J1-DXY4-X11F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 9, 2024 Wednesday 16:30 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; dealbook

**Length:** 1938 words

**Highlight:** The Justice Department could push for the tech giant to sell off a business to end its lock on online search. But a move would be tough to pull off.

**Body**

The Justice Department could push for the tech giant to sell off a business to end its lock on online search. But a move would be tough to pull off.

How far will Washington go?

The Justice Department has laid out [*potential remedies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) to stop Google from illegally monopolizing the online search business, and they include a nuclear option: breaking off parts of the tech giant.

It’s an important consideration for the Biden administration, which has made policing tech giants a priority. But pursuing a full-scale split would be legally risky.

The background: In August, the Justice Department won its antitrust lawsuit against Google over search. The presiding judge, Amit Mehta, [*declared the company “a monopolist”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) that took anticompetitive steps including paying Apple billions to be the default search engine on web browsers and smartphones.

Among the actions the Justice Department is considering asking for:

* Forcing Google to share some of the data that underpins its search results;

1. Preventing the tech giant from entering into search engine deals like the Apple contract;
2. Imposing “nondiscrimination” measures on Google products like Android and the Play app store.

But there was a phrase in the filing that caught many eyes: “structural remedies.” In antitrust lingo, that refers to concrete steps to change how a company operates, as opposed to “behavioral” punishments in which the corporation promises not to do something.

In other words: a divestment of a business.

The Justice Department wrote that it was considering ways to stop Google from using some of its products — such as the Chrome web browser, Play app store and the Android operating system — to illegally bolster its dominant search business. Critics of tech giants, including Tim Wu, a Columbia Law School professor and former Biden administration official, have called for a forced spinoff of Chrome or Android.

The Biden administration has talked a tough game on antitrust. It has pursued multiple cases against Google alone — the Justice Department is awaiting a verdict in a lawsuit over the company’s online advertising business — as well as lawsuits against Amazon, Meta and others.

At an event hosted by Semafor last month, Jonathan Kanter, the Justice Department’s antitrust chief, said that previous efforts to break up monopolists like AT&amp;T were necessary. He added that his office was overseeing “some of those” kinds of cases now, though he didn’t elaborate.

But asking for a breakup could be a step too far. Legal experts said that the Justice Department would have to prove that lesser fixes wouldn’t address the underlying problem. And some courts have found that forced breakups were improper, most notably in the Justice Department’s case against Microsoft two decades ago.

“Do you ask for something really big, like a breakup, knowing that that’s tilting at windmills and very unlikely to be granted by the judge?” Rebecca Haw Allensworth, a professor at Vanderbilt Law School, told The Times.

What’s next: The Justice Department will make its formal requests by next month.

* In other antitrust news: CVS Health and UnitedHealth argued that Lina Khan, the F.T.C. chair, and two other commissioners [*should recuse themselves*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) from the agency’s lawsuit against them and drug middlemen over insulin costs.

HERE’S WHAT’S HAPPENING

The U.S. deficit climbs to $1.8 trillion, the highest in three years. Tax revenues [*failed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) [*to make up for*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) rising federal government costs and the burden of making interest payments on the country’s roughly $36 trillion debt, increasing the deficit by $100 billion compared with last year. The deficit is likely to grow, with both Vice President Kamala Harris and Donald Trump outlining plans that will cost trillions over the next decade and be financed by borrowing more.

Chinese stock markets tumble on economic stimulus jitters. The CSI 300 Index of Shanghai- and Shenzhen-listed shares [*fell*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) more than 7 percent on Wednesday, reversing a two-week rally. The sell-off comes as investors hope that Beijing will detail its plans to revive the world’s second-largest economy on top of the monetary measures announced last month.

Google executives win the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for their work on proteins. Demis Hassabis and John Jumper of Google DeepMind [*won the award*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) for creating AlphaFold2, an artificial intelligence tool that can map human proteins in minutes. They share the prize with David Baker of the University of Washington, for his breakthroughs on computational protein design that has advanced the discovery of new medicines. The award was announced a day after [*Geoffrey Hinton,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) a former Google A.I. researcher, won the Nobel Prize for Physics.

A $200 billion storm?

Florida is under one of its largest evacuation orders in the state’s history, with Hurricane Milton [*regaining strength*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) on Wedneday as it barrels toward Florida. The Category 4 behemoth is expected to [*strike the Gulf Coast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) on Wednesday or early Thursday and could end up being the most economically damaging storm ever.

Even in an age of monster superstorms, Milton could be one for the record books. It’s approaching just as federal officials warned that Washington was fast [*running out of disaster relief funds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html).

The Tampa and Fort Myers regions could see property losses that together top $240 billion, analysts at Jefferies, the investment bank, [*said in a research note*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html). That would make Milton [*the costliest hurricane in U.S. history*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) — surpassing Katrina in 2005 ($192.5 billion).

Here’s the latest:

* Millions of residents have been ordered to flee and airports, including in [*Tampa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) and Orlando, [*have closed, or soon will*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html).

1. Businesses could be disrupted for days, and big companies including [*Target*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) and [*Walt Disney World*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) have shut or will curtail operations.

The storm is again highlighting America’s precarious insurance market. Even before hurricane season, Fed officials had [*singled out escalating costs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) for various types of insurance as driving inflation.

The [*new risk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html): that rising premiums, especially in climate-vulnerable California and on the Gulf Coast, are weighing on businesses, homeowners and lenders, and could prompt a wave of foreclosures.

Government agencies are also warning of a funding shortfall. Small Business Administration officials on Tuesday said the agency had less than $100 million in funding for new disaster loans for homeowners and businesses. The agency warned that unless Congress addressed the shortfall, it would “very soon” not be able to meet new applications.

And President Biden has said that the Federal Emergency Management Agency had enough money only to manage the immediate response.

The hurricanes are getting some attention on the campaign trail. In the aftermath of Hurricane Helene, disinformation online has marred relief efforts. Officials in North Carolina and at FEMA have [*warned about their safety*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) amid an influx of false rumors and conspiracy theories, including a [*false claim*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) by Donald Trump that FEMA has funneled disaster relief money to migrants.

Vice President Kamala Harris has defended the Biden administration’s response, and called Trump’s claims “[*the height of irresponsibility*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html).” Still, climate change barely ranks as a top issue among voters, [*especially for Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html).

A reminder of where the candidates [*stand on climate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html):

* Harris calls it a significant threat, and through the Inflation Reduction Act, has pushed for billions of dollars in spending for green-transition technology and disaster mitigation initiatives.

1. Trump has threatened to gut the I.R.A., and has called climate change “[*one of the greatest scams of all time*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html).”

“We’ve made it hard to go public.”

— [*Jamie Dimon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html). The JPMorgan Chase C.E.O. told Bloomberg Television that British and American regulators had made it too hard for companies to execute an initial public offering.

A question of cost for Harris’s big new proposal

Vice President Kamala Harris spent Tuesday on a media blitz that included interviews on [*Howard Stern*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html)’s radio show, “[*The View*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html)” and “[*The Late Show With Stephen Colbert.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html)”

The discussions largely stuck to safe political terrain. But Harris, who has been criticized for not spelling out detailed policies or doing many interviews at all, delivered a specific new idea: a proposal to [*cover health care at home*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html), potentially financed by going after high drug costs.

What Harris wants to do: cover long-term care at home for people on Medicare. The number of Americans needing home care is expected to grow significantly as the population ages and lives longer, but anything that lasts more than a few months is “the biggest gap in Medicare,” David Grabowski, a health policy expert at Harvard, told The Times.

It’s worth noting that the [*2024 Republican Party platform*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) also mentions “at-home senior care” as a policy priority.

Harris would finance the hugely expensive plan in part by going after drug middlemen. Such a proposal could cost hundreds of billions of dollars. But her campaign says that it can find funding by [*cracking down on pharmacy benefit managers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html), companies that negotiate prices with drug makers for employers and governments but have been accused of driving up prices to pad their profits.

Mark Cuban, a high-profile Harris backer whose Cost Plus Drugs venture is trying to bypass pharmaceutical middlemen, supported the idea. “However big you think this is for healthcare,” [*he wrote on X*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html), “it’s far, far bigger.”

Donald Trump’s plan on drug pricing is less clear. The Republican candidate hasn’t focused on the topic during his campaign, but last week he reversed his position on tying drug prices to what other wealthy countries pay.

* In other election news: Democrats are said to be worried that Harris isn’t [*winning over* ***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) in battleground states, though both campaigns are spending more time, money and energy in [*Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) than anywhere else. Also, Bob Woodward’s latest book, citing an unnamed aide, reports that Trump has [*repeatedly spoken with Vladimir Putin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) since leaving office.

THE SPEED READ

Deals

* Alimentation Couche-Tard, the Canadian convenience store operator, is said to have [*raised its takeover bid for Seven &amp; i*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html), the owner of the 7-Eleven chain, to $47.2 billion. (Bloomberg)

1. Cerebras Systems, a maker of chips for artificial intelligence, is reportedly [*likely to postpone its I.P.O.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) as a national security review of an Emirati firm’s investment in the company drags on. (Reuters)
2. Rio Tinto agreed to [*buy Arcadium Lithium*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html), a major producer of a key commodity for electric vehicles, for $6.7 billion. (WSJ)
3. Pfizer’s C.E.O., Albert Bourla, is said to plan a [*meeting with Starboard Value*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html), the activist investor looking to shake up the drug giant. (FT)

Elections, politics and policy

* [*Crypto.com sued the S.E.C.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html)after the regulator indicated that it might take the cryptocurrency exchange to court for operating as an unregistered broker-dealer. (Bloomberg)

1. “[*Mexico Wants to Curb Chinese Imports*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) With Help From U.S. Companies” (WSJ)

Best of the rest

* CBS News’s rebuke of the anchor Tony Dokoupil over his interview with the writer Ta-Nehisi Coates was reportedly [*criticized by Shari Redstone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html), the controlling shareholder of the network’s parent company, Paramount. (WSJ)

1. A new HBO documentary purports to have [*discovered the identity of Satoshi Nakamoto*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html), the pseudonymous creator of Bitcoin — and argues why that matters. (NYT)
2. “The [*Turf War Between Tennis and Pickleball*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html) Is Escalating” (WSJ)

We’d like your feedback! Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/technology/google-search-antitrust.html).

PHOTO: The Biden administration may ask for a breakup of Google to end the tech giant’s lock on search. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jason Henry for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 9, 2024

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[***The Importance of Books in Our Lives; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CWY-YWB1-JBG3-6284-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 6, 2024 Friday 12:30 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1238 words

**Highlight:** Readers share their love of books in response to Margaret Renkl’s essay. Also: Taxes on the superrich; teaching the Bible; nurturing friendships.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*Our Bookshelves, Ourselves*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/26/opinion/in-praise-of-overstuffed-bookshelves.html),” by Margaret Renkl (Opinion guest essay, Aug. 29):

On Oct. 6 last year, my three children and I lost our home and our dog, Lulu, in a fire.

Of all the objects that were lost that day, the loss of our books has been the most difficult to absorb, and grief over their loss appears in odd, unpredictable ways. (For example, my youngest son has refused to even look at the replacement copy of “The Wild Robot” that I bought him within days of the blaze.)

The books that we were in the middle of reading. The books with jam smears and with water marks from splashy tub read-out-loud sessions. My duct-taped copy of “Women Who Run With the Wolves.” The underlines, the earmarks, the smell of used books that were previously owned by libraries.

This article made me cry with joy and relief. And it made all four of us feel somehow comforted knowing there are people who might understand that what was lost was irreplaceable.

Niki Leffingwell

Missoula, Mont.

To the Editor:

Like Margaret Renkl, I’m a bibliophile. I’ve been a member of the same book club for 33 years. My family writes books and writes in books, and I am incapable of walking past a Little Free Library without stopping.

Recently, I’ve grown to love audiobooks, too; my husband, Rob, and I listen during road trips. I loved the evocative narrations of “James,” “Circe,” “Hamnet” and “Their Eyes Were Watching God,” and William Hootkins’s interpretation of “Moby-Dick,” a masterpiece that neither Rob nor I had conquered on our own.

Yet I agree with Ms. Renkl: “I will always prefer a book I can hold in my hand.” I like underlining the good parts, scribbling in the margins and shelving a beloved novel among favorites from other chapters of my life. I even have two designated bookshelves for signed books: Tom Wolfe, Sue Grafton, Dr. Spock, Mario Vargas Llosa.

Best of all, I kept the picture books I read to my kids — and now I read them to my grandkids. I hope they’ll be bibliophiles, too.

Carol Weston

Armonk, N.Y.

The writer is the author of “Girltalk,” “Speed of Life” and 14 other books.

To the Editor:

As a retired English teacher, I understand exactly the problem that Margaret Renkl is facing with the sudden arrival of lovingly collected books that must suddenly make the journey from office to home, a home decorated already with tons of books.

Friends, colleagues, even libraries weren’t interested in adopting mine. My solution was to open an Amazon sellers’ account. Because I was retired, I had time to select books that I could live without, list them, then package and mail them when they sold, and I sold a lot of books.

I was often competing with other sellers, so I didn’t do it to become rich. I made enough to pay for my time and trouble, and it felt wonderful to place a book into the hands of someone somewhere who really wanted it. And it sure felt good to get so many of them out of boxes to bring knowledge and pleasure to others.

Carolyn McGrath

Charlottesville, Va.

A Democratic Plan to Increase Taxes on the Superrich

To the Editor:

Re “[*Big Donors Ask Harris to Ditch Tax on Richest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/26/opinion/in-praise-of-overstuffed-bookshelves.html)” (front page, Aug. 31), about a plan in the latest White House budget proposal that would require Americans worth at least $100 million to pay taxes on investment gains even if they have not sold the assets:

I find it interesting that while Kamala Harris needs to win a greater share of white ***working-class*** voters to decisively beat Donald Trump in the November presidential election, her donors suggest a policy shift that would result in just the opposite.

This article states that billionaire donors to Ms. Harris are urging her to drop the proposal to increase taxes on the superrich.

Poll after poll shows that increased taxes on the very rich is politically popular. A [*Bloomberg News/Morning Consult poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/26/opinion/in-praise-of-overstuffed-bookshelves.html) earlier this year showed that 69 percent of registered voters in seven swing states favored higher taxes on billionaires, including 58 percent of Republicans.

While many pundits call for Ms. Harris to move to the center on policy to increase her chances of winning, the fact is that progressive economic policies (raising minimum wage to $15 an hour, increasing the child tax credit, expanding Medicare coverage to include vision and dental) are popular. They are good policy and good politics.

I sincerely hope that Vice President Harris has the good sense to listen to the voters, and not her billionaire donors.

Philip Fiermonte

Venice, Fla.

To the Editor:

As both a retiree and a longtime registered Democrat whose net worth is a far cry from $100 million, I still remain strongly opposed to any policy change that would tax appreciation in unsold assets.

Retirees at most asset levels are wisely advised to keep as much of their money invested beyond that necessary to meet required minimum distributions or otherwise needed. Since retirees are no longer earning offsetting employment income, they understandably want as much of their assets to grow tax-free until such time as they need it. Each dollar of appreciated assets that remains under investment can grow and generate additional income, which will be eventually be taxed.

If people are taxed based on market appreciation of unsold assets, what happens if the market tumbles and assets on which you were taxed have now fallen significantly in value? The principle remains the same whether the threshold on assets is $100 million, $1 million or $100,000. You’ve just taxed a person on money they had wisely continued to save.

While I’m all for the graduated income tax, this one is unfair at any level.

John B. Sprung

Boca Raton, Fla.

The writer is a retired financial services attorney.

How to Teach the Bible

To the Editor:

Re “[*Oklahoma Districts Resist Edict on Bibles in Classes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/26/opinion/in-praise-of-overstuffed-bookshelves.html)” (news article, Aug. 23):

If teachers in public schools are required to teach the Bible in the classroom, they should teach it as they would any other historical document or book of literature.

Teach the good, the bad and the ugly. Create a curriculum that encourages debate over whether this is a book of fact, fiction or mythology. Teach students that this book was written (and rewritten) decades and centuries after what it describes, based on oral history, and discuss the weaknesses of such sources as fact. Have students debate the benefits and drawbacks of a society based on the teachings of the Bible versus a constitution. Devote a portion of the curriculum to other religious books and teachings, including those of Native Americans.

Or they could just abide by the freedom of religion we have as Americans and leave the promotion, interpretation and teachings of the Bible to religious institutions.

Robert Calotta

New Windsor, N.Y.

Nurturing Friendships

To the Editor:

“[*Four Strategies to Deepen Friendships — and Add Some Fun*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/26/opinion/in-praise-of-overstuffed-bookshelves.html)” (Here to Help, Sept. 1) suggests several ways to maintain and nurture friendships. Here is ours.

We are two retired professors who’ve been friends since college. We live 2,000 miles apart but “meet” every Sunday morning to share our insights about that day’s issue of The New York Times.

We laugh at the craziness, share in the endless sorrows and despair over the short-term but lucrative choices, like the continued use of fossil fuels, still being made despite their proven contribution to environmental degradation and human suffering.

Charlene Haddock Seigfried

Judith Remy Leder

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Katherine Wolkoff/Trunk Archive FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 6, 2024

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[***Paraguay Loves Mickey, Its Cartoon Mouse. Disney Doesn’t.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYK-NX01-DXY4-X002-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 14, 2024 Saturday 20:43 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1437 words

**Byline:** Laurence Blair and María Magdalena Arréllaga

**Highlight:** Mickey, a homegrown food-packaging company, is famous for facing down Disney in Paraguay’s Supreme Court. As the family business turns 90, why is it still so popular?

**Body**

One is a colossus spanning theme parks, merchandise and movies, with 150 Academy Awards, 225,000 employees and annual revenue of nearly $90 billion.

The other is a third-generation family firm with 280 workers that packages hot sauce, soy beans, multicolored sprinkles, a herb called horsetail, six varieties of panettone and seven kinds of salt for sale in Paraguayan supermarkets.

Yet Mickey (MEE-kay) is a household name to rival Disney across the little-touristed South American nation of 6.1 million. In fact, a visitor might assume they’re partners.

There are the red uniforms worn by Mickey’s staff. There’s its family-friendly [*slogan*](https://mickey.com.py/): “the obligation to be good!”

Above all, there’s the cartoon mouse — also called Mickey, and indistinguishable from Mickey Mouse — whose iconic circular ears adorn the gates of the company’s factory, its trucks and a [*mascot*](https://www.tiktok.com/@mickeyparaguay?lang=en) in heavy demand at Paraguayan weddings.

But don’t get it twisted, said Viviana Blasco, 51, sitting in the capital, Asunción, among Mickey-branded stationery, T-shirts, and coffee cups.

There’s “the Disney Mickey,” said Ms. Blasco, one of five siblings who run the business, and “the Paraguayan Mickey, our Mickey.”

Still, if the Paraguayan Mickey seems remarkably similar to the Disney one, it may not be entirely a coincidence.

Paraguayans are notoriously creative — some would say light-fingered — when it comes to intellectual property.

Factories churn out [*knockoff*](https://www.ultimahora.com/fiscalia-allana-fabrica-textil-ciudad-del-este-presunta-imitacion-marcas-n3057857) Nike, Lacoste, and Adidas clothing. Paraguay’s educational authorities [*warned*](https://www.abc.com.py/nacionales/2023/11/20/harvard-university-paraguay-cones-advierte-sobre-publicidad-de-ofertas-educativas-no-habilitadas/) last year that Harvard University Paraguay — in Ciudad del Este, the country’s second-largest city and a counterfeiting [*hot spot*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2015/05/18/counterfeit-goods-are-big-business-in-paraguay/27191575/) — was [*awarding*](https://harvard.com.py/en/lp-cursos-en/) bogus medical degrees. (The school has no connection to the more famous Harvard.)

Paraguay [*ranks*](https://www.internationalpropertyrightsindex.org/country/paraguay) 86th out of 125 countries in an index compiled by the Property Rights Alliance, a research institute based in Washington, scoring 1.7 out of 10 for copyright protection.

But Mickey, the Blasco family enterprise, has survived multiple legal challenges leveled by Disney.

It is also a remarkably beloved institution that speaks to Paraguay’s peculiar history, gastronomy and national identity.

The Mickey saga began, Ms. Blasco said, in 1935.

Paraguay had just endured a deadly [*conflict*](https://www.britannica.com/event/Chaco-War) with Bolivia over the Chaco, a tangle of sun-baked scrub. An earlier conflagration, the War of the Triple Alliance (1864-70), had seen Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay [*wipe out*](https://www.britannica.com/event/War-of-the-Triple-Alliance) half of Paraguay’s population.

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Exactly where the idea came from, said Ms. Blasco, remains “something of a mystery.”

But Pascual, she said, often vacationed in Buenos Aires — Argentina’s cosmopolitan capital, [*known*](https://www.iaa.fadu.uba.ar/publicaciones/critica/0012.pdf) for movie theaters showing international films. Mickey Mouse was making his silver-screen debut, including in “[*The Gallopin’ Gaucho*](https://d23.com/this-day/the-gallopin-gaucho-is-released/)” (1928).

“On one of his trips, he must have seen the famous mouse,” Ms. Blasco said.

Whatever its origins, Mickey was a hit. A few years later, Pascual [*opened*](https://mickey.com.py/nosotros/#historia) the Mickey Ice Cream Parlor, Café and Confectioners.

By 1969, Mickey was selling rice, sugar and baking soda in packages now decorated with the eponymous mouse. In 1978, the business moved to a factory topped by a 62-meter illuminated [*Christmas tree*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5mrWXtMAHsk).

Ms. Blasco denied that her family had appropriated Disney’s property.

“We didn’t take it, we built a brand over many years. Mickey grew in parallel to Walt Disney,” Ms. Blasco said, becoming “deeply implanted in Paraguayan culture.”

That affinity was evident at several stores that stock Mickey products in Luque, a ***working-class*** suburb of Asunción.

The Mickey mascot was taking photos with fans, including Lilian Pavón, 54, a pediatric nurse. “I’m a fanatic of Mickey products,” she said, praising, in particular, the company’s [*breadcrumbs*](https://mickey.com.py/product/galleta-molida/) and oregano.

But her feelings for the 7-foot felt rodent go beyond condiments, she added, as Mickey bumped fists with shoppers and distributed ring-shaped biscuits called chipa.

As children, she said, she and her friends hoarded Mickey Mouse pencil cases, notebooks and stickers. They dreamed of visiting Disneyland or Walt Disney World. But the cost of flying to [*Anaheim*](https://disneyland.disney.go.com/destinations/disneyland/) or [*Orlando*](https://disneyworld.disney.go.com/) made the pilgrimage “impossible,” even as an adult, Ms. Pavón said.

“I’m happy just to see Mickey in places like this,” she added, standing in the chilled meats aisle of El Cacique, a budget supermarket.

Mickey resonates with Paraguayans’ sense of nostalgia, said Euge Aquino, a TV chef and social media [*influencer*](https://www.instagram.com/aquino_euge/?hl=en) who uses its ingredients to make comfort food like pastel mandi’o (yuca and beef empanadas).

Paraguay is not known for its [*haute cuisine*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/03/07/travel/things-to-do-asuncion-paraguay.html?), she admitted.

It’s flat, hot, and a long way from foreign foodie trends.

“Our climate is pretty difficult,” Ms. Aquino, 41 said, “so you cultivate and eat whatever grows.”

What grows is mainly [*yuca*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassava) or cassava and corn, which is sacred to the native Guaraní people. But what local dishes lack in pizazz, she said, they make up for in flavor and meaning.

Paraguayans still knead yuca starch and milled corn to make chipa during Holy Week. They infuse their yerba mate with fragrant herbs like boldo, burro, and [*begonias*](https://mickey.com.py/product/siempre-vive/). They stuff their soups, stews and casseroles with aniseed, saffron, cloves, nutmeg, paprika and cilantro, all purveyed by Mickey in serving-size sachets.

“A moment, a taste, an aroma is a memory,’’ said Ms. Aquino, as a sopa paraguaya — a [*spongy “soup”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/23/dining/sopa-paraguaya.html) made with Mickey corn flour — turned golden-brown in her oven. “And that memory can generate so many emotions. It’s your mom’s or your grandmother’s cooking.’’

Mickey’s popularity, she said, also has a lot to do with the mascot handing out candy outside the factory gates every Christmas: a tradition dating back to 1983.

Ms Aquino recalled feeling goose bumps as she waited outside the factory during the annual festivity in the early 1990s.

“There was no social media, there were no cellphones, there was nothing,” Ms. Aquino said. “Then suddenly Mickey comes along, and you’re like, ‘Wow!’ It was madness.”

“He’s a rock star,” she said.

By now, a “peaceful coexistence” reigns between Mickey and its United States doppelgänger, said [*Elba Rosa Britez*](https://www.pstbn.com.py/en/elba-rosa-britez-ingles/), 72, the smaller company’s lawyer.

This truce was hard-won.

In 1991, Disney filed a trademark violation claim with Paraguay’s Ministry of Business and Industry that was rejected. The company then filed a lawsuit, but in 1995 a trademark tribunal ruled in Mickey’s favor.

Disney appealed again, taking the dispute to Paraguay’s highest court.

There, one judge agreed that Paraguayans could easily confuse the Disney Mickey and the Paraguayan Mickey.

But Disney didn’t reckon on a “legal loophole,” Ms Britez explained.

The Mickey trademark had been registered in Paraguay since at least 1956 — and Pascual’s descendants had since renewed it — without protest from the multinational.

In 1998, Paraguay’s Supreme Court issued its final ruling. Through decades of uninterrupted use, Mickey had acquired the right to be Mickey.

“I jumped for joy,” Ms Britez said.

Mickey’s legal immunity in Paraguay, Ms. Blasco acknowledged, might not extend to selling its products abroad. “We’ve never tried.”

The Paraguayan firm that represented Disney declined to comment. Disney officials did not respond to requests for comment.

During a recent national holiday, the man inside the Mickey mascot costume was warming up in an air-conditioned metal container inside the company’s factory that serves as his office.

Ms. Blasco asked The New York Times to withhold Mickey’s identity from the Paraguayan public to preserve some of the “magic” behind the mascot.

“Seeing the smiles on the kids’ faces is priceless,” the mascot said, before straightening his bow-tie and strolling out to his adoring public.

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Mickey posed for photos, scattered sweets into strollers and passed popcorn through car windows to wide-eyed toddlers. Bus drivers honked their horns. A road-building crew waved. A worker leaned out of a garbage truck, pumped his fist and yelled: “Hey, Mickey!”

Some lining up to meet the mascot said Mickey’s David-vs-Goliath triumph against Disney filled them with national pride.

“It’s nice,” laughed Maria del Mar Caceres, 25, a stay-at-home mother. “At least we won at something.”

PHOTO: In Paraguay, Mickey is a thirdgeneration family firm that packages hot sauce, soy beans and other grocery products. Its mascot may look familiar. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIA MAGDALENA ARRELLAGA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

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[***Paraguay Adores a Cartoon Mouse Named Mickey. Just Don't Bring Up Disney.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYM-2P31-DXY4-X032-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 14, 2024 Saturday

The New York Times on the Web

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

**Length:** 1424 words

**Byline:** By Laurence Blair and MarÃ­a Magdalena ArrÃ©llaga

**Body**

One is a colossus spanning theme parks, merchandise and movies, with 150 Academy Awards, 225,000 employees and annual revenue of nearly $90 billion.

The other is a third-generation family firm with 280 workers that packages hot sauce, soy beans, multicolored sprinkles, a herb called horsetail, six varieties of panettone and seven kinds of salt for sale in Paraguayan supermarkets.

Yet Mickey (MEE-kay) is a household name to rival Disney across the little-touristed South American nation of 6.1 million. In fact, a visitor might assume they're partners.

There are the red uniforms worn by Mickey's staff. There's its family-friendly slogan: ''the obligation to be good!''

Above all, there's the cartoon mouse -- also called Mickey, and indistinguishable from Mickey Mouse -- whose iconic circular ears adorn the gates of the company's factory, its trucks and a mascot in heavy demand at Paraguayan weddings.

But don't get it twisted, said Viviana Blasco, 51, sitting in the capital, AsunciÃ³n, among Mickey-branded stationery, T-shirts, and coffee cups.

There's ''the Disney Mickey,'' said Ms. Blasco, one of five siblings who run the business, and ''the Paraguayan Mickey, our Mickey.''

Still, if the Paraguayan Mickey seems remarkably similar to the Disney one, it may not be entirely a coincidence.

Paraguayans are notoriously creative -- some would say light-fingered -- when it comes to intellectual property.

Factories churn out knockoff Nike, Lacoste, and Adidas clothing. Paraguay's educational authorities warned last year that Harvard University Paraguay -- in Ciudad del Este, the country's second-largest city and a counterfeiting hot spot -- was awarding bogus medical degrees. (The school has no connection to the more famous Harvard.)

Paraguay ranks 86th out of 125 countries in an index compiled by the Property Rights Alliance, a research institute based in Washington, scoring 1.7 out of 10 for copyright protection.

But Mickey, the Blasco family enterprise, has survived multiple legal challenges leveled by Disney.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/world/americas/paraguay-mickey-mouse-disney.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/world/americas/paraguay-mickey-mouse-disney.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY MarÃ­a Magdalena ArrÃ©llaga for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2024

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[***‘I Said, ‘What’s Your Plan About Marriage and Dating?’ And There Was Silence.’; Jane Coaston***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BDS-HFJ1-JBG3-61JK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 26, 2024 Monday 10:19 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2501 words

**Byline:** Jane Coaston Jane Coaston was the host of Opinion&amp;#8217;s podcast &amp;#8220;The Argument.&amp;#8221; Previously, she reported on conservative politics, the G.O.P. and the rise of the right. She also co-hosted the podcast &amp;#8220;The Weeds.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** Conservative-leaning intellectuals want more people to get married. But how does that actually happen? Jane Coaston interviews Brad Wilcox.

**Body**

As of 2021, [*around 25 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) of 40-year-old Americans are not married — the highest percentage ever recorded. While [*divorce rates have plummeted*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) from their early 1980s high, fewer people are choosing to marry in the first place. Why?

Yes, around two million Americans get married every year (and you probably have the save-the-dates on your refrigerator door to prove it). But a rising number of people aren’t, even people in long-term partnered relationships. They aren’t getting married for any number of reasons, whether that’s distrust of the institution of marriage or the potential loss of access to federal benefits or a belief that marriage just doesn’t fit their needs. But in his new book, “Get Married: Why Americans Must Defy the Elites, Forge Strong Families, and Save Civilization,” the University of Virginia professor Brad Wilcox argues that marriage is more important than ever for individuals and for the country.

I spoke with Dr. Wilcox about getting married, staying married and whether the government should help individuals find partners. This interview has been edited for length and clarity and is part of an Opinion Q. and A. series exploring modern conservatism today, its influence in society and politics and how and why it differs (and doesn’t) from the conservative movement that most Americans thought they knew.

Jane Coaston: Why don’t more people get married now, in your opinion? How did we get to this point where, as you write, we are seeing the “closing of the American heart”?

Brad Wilcox: Part of the story here is the emergence of [*what I call*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) a Midas mind-set, where too many Americans, too many young adults especially, are either explicitly or implicitly assuming that life is about education, money and especially work. One [*Pew study*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) found that for Americans in general, 71 percent thought having a job or career they enjoy is the path toward fulfillment and getting married was the path for only 23 percent. We’ve also seen the falling fortunes of men, especially men who don’t have college degrees. They’re much less connected to the work force and they’re less attractive for that reason in part.

About one in four men in their prime, 25 to 54, are not working full time, and those men are less likely to get married in the first place and more likely to get divorced if they do marry. We could talk about how the rise of expressive individualism since the late ’60s and early ’70s has kind of changed what Americans expect from love and marriage and made them less famalistic in their orientation. Finally, there’s growing secularization and the ways in which public policies often end up penalizing marriage today, particularly among the ***working class***. So it’s a perfect storm of cultural policy and economic developments that have made marriage less important for some and less accessible for others. And that’s why we’re seeing fewer and fewer Americans opening their hearts to marriage today.

[Last month the Bureau of Labor Statistics [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) that about 16 percent of the entire 25-to-54 male population is not employed, and the labor force participation for men without college degrees is regularly [*lower*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) than their counterparts with degrees.]

Coaston: Many people would agree with you about the importance of marriage, but they’d argue that’s why they aren’t doing it. They take marriage too seriously, and they don’t want to commit too early, or they don’t think that they are the right people to get married.

Wilcox: I think that’s a great point. I think one of the challenges facing all of us is that our culture, our pop culture in some ways especially, will often give us what I call the soul-mate myth. And it’s this idea that there’s some perfect person out there waiting for you and that once you find them and love them and then marry them, you’ll have this perfect connection that engenders intense emotional connection, sense of romance, passion that in turn leads you to be happy and fulfilled most of the time. I think there’s a kind of naïveté that we have around the soul-mate myth, rather than recognizing that we’re all flawed.

Any kind of serious relationship, including marriage, is going to be at times deeply challenging and hard and require a lot of work. So I think kind of having a more realistic understanding of the way that love and marriage tend to work out for most of us would be helpful in reducing the expectations and making people more realistic about it. Having a list of, in a sense, four or five nonnegotiables for a potential spouse but not a list that extends to 20 items.

Of course, not everyone should get married or obviously can get married today and I don’t want to lose sight of that. In terms of this broader discussion, though, it looks like a large share of young adults today will never marry.

Coaston: How do you respond to people who [*argue*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) that amid all of this conversation about the importance of marriage, a bad marriage could be damaging for children?

Wilcox: It’s important to acknowledge that there’s a good bit of research that high-conflict marriages are bad for children. We’re talking about things like domestic violence, regular screaming, fights in the kitchen, whatever it might be. Psychologists and family scholars have ways of measuring how much conflict there is between parents and then again, in different sets of research, they find that high-conflict marriages are bad for kids. But what they find is that when divorce happens in lower-conflict situations for married parents, that ends up being bad for kids because it’s associated with having to sell your house and split your household between two different properties.

[Dr. Wilcox pointed to [*research*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) done by Paul Amato and Alan Booth. In one paper with Laura Spencer Loomis, for instance, the researchers found, based on a longitudinal study conducted in the 1980s and early ’90s, worse outcomes for the children of high-conflict marriages, in which the parents remained married and did not divorce, and for the children of low-conflict marriages that ended in divorce.]

There’s the emotional difficulties and trauma associated with divorce for kids — different routines, different households, different expectations now between the two sets of parents. This also sends kids a signal that they can have less faith in love and marriage because from their perspective, their parents might’ve seemed reasonably OK and then they’ve broken off their marriage.

Maybe one parent is depressed. Maybe one parent feels like they’re growing apart from their spouse. Maybe they’re experiencing some kind of sexual difficulty. I was just talking to a pastor here in Charlottesville yesterday, and he was saying he’s been counseling folks who are not having sex, and there are reasons why that’s the case, but to sort of help people move beyond these situations for the sake of their kids but also to help them repair their own marriages as well.

Coaston: You bring up in the book “Nikki Haleyism” and the ways the Republican Party has failed to support families. Can you tell me more about that? What is Nikki Haleyism?

Wilcox: So it’s this basic idea that we can hearken back to President Ronald Reagan and assumes that the answer to many of our problems, including our family problems, is just less regulation and lower taxes — that a booming economy lifts all boats. And that we shouldn’t be thinking about measures to expand the child tax credit. We shouldn’t be thinking deeply about the ways in which a lot of our young men and teenage boys are struggling in this new economy and in this current culture.

Coaston: Something the book doesn’t get into is how to get married, how to find a partner who wishes to marry. Is that something you think that the government should perhaps play a role in as well?

Wilcox: No. But we can think about civil society and family doing a better job of trying to connect young adults, potential partners. We’re facing a kind of demographic tsunami of sorts when it comes to marriage and childbearing, where a large minority may never marry, never have kids. And so I think parents, professors, teachers, peers, good friends should be a lot more intentional about connecting their friends, their children, their students to potential prospects who would be good for dating and then maybe for marriage down the road.

Coaston: You argue that “not enough male teachers, too little recess, books that don’t speak to the male imagination, and intolerance to the boisterous spirit of boys in our nation’s schools are among the many factors driving” unmotivated boys and men. What are the alternatives, given that girls seem to be succeeding just fine and men have been discouraged from the teaching profession, including by conservatives?

Wilcox: So I would certainly agree with Richard Reeves here that we should do more to get men in the teaching professions, and I would disagree with my fellow conservatives who discouraged men on that front. I think giving our younger boys more recess is one kind of thing that could be helpful. I think doing more to revive single-sex classes and schools would be helpful here as well in terms of recognizing that oftentimes there is a distinctive approach to schooling and social life that school-aged boys have and that we could work with that grain rather than against it. And thinking about the kinds of stories you tell in class or have the kids read in class, the kinds of historical subjects that get front-loaded. We also just need to give higher priority to strengthening vocational tracks in our high schools, which would I think give a lot of young men who are not on that striver path, not just a pathway toward better-paying careers and good jobs, but a clear sense of their own self-worth.

[Richard Reeves, who wrote a widely [*discussed*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) book about the struggles of men and boys, has [*argued*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument) that more men should become teachers.]

Coaston: Some people have children together, they already share a home, but they aren’t married. What are ways to urge them to get married?

Wilcox: There is a marriage penalty associated oftentimes with a lot of our means-tested programs like Medicaid, for instance, and food stamps. If you go above that income threshold, you often lose the benefit or you’ll lose some part of the benefit. I think one thing we could do is to double the threshold for means-tested programs and policies like Medicaid for married versus single parents to reduce the effect of that penalty. One ***working-class*** Virginia couple I spoke to, for instance, had two young daughters. The mom and the two kids were on the Medicaid program here in Virginia, but they hadn’t gotten married, in large part because they didn’t want to lose access to Medicaid. His job did not provide health care insurance.

I was recently doing an event at a local restaurant here and talking about marriage. And afterward a waitress at the restaurant came up to me and conveyed the same scenario. Her partner was actually a chef in the restaurant. They have two kids, she and her two kids are on Medicaid in Virginia, and they’re not married, even though they have come to consider themselves to be married, because of this concern. So we have to think about ways to do no harm with our public policies targeting, especially ***working-class*** couples with kids.

Coaston: How do you think contemporary politics and the role of hypocrisy has impacted marriage rates. Or has it?

Wilcox: There are plenty of examples on the Republican side where we’re seeing Republican leaders behave badly when it comes to marriage. That’s clearly part of our problem, I would say. It also explains why some of our Republican leaders or conservative leaders are actually not very good at articulating a marriage-friendly message. I also talk in the book about how many of our elites, primarily on the left, are inverted hypocrites. They’re living better lives in private than they’re kind of standing for in public. And so I think we often have elites who are either publicly deriding or devaluing marriage or who are kind of practically denying its value.

So I talk about people ranging from Hollywood moguls to Washington editors who are living very kind of neotraditional family lives. They’re stably married, they’re prosperous, both they and their spouse and their kids are benefiting from this institution. And yet the kinds of cultural programming that they’re sponsoring, the kinds of media stories that they’re presiding over are often sending an anti-nuptial message to the broader public.

Coaston: My final question would be, to me, a deceptively simple one: Do you think people don’t get married because they don’t want to?

Wilcox: I was talking to a graduate student recently. He had a very clear sense of his plan for schooling and work, and then I said, “What’s your plan about marriage and dating?” And there was silence. He didn’t really have a plan. I think that’s part of the challenge — that people are not being intentional enough about seeking opportunities to meet, date and marry young adults in their world. On the one hand, there’s people who expect too much from marriage on the romantic side, but secondarily, practically, they’re often focusing a lot more on work and education than they are on preparing for a marital and family future.

But I think lower down the class ladder, there’s kind of more of an accessibility issue playing out in American life for young adults. Some of our public policies practically penalize marriage, make it less financially appealing, particularly for ***working-class*** and poor America. And I’ve spoken to a number of ***working-class*** women who kind of express concern about their partner’s or husband’s lack of full-time employment and his lack of assistance on the home front — just kind of the male malaise, we might call it, is more likely to be expressed in many ***working class*** and poor communities.

We also just have fewer norms governing dating, sex, co-resident marriage. I’m not saying go back to 1955. But there isn’t really much in the way of common cultural guidance to sort of help script the transition from being single to being successfully married in our culture.

I think the challenge — when it comes to making the case for getting married — is that we have to address making people’s expectations for marriage more realistic but also sort of underline how important marriage is, both for them and their kids and for the country at large. And then to make marriage more accessible to ***working-class*** and poor Americans by reforming public policies, giving people some more common sense advice about the value of marriage and the path to marriage and helping our young men become more marriageable.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Claire Merchlinsky FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***'Disappointment' Would Be Vance's Reflex if Not Picked***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBS-GMP1-JBG3-60V8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 27, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 605 words

**Byline:** By Michael C. Bender

**Body**

Donald J. Trump's increasingly theatrical selection process is entering its final phase, with his leading candidates participating in a series of Fox News interviews to make their case.

Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio has long been considered one of Donald J. Trump's top running mate choices and worked as hard as anyone to win the job -- raising money for the campaign, speaking with a seemingly endless stream of cable news reporters and even sitting in the Manhattan courtroom with the former president to demonstrate his support.

Now, as Mr. Trump's increasingly theatrical selection process enters its final phase, Mr. Vance acknowledged Wednesday that he would feel a tinge of dejection if he were not the pick.

''I'm human, right?'' Mr. Vance said when asked about that scenario in an interview on Fox News. ''So when you know this thing is a possibility, if it doesn't happen, there is certainly going to be a little bit of disappointment.''

Asked earlier in the interview if he was on a short-list of candidates, Mr. Vance said he was probably one of several contenders and conveyed nonchalance at the ultimate outcome. ''They'll ask me if they ask me, and if they don't that's fine,'' he said.

Mr. Trump has said he would announce his pick closer to the Republican National Convention next month, but his campaign has fed speculation that an announcement could happen as soon as this week.

Mr. Vance and other top contenders for the job, including Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota and Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, have been invited to join Mr. Trump in Atlanta on Thursday for the former president's first debate this year with President Biden, campaign aides said. Mr. Vance's interview is the first of a series announced by Fox News on Tuesday that will feature a handful of the leading prospects. Mr. Burgum and Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina will also appear in the coming days to essentially pitch themselves to viewers on their qualifications to be vice president, alongside their significant others.

Mr. Vance and his wife, Usha, sat for an interview at their home in Ohio. When asked about what issue she may focus on if she became ''second lady,'' Ms. Vance laughed off the question, saying it was ''getting a little ahead of ourselves there.''

She described the experience of her husband's first campaign less than two years ago as a shock.

''It was so different than anything we had ever done before,'' Ms. Vance said. ''But it was an adventure, and so I guess the way that I'd put it is I'm not raring to change anything about our lives right now. But I believe in J.D. and I love him. So we'll just sort of see what happens with our lives. We're open.''

Asked about the possibility of debating Vice President Kamala Harris, a former prosecutor, Mr. Vance joked that he would be well prepared after being married to Ms. Vance, a former clerk for Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts.

''I have to debate this litigator all the time, so I think I'd do OK there,'' he said.

Mr. Vance said he would push for more manufacturing jobs, more school choice and immigration policy that focused on deportations and building a wall along the southern border.

He said Democrats often attacked Republicans as insensitive to Black voters and the poor, but that ''they really can't pull that with me, right, because I grew up in a poor family, and I was raised in a ***working-class*** community.''

''I do think there is something just about my biography that makes it a little bit harder for these guys to attack me,'' he said.

Michael M. Grynbaum contributed reporting.Michael M. Grynbaum contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/26/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-vp.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/26/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-vp.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** June 27, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Are Democrats Taking Working-Class Immigrants for Granted?; Jay Caspian Kang***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65S3-W2H1-DXY4-X4Y1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2022 Thursday 14:59 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1802 words

**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** The win in Texas for Mayra Flores, a Republican who flipped her district, may be short lived, but it shouldn’t be ignored.

**Body**

Last week, Mayra Flores, a Republican candidate for Congress who was born in Mexico and immigrated to the United States at the age of 6, flipped a congressional seat in a region of the Rio Grande Valley of Texas that had voted Democrat for 150 years. Flores’s victory came with the usual bluster from the G.O.P. and all the head-scratching from the national media that accompanies rightward voting swings in any nonwhite population. “G.O.P. wins big in Rio Grande Valley district. Does it portend shift of Hispanic voters?” The [*Fort Worth Star-Telegram*](https://www.star-telegram.com/opinion/editorials/article262593137.html) asked in a headline. The conservative [*National Review*](https://www.nationalreview.com/2022/06/an-earthquake-in-south-texas/) called Flores’s victory “An Earthquake in South Texas” and said that her win “portends a major shift in the major American political landscape.”

Before I get into my own portending, let me offer up a bundle of caveats. This was an extremely low-turnout special election for a vacated congressional seat that will once again be up for grabs this November. The lines of the district will be significantly different in a few months — Flores won over an electorate that Joe Biden won by four points back in 2020. In November, Flores will be in the odd position of being a near-five-month incumbent running in a newly drawn district that, had it existed in 2020, Biden would have won by 15.5 points. This is presumably why Monica Robinson, a spokesperson for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (D.C.C.C.), [*dismissed*](https://www.texastribune.org/2022/06/15/republicans-flip-house-seat-south-texas-mayra-flores/) Flores’s victory as a “rental” seat.

So we can and should throw some cold water on the grand claims about what this electoral result means for the future of the Republican Party. Flores’s campaign outraised that of her Democratic opponent Dan Sanchez by a 16-to-1 margin. It also spent more than $1 million on television ads. The imbalance in spending and resources was so extreme that after the results had come in, Sanchez’s campaign manager said in a [*statement*](https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/3526036-special-election-campaign-manager-for-floress-opponent-rips-democratic-leadership-after-loss/), “The D.C.C.C., D.N.C. and other associated national committees have failed at their single purpose of existence: winning elections.”

I think it’s perfectly fair to take Robinson and the D.C.C.C. at their word when they say that they did not think it was worth expending too much effort on a seat that will almost certainly swing back to Democrats at the start of 2023. What seems far more interesting to me is why the G.O.P. put so much effort into securing Flores’s victory. Why did they care?

The simple answer is that since the 2020 general election showed surprising gains for the G.O.P. among Latino voters, especially in Florida and the Rio Grande Valley, Republicans have spent a considerable amount of time and money to turn what ultimately might have been an electoral blip into a national reality. They wanted Mayra Flores to win because it’s good for Republicans to show that they can win seats in districts like this one, with an 85 percent Latino population.

Chuck Rocha, a political consultant and a former senior adviser for Bernie Sanders’s 2020 presidential campaign, told me that even if Flores ultimately only serves for five months, her campaign is “a brilliant marketing strategy by the Republicans.” He believes Flores’s victory will result in a “fund-raising boom” that will allow G.O.P. operatives to go out and solicit funds for other races in places with significant Latino populations. Flores’s victory, then, will allow the G.O.P. to raise money and mobilize public opinion around the narrative that the Latino vote is swinging fast. Any close race with a large Latino population will now seem up for grabs.

But a lot of the excitement around Flores has to do with Flores herself. She is a 36-year-old immigrant and a respiratory-care therapist who works with elders. She is married to a Border Patrol agent. In [*her own words*](https://www.mayrafloresforcongress.com/about-mayra/), she is “Pro-Life, Pro-Second Amendment, and Pro-Law Enforcement.” It’s hard to imagine a more perfect face for the future of the G.O.P. — a working Mexican American woman telling the public that everything the Democrats think and say about the people of South Texas is out of touch and wrong. In one [*television ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqkzUUKgVYw) put out by the Congressional Leadership Fund super PAC, which opens with a photo of Joe Biden smiling at a podium, an unidentified voice speaking in a mild Hispanic accent says, “From up there, he’ll never get us down here. Forty years in office and not one visit to the border. He’s left us behind. That is why Mayra Flores is running for Congress. She’s one of us.”

“One of us” is the purest expression of identity politics, and while Republicans have long used this tactic to convince white voters to vote for white candidates, it’s rarely, if ever, been used by the party to endorse a Latina and underscore her connection to her ***working-class*** community. (The Flores campaign did not respond to a request for an interview.)

Much has been made over the past five years about how the Democratic Party can reach the ***working class***. These conversations, which invoke coal miners and factory workers, are almost invariably concerned with the white ***working class***. What’s almost never discussed is whether the Democrats are losing the nonwhite ***working class*** as well.

“The Democratic Party has walked away from blue-collar messaging, which is really aligned with the new immigrant community, mainly Latinos, and actually in some states A.A.P.I., because they’re working those jobs,” Rocha said.

This has opened the door for politicians like Flores to reimagine what the politics of her community should be. This has a special power within immigrant groups — even those who have been in America for a few generations — because their political allegiances aren’t calcified. According to a January [*Gallup poll*](https://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/389093/hispanic-americans-party-updated-analysis.aspx), 52 percent of Latinos identify as independent, which is 10 percent higher than the proportion of independents among the American population as a whole. While this is a crude way to measure voter flexibility, it’s also true that over the past 40 years, both major immigrant groups in America — Latinos and Asian Americans — have swung between the two parties at a rate that far outpaced Black and white Americans.

So who does Flores imagine is “us”? Her messaging mostly centered around economic hardship, family and opportunity. In a [*flier*](https://twitter.com/ChuckRocha/status/1537202115189297152/photo/2) titled “Mayra Flores Will Restore the American Dream,” Flores promises to “stop out-of-control spending to end inflation,” “secure the border” and “expand, not limit, access to health care.” In another, she promises to “get the economy back on track” and “stop inflation in its tracks, and keep more money in your pocket.” And in her [*acceptance speech*](https://www.politico.com/video/2022/06/15/republican-mayra-flores-credits-trump-in-special-election-victory-speech-612143) last week, Flores said, “The policies that are being placed right now are hurting us. We cannot accept the increase of gas, of food, of medication, we cannot accept that. And we have to state the fact that under President Trump, we did not have this mess in this country.” Her messaging is clear: “Us” refers to the struggling, ***working-class*** families who grew up with socially conservative values. “Them” is everyone else.

Flores, then, can act almost as a proof of concept for future Republican candidates. Her invocation of Trump might have caught the attention of headline writers, but her campaign only occasionally mentioned the former president and stayed on message about economic factors, family and what she said were the real values of the people of South Texas: border security, religion, affordable health care, well-funded police and the Second Amendment.

It’s time for Democrats to ask a very simple question: What, exactly, does their party offer ***working-class*** immigrants? Note that here I am not talking about the broad, humanitarian ideal of immigration, wherein a government puts aside its nativist tendencies and welcomes people from around the world. I am talking about the millions of first- and second-generation immigrants who still identify strongly with their country of origin but who have mostly come to the United States seeking economic opportunity. They are largely apolitical or independent voters. They get their news from non-English sources far from the reach of things like this newsletter. Like everyone else in America, they tend to vote based on which party better reflects their self-interest.

This is [*a question I’ve been turning over in my head*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/28/magazine/where-does-affirmative-action-leave-asian-americans.html) for the past five or so years, since I noticed that many of the communities I was reporting on — mostly Asian American — did not seem all that concerned with the threat of Donald Trump. This wasn’t a surprise to me. I was not born in this country, grew up in an immigrant household and have spent much of my career reporting on immigrant communities. For many first- and second-generation immigrant families, racism and white supremacy are secondary political concerns. (A [*Pew poll*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/09/11/hispanic-voters-say-econ) in 2020 showed that “racial and ethnic inequality” was fourth on the list of Hispanic voter priorities. The economy and health care were at the top of the list. Immigration, for what it’s worth, was eighth, below Supreme Court appointments and climate change.)

Most immigrant families, mine included, assume that racism will be a part of their lives. But because they still believe in American economic opportunity, economic and health care issues will always be more of a political priority than the squishier and sometimes more abstract competition between which party they think will be more racist than the other. This is especially true of ***working-class*** immigrants, many of whom come from the socially conservative, religious backgrounds that Flores defines as “us.”

If Flores’s low-turnout, likely temporary victory “portends” anything, it’s that immigrant identity politics rooted in economic talk can work for the right just as well as it has worked in the past for the left. What many in these communities want is a voice that will talk about economic hardships while also invoking a type of identity politics that will allow them to feel like they are part of a community.

For the past two years I have been [*writing about how the Democratic Party has taken immigrant votes for granted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/20/opinion/sunday/immigrants-vote-election-politics.html) with the warning that if this continues, a new politics rooted in “us” will arise, paired with the grievance that liberals do not actually care about “our” issues. This is precisely what Flores did. In one of her many interviews after her victory, she said Democrats had taken South Texas “[*for granted*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2022/06/19/gop_rep_mayra_flores_in_south_texas_we_see_the_border_crisis_every_day.html)” and that “they feel [*entitled*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/06/19/mayra-flores-texas-special-election-00040723) to our vote.”

“I’m their worst nightmare,” Flores said of the Democrats in an interview with Newsmax. “They claim to be for immigrants. I’m an immigrant. They claim to be for women. I’m a woman. They claim to be for people of color. I’m someone of color. Yet I don’t feel the love.”

Jay Caspian Kang ([*@jaycaspiankang*](https://twitter.com/jaycaspiankang?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor)), a writer for Opinion and The New York Times Magazine, is the author of “The Loneliest Americans.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alberto Miranda FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2022

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[***At News Conference, Donald Trump Says He’s ‘Entitled to Personal Attacks’ Against Kamala Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRC-TV81-JBG3-6435-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 15, 2024 Thursday 11:29 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 989 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold Michael Gold is a political correspondent for The Times covering the campaigns of Donald J. Trump and other candidates in the 2024 presidential elections.

**Highlight:** Mr. Trump suggested he has no plans to moderate the tone of his campaign even as some Republicans have pushed him to emphasize policy issues.

**Body**

Mr. Trump suggested he has no plans to moderate the tone of his campaign even as some Republicans have pushed him to emphasize policy issues.

Toward the end of a meandering news conference, former President Donald J. Trump on Thursday insisted he was “entitled” to continue his barrage of personal attacks against Vice President Kamala Harris, even as Republican allies are pushing him to shift his tone and emphasize policy issues.

Saying he was “very angry” at Ms. Harris, Mr. Trump told reporters outside the clubhouse of his golf course in Bedminster, N.J., that “I think I’m entitled to personal attacks,” and that he had little respect for his Democratic opponent.

“I don’t have a lot of respect for her intelligence, and I think she’ll be a terrible president,” he said, adding, “She certainly attacks me personally.”

The former president said that he didn’t need to moderate his tone to win the Republican primary, insisting that he was now running a “very calm campaign” — and even a calm news conference. “I didn’t rant and rave,” he said of his own performance as he was in the middle of it on Thursday. “I’m a very calm person.” Still, Mr. Trump repeatedly cast his opponents as “radical” and “sick.”

His nearly 80-minute news conference was intended, in part, to show his renewed emphasis on the economy, inflation and other policy issues. He had props displayed on either side of him in anticipation of such a focus: a grocery-store haul that included three gallons of milk, seven Campbell’s soup cans, at least three dozen eggs and a box of Cheerios cereal that Mr. Trump said he wanted to take home with him.

But during both his remarks and a question-and-answer session with reporters, Mr. Trump bounced between his proposals to fight inflation, his dry recitation of economic figures that he used to criticize Ms. Harris and the Biden administration and a number of other wide-ranging tangents, including complaints about Hillary Clinton, windmills, the news media and President Biden’s decision to exit the race.

The news conference was one of several events the Trump campaign has held recently as it tries to slow the momentum Ms. Harris has gained after quickly uniting Democrats behind her as the party’s presidential nominee. His top advisers have urged him to focus on the economy, immigration and crime — issues on which they believe his message will sway undecided voters.

But much as he did at an ostensibly economy-focused speech in North Carolina the night before, Mr. Trump on Thursday declined to stick to the script. Though he walked up to the podium with a binder containing prepared remarks, Mr. Trump, just minutes into his speech, veered into asides.

For brief periods, Mr. Trump railed against things like the rising costs of gasoline, mortgage rates and housing. Then, he detoured toward criticizing Ms. Harris’s running mate for approving a bill that put tampons in school bathrooms. He lamented that he “should have been a little bit easier” on Mr. Biden in their debate in June (Mr. Biden’s [*debate performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-biden-debate.html?) cleared the way for Ms. Harris to become the Democratic nominee).

Still, Mr. Trump hewed a bit closer to his prepared remarks than he typically does during his events, as he tried to lay the blame for the Biden administration’s economic policies on Ms. Harris — even though he had been blaming Mr. Biden for the same issues for years. Speaking for nearly 45 minutes before taking questions, Mr. Trump tried to argue to reporters that Ms. Harris was “a radical California liberal who broke the economy, broke the border and broke the world.”

Ms. Harris is expected on Friday to [*outline her economic policy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-biden-debate.html?) and call for a federal [*ban on corporate price-gouging*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-biden-debate.html?) on groceries. Mr. Trump attacked her for wanting to impose “price controls” and insisted that her plan — which he has no details about — would lead to “food shortages, rationing and hunger,” a broad claim that cannot be checked without more information.

In a statement, James Singer, a Harris campaign spokesman, said that Mr. Trump “huffed and puffed his opposition to lowering food costs for middle- and ***working-class*** Americans and prescription drug costs for seniors before pivoting back to his usual lies and delusions.”

Mr. Trump again insisted he would curb price increases by boosting U.S. energy production, even as the country is producing significantly more crude oil today than it did under the Trump administration. He said he would terminate the Biden administration’s efforts to fight climate change, which he blamed for rising energy costs that he said were at the heart of inflation.

And Mr. Trump said he would make fossil fuels and nuclear energy key efforts to bring prices down, reviving a familiar and exaggerated rant about how windmills left “thousands of birds dead” and were an eyesore on the American countryside.

“I want clean water,” Mr. Trump said. “I want clean air. But you can’t destroy your country over it.”

Thursday’s event was Mr. Trump’s second news conference in two weeks, as he and his allies have criticized Ms. Harris for not holding a news conference and taunted her for not conducting interviews since she became the Democratic presidential nominee.

As he wrapped, Mr. Trump again accused Ms. Harris of hiding from reporters, though she has fielded questions from reporters traveling with her. “I believe she’s grossly incompetent, and I don’t think that when people hear what she has to say, they’re going to buy it,” he said.

Recent polls have shown Ms. Harris gaining ground in key swing states, though the race remains tight. A [*New York Times/Siena College poll released last weekend*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-biden-debate.html?) showed Ms. Harris making major gains in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump used a collection of grocery-store items as props at a news conference at his golf club in Bedminster, N.J., on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 16, 2024

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[***Guide to Mold Families Was Blessed by Vance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CWG-DDY1-JBG3-60V7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1319 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Lerer

**Body**

Years before he became the Republican vice-presidential nominee, JD Vance endorsed a little-noticed 2017 report by the Heritage Foundation that proposed a sweeping conservative agenda to restrict sexual and reproductive freedoms and remake American families.

In a series of 29 separate essays, conservative commentators, policy experts, community leaders and Christian clergy members opposed the spread of in vitro fertilization and other fertility treatments, describing those treatments as harmful to women. They praised the rapidly expanding number of state laws restricting abortion rights and access, saying that the procedure should become ''unthinkable'' in America. And they cited hunger as a ''great motivation'' for Americans to find work.

Mr. Vance, then known as the author of a best-selling memoir, became a champion of the project. He wrote the introduction and praised the volume as ''admirable,'' and was the keynote speaker at the public release of the report at Heritage's offices in Washington.

The report was released just months after Donald J. Trump became president, as social conservatives were laying the foundation for an aggressive agenda restricting sexual freedom and reproductive rights. Those policies became a hallmark of the Trump administration and Mr. Vance's political career.

Taken together, the pieces in the report amount to an effort to instruct Americans on what their families should be, when to grow them and the best way to raise their children. Authors argued in the 2017 report that women should become pregnant at younger ages and that a two-parent, heterosexual household was the ''ideal'' environment for children.

''The ideal situation for any child is growing up with the mother and father who brought that child into the world,'' wrote Katrina Trinko, a conservative journalist, in an essay detailing the ''tragedy'' of babies born to single mothers.

Although Mr. Vance did not address in detail the specific issues of fertility treatments, abortion rights or marriage, the broad vision expressed in the report comports with some of the views he has expressed about American families.

He has been an ardent opponent of abortion rights, saying he wanted to protect life ''from the date of conception.'' During his Senate race in 2022, he promised to oppose legislation codifying the right to marriage for same-sex couples. He has stressed the importance of having children, saying not doing so ''makes people more sociopathic.''

And in a comment that prompted a wave of outrage among liberal and independent women, he criticized prominent Democrats as ''childless cat ladies'' -- a claim he later dismissed as a ''sarcastic remark.''

Mr. Vance's campaign neither defended nor disavowed the opinions expressed in the report, saying he had no role in editing the essays and ''did not have any input on the commentary.''

''Senator Vance has long made clear that he supports I.V.F. and does not agree with every opinion in this seven-year-old report, which features a range of unique views from dozens of conservative thinkers,'' said Luke Schroeder, a spokesman for Mr. Vance. ''It's bizarre that The New York Times is writing an entire piece attacking Senator Vance for the views of other individuals.''

The Heritage Foundation also said Mr. Vance had no involvement with the policy ideas included in the report, but declined to offer an opinion on the content.

''Senator Vance had no role in producing or approving the contents of the 2017 Index of Culture and Opportunity, outside of writing the introduction,'' said Noah Weinrich, a spokesman for the organization.

In his introduction, Mr. Vance argued that economic struggles were inextricable from what he saw as cultural decay, suggesting that fixing the state of American life required not just proposals about trade, jobs and education but an embrace of conservative social values that would define the nation's families.

''Culture, in other words, must serve as the beginning of a conversation, not the end of one, and proper conversation about culture will never be used as a weapon against those whom Christ described as 'the least of these,''' he wrote in the foundation's Index of Culture and Opportunity report. ''It will be a needed antidote to a simplistic political discourse.''

One of the essays takes a deeply skeptical view of in vitro fertilization and other fertility treatments, arguing that they cause women to be ''lured into the belief that they can have children whenever they are finally ready.''

The piece casts women as turning to fertility treatments as ''magic pills'' to delay motherhood for professional advancement rather than as expensive last resorts for couples desperate to have a child. It also refers to egg-freezing, the medical procedure through which eggs are harvested, frozen and stored for later use, as a ''scheme.''

''We need to stop practices that may bring harm to others: the children born from high-tech pregnancies as well as the women who are exploited for their healthy reproductive capacities,'' writes Jennifer Lahl, an anti-abortion advocate, who founded the Center for Bioethics and Culture, a group that questions the use of fertility treatments.

Mr. Trump said on the campaign trail last week that he wants to make I.V.F. treatment free for all Americans, a proposal that faces a steep -- if not impossible -- climb through Congress and the federal government to becoming law. Mr. Vance, who has expressed support for I.V.F., defended that position on the trail but offered no specifics on how Mr. Trump would fund his plan.

Another set of pieces reiterate long-held conservative economic views, including eliminating regulations on businesses, cutting federal spending, expanding charter schools, increasing work requirements for welfare programs and voicing opposition to programs that offer government assistance for Americans to buy or rent homes.

''The private market has proved more than capable of providing a wide array of housing types that are affordable for many income levels -- and could do even better for those of lower incomes absent overly restrictive zoning and other regulatory impediments,'' wrote Howard Husock, a conservative housing policy expert.

In a separate piece, Cal Thomas, a conservative commentator, calls welfare programs the ''ultimate poison'' that create poverty by discouraging work.

''The threat of an empty stomach is a great motivator for people who are able to work to find work,'' Mr. Thomas wrote. ''For many, human nature would rather get a check from the government without working for it than earn a check from a job.''

The report was published as Mr. Vance was dipping his toe into politics and was famous for his memoir. His beliefs on specific issues were relatively unknown, and his endorsement of the Heritage report offered an early declaration of his socially conservative values.

''Two of the biggest factors driving regional differences in upward mobility are the prevalence of single-parent families and concentrated poverty, indicating that both family and neighborhood structure matter in the lives of our nation's ***working class***,'' he wrote in the introduction.

In recent weeks, Mr. Trump has gone out of his way to distance himself from the Heritage Foundation and the group's Project 2025 effort, a policy blueprint for the next Republican administration that has become a major Democratic attack line.

Mr. Vance's participation in the foundation's Index of Culture and Opportunity report offers a reminder of the yearslong ties between him and the conservative think tank -- connections that deepened in the years that followed.

In June, Mr. Vance announced that he wrote the foreword to a new book by the Heritage Foundation's president, Kevin D. Roberts, Project 2025's principal architect. Publication of that book has since been delayed until after the election.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/03/us/politics/vance-heritage-report.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/03/us/politics/vance-heritage-report.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: JD Vance wrote the introduction to a 2017 Heritage Foundation report, calling it ''admirable.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** September 4, 2024

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[***Kamala Harris’s Campaign Thinks She Can Win on the Economy. Here’s How.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D28-1MX1-JBG3-605N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1554 words

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**Highlight:** Harris advisers point to a number of brightening public polls showing that Donald Trump’s lead is eroding on the critical question of whom voters trust most on the economy.

**Body**

Harris advisers point to a number of brightening public polls showing that Donald Trump’s lead is eroding on the critical question of whom voters trust most on the economy.

Follow along with the latest updates on [*Trump, Harris and the 2024 election*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election).

For many months, it has been an undisputed and durable fact of the 2024 race that former President Donald J. Trump held a strong political advantage on the most pressing issue to the most voters: the economy.

But with less than six weeks until the election, some of Vice President Kamala Harris’s top strategists are making the seemingly audacious case that she will not only neutralize the longstanding Republican edge on economic matters but also flip the script entirely by Election Day.

“This is not just a central challenge, but a challenge that is winnable,” David Plouffe, a senior Harris adviser who served as former President Barack Obama’s campaign manager in 2012, said in an interview.

In fact, Mr. Plouffe and other Harris advisers say, the turnabout has already started.

They point to a number of brightening public polls that show that Mr. Trump’s once-daunting lead is eroding on the critical question of whom voters trust most on the economy. At the same time, there are economic atmospherics working in her favor with the stock market hitting record highs, [*gas prices dropping*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election) and the Federal Reserve slashing interest rates [*for the first time in four years*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election).

In the battleground states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, Mr. Trump’s edge on the handling of the economy was only two to four percentage points in the most recent set of Quinnipiac University polls. And while individual polls [*do not universally agree*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election) on the size of Mr. Trump’s edge, the trend line across a number of surveys, including from [*Fox News*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election), [*CBS*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election) and [*Suffolk University/USA Today*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election), shows Ms. Harris gaining ground with voters on the economy.

Patrick Ruffini, a Republican pollster, dismissed the Harris team’s talk of outright winning on the economy as “a little far fetched” and “bluster.” But he said her gains on the issue were real and substantial.

In June, Mr. Ruffini’s monthly national survey showed Mr. Trump with an 11-point edge on the question of who would make the economy work better over President Biden. That lead had shrunk to a single percentage point over Ms. Harris in late August, and in September she held [*a one-point edge*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election).

“What they needed to do is get the economy to a draw, and arguably they’ve done that already,” Mr. Ruffini said. “It’s no longer this unique Trump strength.”

The change comes as Ms. Harris and her allies are pouring tens of millions of dollars into advertising that seeks to define her economic approach as focused on the middle class. The ads promote a list of poll-tested Harris policy proposals, including stopping price gouging on groceries, lowering housing costs and cutting taxes. The goal, advisers said, is to make her seem attuned to the concerns of ***working-class*** voters who are likely to swing the election.

And while she is not exactly distancing herself from Mr. Biden, she is trying to carve out her own distinctive identity.

The latest pitch came in Ms. Harris’s speech on Wednesday at The Economic Club of Pittsburgh, where she framed the economic debate as a choice between “two fundamentally, very different paths.” She described her approach as “pragmatic” and “practical,” talking about her middle-class upbringing and at one point laughing off a reference to Mr. Trump’s oversized inheritance.

“For Donald Trump, our economy works best if it works for those who own the big skyscrapers,” she said. “Not those who actually build them, not those who wire them, not those who mop the floors.”

Mr. Trump’s team scoffed at the notion that voters were suddenly starting to trust Democrats after nearly four years of frustration about inflation under Mr. Biden. To press the point, the Trump campaign has been running ads that picture Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris together and end with her declaring “Bidenomics is working.”

“If the White House were a storefront somewhere on main street in America she would be out on the sidewalk trying to scrape her name off with a razor blade,” Tim Murtaugh, a Trump campaign spokesman, said. “She acknowledges it’s a wreck and wants nothing to do with it.”

In some ways, Ms. Harris is reprising the economic playbook of the Obama campaign in 2012, when Mr. Obama was battling persistently high unemployment and doubts about the Democratic stewardship of an uneven recovery.

The Obama campaign pressed to disqualify Mitt Romney, a former governor and corporate-turnaround artist, by casting him as a multimillionaire looking out only for himself and his rich friends. “[*A plutocrat married to a known equestrian,*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election)” one Republican famously summarized the Democratic caricature.

The television ad that Ms. Harris has put the most money behind so far [*features a narrator warning*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/27/us/harris-trump-election) that “Donald Trump has no plan to help the middle class — just more tax cuts for billionaires.” Her most-run ad this month, which is narrated by the actor John Doman from “The Wire,” features him saying, “Kamala Harris is focused on you.”

Mr. Plouffe, the senior Harris adviser, said one of the key indicators in 2012 proved to be who voters thought cared more about people like them. “Barack Obama was able to win that question,” he said. And answers to that question are now being closely tracked in Wilmington, Del., where the Biden-turned-Harris operation has its headquarters.

One of the campaign’s internal surveys earlier this year showed that Mr. Trump was ahead of Mr. Biden by 13 percentage points on the question of who voters thought cared more about people like them, according to a campaign official not authorized to discuss the data publicly. But in the most recent head-to-head survey of Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump on that question, Ms. Harris was ahead of Mr. Trump by three percentage points.

“We’ve got an advantage,” Mr. Plouffe said. “And so the question then is how big can we make that advantage.”

Trust in Mr. Trump on the economy has been deeply ingrained. The Republican candidate’s image as a decisive business executive was forged over a decade as the star of the reality television show “The Apprentice” and, before that, as the best-selling author of “The Art of the Deal.” And during his presidency — even as Mr. Trump was personally unpopular — confidence in the country’s direction reached its highest point in more than a decade, according to Gallup, until the pandemic hit.

“Trump gets an enormous amount of credit by saying the word ‘economy’ over and over and over, and so he’s very much associated with it,” said Molly Murphy, a pollster for Ms. Harris. “But our opportunity is defining for people what Trump will do versus what the vice president will do.”

To that end, three of the four television ads that Ms. Harris’s campaign has spent the most on since she entered the race have emphasized a blend of her “middle class” background and an economic agenda that includes tackling the cost of groceries and housing, sharpening a contrast with Mr. Trump. The Harris campaign has spent about $35 million broadcasting just those three economic-themed commercials nearly 55,000 times, according to data from AdImpact, the ad-tracking service.

“It’s hard to win an election when you’re not engaged in a ferocious way on the things voters care most about,” Mr. Plouffe said of the economic focus.

Mr. Trump’s team still firmly believes the economy is a winning issue. The former president has held a number of events advertised as economically focused, including one on Wednesday where he mocked Ms. Harris ahead of her economic speech.

“Why didn’t she do it three and half years ago?” he said of her economic agenda. “If she has a plan, she should stop grandstanding and do it.”

Sarah Longwell, who founded a group called Republican Voters Against Trump and holds regular voter focus groups, said voters are not weighing Ms. Harris down with what she described as “Biden’s baggage” — so far.

“One of the most shocking things listening to swing voters talk about her is the extent to which she does not own the Biden economy,” Ms. Longwell said.

Republicans are determined to present Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden as a single package. One pro-Trump super PAC, Right for America, began to air an ad this week addressing younger voters. “Kamala Harris thinks you’re too stupid to realize she’s to blame for our record inflation,” the narrator says.

In May, Mr. Trump held a 12-point edge on the economy in a New York Times/Siena College poll of Pennsylvania. Mr. Trump’s lead was down to four percentage points this month, though his advantage was still more robust nationally and in the Sun Belt states.

Evan Roth Smith, a Democratic pollster, explained that Mr. Biden’s weakness was because voters didn’t think the president was focused on what they care most about: prices.

“Now when we test Kamala Harris, she has completely erased that disadvantage,” he said. “Voters think she is focused on prices just as much as Donald Trump. And they still think Joe Biden has his eye off the ball.”

PHOTO: Recent polls show that Donald J. Trump’s lead is eroding on the critical question of whom voters trust most on the economy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** September 28, 2024

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[***Debt Was Supposed to Cure Poverty and Help Pay for College. What Went Wrong?; Business***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CY6-JBN1-JBG3-6043-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1415 words

**Byline:** Zeke Faux

**Highlight:** Three new books examine debt’s fraught politics and history.

**Body**

Three new books examine debt’s fraught politics and history.

“Going back to biblical times,” a man in the money-lending business [*once told me*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million) over beers in downtown Manhattan, “there was something dirty about charging for money.”

He held up his sudsy glass. “But a business owner can buy this beer for a dollar, mark it up eight times and sell it to idiots like us, and no one cares.”

His barroom philosophizing was self-serving. The man had earned a fortune off costly loans and spent his days partying in a mansion in Puerto Rico, while many of his borrowers were crushed by punishing interest rates. But there was a kernel of truth to what he said. Debt still carries a whiff of immorality, even as it’s become central to nearly everyone’s economic lives. After President Biden announced a federal student debt forgiveness plan — [*now tied up in legal challenges*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million) — Republicans denounced the initiative, often in shaming terms, blaming “[*slacker baristas*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million)” and “[*lesbian dance theory*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million)” majors who, having wasted their years in college, were unable to land a decent-paying job. Debt’s contradictions, its power and peril, are explored in three new books.

In THE HAMILTON SCHEME: An Epic Tale of Money and Power in the American Founding (Farrar, Straus &amp; Giroux, 525 pp., $35), by William Hogeland, debt is a tool wielded by Alexander Hamilton to unify and empower the nascent United States. The scheme of the title is Hamilton’s plan to have the federal government assume the states’ Revolutionary War debts. A federal debt would require federal taxes, which in turn would mean funding for a federal army. It would enrich speculators and bind them to the country’s success. Through debt, Hogeland argues in this provocative, fast-paced book, Hamilton, the country’s first treasury secretary, aimed to consolidate the nation.

The debts that Hamilton had the government assume were minuscule by today’s standards, small enough that a federal tax on whiskey production and a tariff on imported goods were enough to cover the payments. (The national debt is now [*$35 trillion*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million), and Donald Trump recently proposed his own scheme to pay it back: “[*We’ll hand them a little Bitcoin and wipe away our $35 trillion.*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million)”)

But Hamilton’s whiskey tax was opposed by small-scale producers on the country’s western frontier, who saw it as a scheme to subjugate them to the financial class. Hogeland says they were right. Hamilton was a committed elitist, and he and other Revolutionary leaders feared the power of the ***working class***. (Hogeland calls the heroic underdog version of Hamilton in Lin Manuel Miranda’s musical a “fan-fiction Alexander.”) When the producers rebelled in 1791 in what became the Whiskey Rebellion, Hogeland writes, George Washington was eager to suppress them, in part to preserve the value of his frontier land holdings.

The rebellion was put down, and Hamilton’s financial scheme helped lead the nation to unprecedented prosperity and extreme inequality. “Conflicts over money and power,” Hogeland writes, “really created the United States of America.”

For a time, the microfinance industry seemed to have turned debt into a miracle cure for poverty. With a loan of just a few dollars, the pitch went, a poor woman could start a small business, repay the money and support herself. Microfinance allowed philanthropists to assist the needy while turning a profit. Credit became a one-size-fits-all solution, helping even a destitute borrower “actualize a sort of rags-to-riches story all by herself,” Mara Kardas-Nelson writes in WE ARE NOT ABLE TO LIVE IN THE SKY: The Seductive Promise of Microfinance (Metropolitan Books, 381 pp., $31.99).

In 2015, Kardas-Nelson moved to Sierra Leone and soon began to question that story. At the health organization where she worked, a colleague told her that women, the primary recipients of microloans, were being jailed for defaulting on their interest payments. She decided to investigate.

The result is this revealing study, which weaves together vivid stories of female borrowers in Sierra Leone with a deeply reported history of how the microfinance industry was created and where it went wrong. (Her subjects include Muhammad Yunus, the founder of the microfinance Grameen Bank, who was recently appointed [*interim leader of Bangladesh*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million) after the country’s [*prime minister fled amid nationwide protests*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million).)

Microfinance has become an integral part of the economy in Sierra Leone and many other countries, Kardas-Nelson writes. But lenders charge high rates and often use punitive collection measures. Changing lives seems at best an afterthought. (A [*2015 study*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million) in Hyderabad, India, by the Nobel Prize-winning economists Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo and two colleagues, found that microfinance had little impact on alleviating poverty.)

Among the women Kardas-Nelson profiles with remarkable empathy are Adama, a mother of five who needs money to support her business selling buckets of broken rocks to homebuilders, and Abbie, who tries to start a shoe-resale business after her husband dies of Ebola. The women fail to make enough cash to cover the interest on their microloans, which, with the addition of various fees, approaches 100 percent annualized. Adama flees town following her arrest for nonpayment, and Abbie is trapped in a cycle of debt, taking new loans to pay off old ones. “I don’t want microcredit,” she says. “I just don’t have any other option.”

For the U.S. legislators who created the federal student loan program, debt was a compromise. It was 1958, the Soviet Union had recently launched Sputnik, the first Earth-orbiting satellite, and amid fear that American scientists were falling behind, an education aid bill was introduced in Congress. Some House Republicans opposed the bill’s provision for scholarships as “[*socialist*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million),” and so the resulting law, the National Defense Education Act, instead offered low-cost loans.

The program helped finance a vast expansion in U.S. higher education. But it treated college as a personal investment, rather than as a public good. Now [*42 million borrowers are loaded with $1.6 trillion in debt*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million). BURDENED: Student Debt and the Making of an American Crisis (Dey Street, 323 pp., $29.99), by Ryann Liebenthal, is a powerful argument for reforming this system.

Liebenthal traces the roots of the current problem to the voucher program created by the 1944 G.I. Bill. Offering young men free money and free choice of colleges, the legislation attracted hustlers, eager to exploit them. By 1949, as many as 600,000 veterans were enrolled in for-profit schools, about a third of them scams.

Since then, efforts to rein in the profiteers have been stymied by lobbying. The 1970s saw another epidemic of fraudulent for-profit schools, including “correspondence schools” that mailed out lessons. Today, for-profit colleges account for a disproportionate share of federal loans, even though about 70 percent of their students [*fail to graduate*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million) within six years. Liebenthal makes a good case that the government should stop “funneling taxpayer funds through third-rate entrepreneurs regulated with all the strength of a friendship bracelet.”

I am less convinced that the entire student loan program is “rotten through and through,” as Liebenthal asserts. At public universities, just under half of undergraduates [*graduate with no debt*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million), and the average owed by those who do borrow is $27,400. The resulting monthly payment would be around $300 — burdensome for sure, but hardly unmanageable, especially given that the typical four-year college graduate earns [*86 percent more*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2015-10-06/how-two-guys-lost-god-and-found-40-million) than someone with only a high school degree.

Student loan horror stories tend to be about people who took on huge debt for graduate degrees, especially in low-paying fields. After a 2005 law eliminated caps on such loans, universities jacked up prices. At Columbia’s master’s program in film, for example, the median loan debt owed by recent graduates was $181,000. Liebenthal herself borrowed $100,000 for a journalism degree from N.Y.U., a decision she views as a financial mistake but one she says led to a fulfilling career and life.

Liebenthal’s hopeful vision is that young people shouldn’t have to make a trade-off between getting an education and taking on crippling debt. “Education,” she writes, “ought to be a right of citizenship in a wealthy, humane, democratic society.”

Zeke Faux needs a bio. tkt kt tkt kt kt tkt kt kt kt tkt kt ktt kt tkt kt tkt kt kt kt tkt kt kt tk tkt k.

This article appeared in print on page BR8.

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[***Literary Destinations / Read Your Way Through Montreal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTC-KP11-DXY4-X28J-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. 12

**Length:** 1215 words

**Byline:** By Mona Awad

**Body**

Montreal is a city as appealing for its beauty as for its shadows. Here, the novelist Mona Awad recommends books that are ''both dreamy and uncompromising.''

Read Your Way Around the World is a series exploring the globe through books.

Montreal is an island unto itself. An architect's paradise. A foodie's dream, where a pastry will make you weep. It's a city of extremes. The grandiose maximalism of Cirque du Soleil and Arcade Fire. The gritty punk scene and the thriving diner (casse-croûte) culture. Hot bacchanalian summers that never sleep, and cold brooding winters that draw you underground and inward. Perhaps that's why it's also a city of great style.

It's where I grew up and when we had to move I never thought I would get over leaving. In many ways, I haven't. It's still, after all these years, the city of my heart. Playful, sexy, strangely celebratory and, above all, beautiful. Strolling through the city's iconic neighborhoods -- the Plateau, Mile End or Old Montreal to name a few -- you see it everywhere you look: the impulse toward aesthetic pleasures, visual harmony. That desire to make everything, be it a bagel or a bookstore, a celebration of itself.

But there is, of course, a dark side to every great city. The literature of Montreal is both dreamy and uncompromising in its depths. It aspires to beauty, but it never forgets its shadows. There, the Wildean axiom ''We are all in the gutter, but some of us are looking at the stars'' is viscerally felt -- and it's a sentiment that pulses through the cultural blood of the city.

What should I read before I pack my bags?

Many classics of Montreal literature evoke place through a multitude of colorful local characters. ''The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz,'' by Mordecai Richler, is a quintessential comic Montreal novel of the late 1950s (also try his last novel, ''Barney's Version''). ''The Favorite Game,'' by Leonard Cohen, is his autofictional exploration of growing up as a young Jewish boy (try also his collection of poems ''The Spice-Box of Earth''). Short story master Mavis Gallant's ''Varieties of Exile'' was originally titled ''Montreal Stories'' in Canada for good reason. Consider also Gabrielle Roy's ''The Tin Flute'' and Michel Tremblay's ''The Fat Woman Next Door Is Pregnant,'' both empathetic portrayals of ***working class*** life among French speakers. ''How to Make Love to a Negro Without Getting Tired,'' by Dany Laferrière, is another ground breaking exploration of Montreal life from the perspective of a Haitian immigrant.

For a little mystery, try Louise Penny's popular ''Three Pines'' detective series. Though set in a fictional town in Quebec, her novels often feature Montreal (''Glass Houses'' in particular.) Kathy Reichs unearths the bones of the city in her thriller ''Déjà Dead.'' And Montreal's rich queer culture is captured in the coming-of-age novels ''The Geography of Pluto,'' by Christopher DiRaddo, and ''Bottle Rocket Hearts,'' by Zoe Whittall.

Perhaps nothing will get you more excited to travel to Montreal than the dazzling work of Heather O'Neill. In novels like ''Lullabies for Little Criminals'' and ''The Lonely Hearts Hotel,'' O'Neill captures both the darkness and the dreaminess of the city in shimmering colors. O'Neill's latest, ''When We Lost Our Heads,'' is a dizzying confection, offering a 19th-century glimpse of Montreal's Golden Square Mile neighborhood with a sharp eye.

What stories provide a glimpse into modern Montreal?

Among more contemporary books, there is an abundance of literary gems: ''Our Lady of Mile End,'' by Sarah Gilbert, a collection of short stories set in the neighborhood of the same name; ''Ru,'' by Kim Thúy, a gorgeous Vietnamese immigrant story woven out of poignant vignettes; and ''The Wagers,'' by Sean Michaels, which evokes both the quotidian and magical elements of the city.

What books will take me behind closed doors?

A host of brilliant Montreal novels both evoke place and showcase the underbelly experiences of those who, for any number of reasons, live in the margins. In the vitriolic symphony that is ''Cockroach,'' by Rawi Hage, a struggling Lebanese immigrant imagines himself to be a literal cockroach. ''Bone and Bread,'' by Saleema Nawaz, explores the tumultuous lives of two orphaned sisters who grew up in a Hasidic community in Mile End. For a dark depiction of the working life (and Montreal loves a dark depiction of the working life), consider ''The Dishwasher,'' by Stéphane Larue, which was adapted into a film, or the fiery and incantatory ''Whore,'' by Nelly Arcan.

What literary landmarks and bookstores should I visit?

Librairie Drawn & Quarterly is a beautiful independent bookshop in the heart of Montreal's Plateau area. It's also an internationally renowned publisher of comics, including work by Kate Beaton, Adrian Tomine, Lynda Barry and Chester Brown, among many others. The bookstore's idiosyncratically curated selection of titles and its gorgeous and singular interior make this a must-see. Other lovely English-language bookshops to visit along the way: Librairie Saint-Henri Books, Argo Bookshop (Montreal's oldest indie), The Word.

Any restaurants I should visit?

In a gastronome's playground like Montreal, it would be remiss of me not to mention some food stops. As the daughter of a woman who worked in Montreal delis for nearly all of the '80s, I'm perhaps biased in putting forth that a smoked meat sandwich is its own quintessential experience of the city. I'd recommend Schwartz's Deli, an institution unto itself that is approaching its centennial. There's also Moishes Steakhouse, an institution frequented, in its heyday, by none other than Leonard Cohen (presumably before he became a vegetarian).

And nothing evokes Montreal for me (and many other Montrealers) quite like a bagel fresh from the fire. St-Viateur Bagel, located in the historic Mile End neighborhood (and featured in ''The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz''), has been ''defining the art of bagel making since 1957,'' according to its website. To eat one of their bagels just out of the wood-burning oven is to taste my childhood. But even if it's not a Proust's madeleine for you, the baked good -- like Montreal itself -- is well worth the voyage.

Mona Awad's Montreal Reading List

''The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz'' and ''Barney's Version,'' Mordecai Richler

''The Favorite Game'' and ''The Spice-Box of Earth,'' Leonard Cohen

''Varieties of Exile,'' Mavis Gallant

''The Tin Flute,'' Gabrielle Roy

''The Fat Woman Next Door Is Pregnant,'' Michel Tremblay

''How to Make Love to a Negro Without Getting Tired,'' Dany Laferrière

''Three Pines'' series (including ''Glass Houses''), Louise Penny

''Déjà Dead,'' Kathy Reichs

''The Geography of Pluto,'' Christopher DiRaddo

''Bottle Rocket Hearts,'' Zoe Whittall

''Lullabies for Little Criminals,'' ''The Lonely Hearts Hotel'' and ''When We Lost Our Heads,'' Heather O'Neill

''Our Lady of Mile End,'' Sarah Gilbert

''Ru,'' Kim Thúy

''The Wagers,'' Sean Michaels

''Cockroach,'' Rawi Hage

''Bone and Bread,'' Saleema Nawaz

''The Dishwasher,'' Stéphane Larue

''Whore,'' Nelly Arcan

Mona Awad is the author of several novels, including ''Bunny'' and, most recently, ''Rouge,'' which is set partially in Montreal.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/books-montreal-canada.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/06/books/books-montreal-canada.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page BR12.

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[***Policeman's Son, Navy Pilot and Space Shuttle Commander***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CK5-GJW1-DXY4-X2T1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 27, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1805 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman and Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

The rugged border lands around Douglas, Ariz., dip through precipitous canyons and shoot skyward on rocky mountain walls, impossible terrain for a 30-foot steel bollard wall but not for the cartels smuggling people and contraband from Mexico.

Senator Mark Kelly, an Arizona Democrat under consideration to be Vice President Kamala Harris's running mate, knows this expanse well -- a fact that even the state's Republicans acknowledge.

Donald Huish, the G.O.P. mayor of Douglas, recounted a phone call with Mr. Kelly two weeks ago, when the two men talked through progress on making the small city an official, expanded port of entry into the United States. The senator has pushed hard for the move, and Mr. Huish has embraced it. Both of them see the plan as a way to inject economic stability into the region and possibly defang the coyotes and cartels prowling the passes.

''What gets me about Senator Kelly is, yes, we're in touch with staff on the issues, but he personally calls me on a regular basis, and I feel comfortable calling him,'' said Mr. Huish, who identifies as a strongly conservative Republican. ''I'm sure he's taken some heat from some of his party concerning the border, but he understands it.''

Mr. Kelly, 60, is a relative newcomer to politics. But he would bring to the Democratic ticket a résumé as remarkable as any political consultant could dream of: He is the ***working-class*** son of New Jersey police officers, a Navy pilot who flew 39 combat missions off the U.S.S. Midway in Operation Desert Storm, and a NASA astronaut and engineer who collected debris from the Columbia disaster, commanded a shuttle as the United States returned to space and flew the Space Shuttle Endeavour's final mission.

Oh, and he is married to Gabrielle Giffords, the former Arizona representative whose near-fatal brain injury in a mass shooting made her a symbol against gun violence, in her battleground state and beyond.

All of that could be hugely helpful to Ms. Harris as she tries to recapture momentum among ***working-class*** voters and keep Arizona, where former President Donald J. Trump has been gaining an edge, winnable for Democrats.

But Mr. Kelly's special appeal, beyond what other potential running mates from swing states could provide, is his expertise on the technical issues and politics of the U.S.-Mexico border, perhaps Ms. Harris's biggest vulnerability, his backers say.

''That's why I appreciate Senator Kelly: He sees the dichotomies, the differences, the challenges that are not all the same on the border,'' Mr. Huish said.

A Trump supporter, Mr. Huish said he was not a fan of Ms. Harris. ''Her heart's in the right place,'' he said. ''Her policies are in the wrong place.'' But if Mr. Kelly joined the ticket, he said, it would cause him to ''struggle a little bit'' with this vote.

Other vice-presidential contenders, like Gov. Andy Beshear of Kentucky and Gov. Roy Cooper of North Carolina, have made their reputations by winning over Republican voters. Two other governors in the mix, Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania and Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan, hail from states that are perhaps more crucial to Democratic fortunes than Arizona, which, while President Biden carried it narrowly in 2020, was more of a capstone to his victory than a linchpin.

Mr. Kelly's political identity is tied directly to his appeal to Republicans -- not just voters but also politicians and personalities -- in a state where the Grand Old Party is bitterly divided between old-line Republicans allied with the legacy of Senator John McCain and a new guard of Trump loyalists who hold their intraparty rivals in contempt.

As a fellow Navy combat pilot, Mr. Kelly bonded with Mr. McCain well before he entered politics, when he was best known in the state as Ms. Giffords's husband. He was elected to the Senate in 2020, beating Martha McSally, a fellow military pilot appointed to Mr. McCain's seat after his death, and then won a full term in 2022 by defeating a Trump-backed conservative, Blake Masters, by nearly five percentage points.

Meghan McCain, a conservative media personality and the senator's daughter, estimated that about 15 percent of Arizona Republicans remained in the McCain wing. Mr. Kelly has been ''not just respectful'' to her father's legacy, she said, but ''I'd go so far as deferential.''

''He's smart, he's charismatic, he has a vision,'' Cindy McCain, Mr. McCain's widow, said in an interview. ''You look at his record and who he is as a person, he's a very lovely man, and of course he brings Arizona.''

With Mr. Kelly's personal history comes a mystique that cannot be manufactured. Paul Fujimura, a former Naval flight officer who flew an A-6 Intruder with Mr. Kelly for two years, remembered being asked during the Gulf War to go after an Iraqi patrol boat making a run for it out of Kuwait Harbor. Mr. Kelly wanted to attack, but that meant a hard, 135-degree turn at 200 feet above the water, under heavy antiaircraft fire, and bringing another plane that was flying cover with them. At Mr. Kelly's order, they went ahead and sank the boat.

''To order somebody else to go forward and put their life on the line is a heavy, heavy, heavy responsibility,'' said Mr. Fujimura, a senior official in the Transportation Security Administration who this weekend will take over international programs at the U.S. Naval Academy. ''You've got to be decisive, and you have to commit. It takes courage.''

During Ms. Giffords's first House run, in 2006, women at her campaign events wanted to know if she was really dating an astronaut, and if so, what was he like. As she painstakingly recovered from her brain injury, he was seen in the state as her steadfast supporter, even from space.

His willingness to stand by -- and sometimes in the shadow of -- a famous political woman has not been lost on Ms. Harris's team, Democrats say. He has ties to the vice president from their time together in the Capitol, where she has served as the tiebreaking president of the Senate. His Senate chief of staff, Jennifer Cox, came from his wife's sprawling political operation and is on leave to lead the Harris campaign in Arizona.

His standard campaign uniform, a Navy flight jacket and ship cap, is recognizable with blue-collar audiences anywhere; he has been stumping with endangered Senate Democrats across the country. He even has cordial relations with Elon Musk, now an avatar of the right, having served on a safety panel for Mr. Musk's company SpaceX.

And Arizona Democrats are behind him. The state party's executive board on Wednesday formally endorsed Mr. Kelly to be the vice-presidential nominee.

''It would be good for Arizona as a border state, and it would be good for our country,'' said Raquel Terán, a former chair of the Arizona Democratic Party now running for the House. ''He is a coalition builder, and he knows how to get things done.''

Mr. Kelly, who declined to be interviewed for this article, has his drawbacks. If a Harris-Kelly ticket captured the White House, the Democratic governor of Arizona, Katie Hobbs, would appoint a Democratic replacement for Mr. Kelly in the Senate next year, but the seat would be subject to an early special election in 2026, potentially putting it at risk. (Mr. Kelly does not face re-election until 2028.)

Daniel Scarpinato, a Republican operative in the state, noted that Mr. Kelly was not a barnburner on the stump. In Washington, the senator has often been overshadowed legislatively by Senator Kyrsten Sinema, the Democrat-turned-independent who helped craft some of Mr. Biden's signature accomplishments, especially the infrastructure law.

Mr. Kelly has also not faced the harsh spotlight of a national campaign, and has potential political liabilities like a high-altitude surveillance balloon company he helped found with Chinese venture capital, Mr. Scarpinato said.

But like other Republicans, Mr. Scarpinato circled back to the border, and Mr. Kelly's deft handling of it, as a huge boon to a Democratic ticket.

John Giles, the Republican mayor of Mesa, Ariz., a sprawling suburb of Phoenix in critical Maricopa County, agreed.

''He's a wonky, nerdy guy who has to know the details of how things work,'' he said. ''He's not a superficial guy.''

Mr. Kelly's approach to the border embraces barriers like Mr. Trump's wall in some places, though not across the entire frontier. He has also called for an immigration policy that treats migrants with respect and maintains asylum options. Most of all, he has pushed back against politicians (he does not say Republicans) who have swept into Arizona's borderlands since the George W. Bush administration, held photo opportunities and partisan news conferences, and then returned to Washington only to snuff out legislative solutions and preserve their political talking points.

Local officials say Mr. Kelly is attuned to the complexities of the issue and grasps the difference between a smuggler's haven like Cochise County, which includes Douglas, and a major port of entry like Yuma, Ariz., where migrants cross legally, appeal for asylum and are often released pending their court date.

Douglas's police chief, Kraig Fullen, remembered when the only border barrier between his city and its southern sister, Agua Prieta, was a dilapidated fence. Now, there are immigration officials, surveillance cameras and a towering metal fence the color of rust.

As Mexican criminal organizations have grown more sophisticated, law enforcement officials said, their smuggling operations have, too. Sheriff's deputies arrest people from across the country, some of them teenagers, who have been lured on social media apps like TikTok to drive migrants through the desert for a few thousand dollars a night.

When the numbers of migrants began to climb to new heights last year, a Catholic church in Douglas transformed itself into a shelter. Volunteers collected donations and helped the newcomers.

''We're a town of 17,000,'' said Mr. Huish, the Douglas mayor. ''We have zero capabilities of handling even 30 people staying overnight and waiting for transport out.''

Mr. Kelly is well aware. After Mr. Biden changed the nation's asylum policies by executive order last month to try to slow the flow of migrants, the senator called Mr. Huish to ask if the change was working. But the flow of migrants had already slowed considerably, Mr. Huish said.

Now, he was focused on restoring an orderly flow of goods and people through a formal port of entry, complete with major infrastructure improvements that his senator, Mr. Kelly, is trying to secure.

If anything, Mr. Huish said, he is worried about Mr. Trump's promise of across-the-board tariffs on most imports, including those that would cross at a new Douglas port of entry.

''That could be a problem,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/26/us/politics/mark-kelly-kamala-harris-vp.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/26/us/politics/mark-kelly-kamala-harris-vp.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mark Kelly at the White House, above

a 2013 hearing on gun violence with his wife, Gabrielle Giffords, who was injured in a shooting

and in 2006 with the crew of the Shuttle Discovery. As senator, he has pushed to make Douglas, Ariz., lower left, a U.S. point of entry. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROD LAMKEY, JR. FOR NEW YORK TIMES

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

PAUL RATJE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

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[***Walz Forcefully Defends Military Record in First Solo Campaign Stop***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPW-MSG1-DXY4-X249-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 976 words

**Byline:** Kellen Browning Kellen Browning is a Times reporter covering the 2024 election, with a focus on the swing states of Nevada and Arizona.

**Highlight:** Donald J. Trump’s campaign has accused Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, Vice President Kamala Harris’s running mate, of exaggerating his service in 2018 remarks. The Harris campaign has said he misspoke.

**Body**

Donald J. Trump’s campaign has accused Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, Vice President Kamala Harris’s running mate, of exaggerating his service in 2018 remarks. The Harris campaign has said he misspoke.

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota defended himself against Republican attacks on his military service record on Tuesday in his first solo campaign event since being named Vice President Kamala Harris’s running mate.

Speaking at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees convention in Los Angeles, Mr. Walz responded directly for the first time to the claims pushed by former President Donald J. Trump’s campaign that he exaggerated his military record to suggest he had served in combat when he had not, and that he left his Army National Guard unit to run for public office in order to avoid deploying to Iraq.

“I am damn proud of my service to this country,” Mr. Walz said. “And I firmly believe you should never denigrate another person’s service record.”

Mr. Walz retired from the National Guard in 2005 after 24 years, a year before his artillery battalion deployed to Iraq. At the time of his retirement, soldiers knew a deployment was possible, but the actual orders came months after Mr. Walz, then 41, [*had already left to run for a seat in the House of Representatives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html). On Tuesday, he framed that decision as another act of service.

“In 2005, I felt the call of duty again, this time paying service to my country in the halls of Congress,” Mr. Walz said. Without referring to him by name, he addressed Senator JD Vance of Ohio, Mr. Trump’s running mate, who has led the “stolen valor” attacks against him and who also served in the military.

“To anyone brave enough to put on that uniform for our great country, including my opponent, I just have a few simple words: Thank you for your service and sacrifice,” Mr. Walz said.

Mr. Walz did not directly address Mr. Vance’s claims that he had misrepresented his record to include combat.

Speaking about gun control in 2018, when he was a member of the House of Representatives, Mr. Walz said “we can make sure that those weapons of war that I carried in war is the only place where those weapons are at.”

He deployed after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, but did not serve in a combat zone. The Harris campaign [*has said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html) that Mr. Walz misspoke.

Absent a roaring crowd of more than 10,000 packed inside a stadium or airplane hangar and without serving as Ms. Harris’s opening act — the norm for the Democratic ticket over the past week — Mr. Walz gave a 20-minute address to union members that was slightly less raucous than his previous speeches. But his tone and demeanor otherwise mirrored last week’s series of appearances.

Mr. Walz, a former teacher, framed himself and Ms. Harris as warriors for the ***working class***, highlighting pro-labor bills he signed in Minnesota and his support for federal legislation like the [*Protecting the Right to Organize Act*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html), a labor rights bill. (He incorrectly said he was the first union member on a presidential ticket since Ronald Reagan. He is the second, after Mr. Trump.)

By contrast, Mr. Walz painted Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance as out-of-touch elitists.

“Can you picture Donald Trump working at a McDonald’s, trying to run a McFlurry machine?” Mr. Walz asked, invoking Ms. Harris’s time working at the fast-food chain when she was a student. “The only thing those two guys know about working people is how to work to take advantage of them.”

As governor, Mr. Walz’s own record on labor is not entirely without blemishes. Last year, [*he vetoed a bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html) that would have guaranteed a minimum wage and other labor protections to gig drivers who work for Uber and Lyft, siding with the ridesharing companies’ arguments that the minimum pay was too high for the region and would have required them to curtail their businesses in Minnesota and pass on costs to riders. (He [*signed a similar bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html) with a lower base pay rate this year.)

Mr. Walz is coming off a string of battleground state rallies that welcomed him to the ticket, and the Los Angeles stop was the first of many events for him this week. He is set to attend a fund-raiser in Newport Beach, Calif., also on Tuesday, and attend fund-raisers in Denver, Boston, Newport, R.I., and Southampton, N.Y., later in the week.

Ms. Harris’s choice of Mr. Walz has seemed to turbocharge the enthusiasm unleashed by her own candidacy. He has leaned on his Midwestern appeal on the stump, while promising he and Ms. Harris would bring joy and lightness back to politics.

Supporters who attended last week’s rallies said they viewed Mr. Walz as “America’s dad,” and they were invigorated by the progressive policies he has signed into law in Minnesota.

But his rollout has not come without scrutiny, [*some of it inaccurate or misleading*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html). [*Republicans have seized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html) on his handling of the riots that broke out in Minneapolis in 2020 after a police officer was filmed murdering George Floyd, arguing he did not move quick enough to quell the unrest, looting and arson, and was slow to send in the National Guard. They have [*derided some of his policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html), such as the bill he signed last year requiring menstrual products to be available in the bathrooms of all schools to accommodate transgender students.

Above all, they have [*hammered Mr. Walz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/10/us/tim-walz-military-career.html) over his military service.

The attacks are reminiscent of the sort deployed against Senator John Kerry in 2004, when he was the Democratic nominee running against President George W. Bush. Chris LaCivita, the co-chair of Mr. Trump’s campaign, was also one of the architects of the “Swift Boat” attacks against Mr. Kerry, which successfully cast doubt on his military service in Vietnam.

PHOTO: “I firmly believe you should never denigrate another person’s service record,” Gov. Tim Walz said on Tuesday in Los Angeles. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mark Abramson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2024

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[***A Talent for Transformation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-C9N1-DXY4-X2PF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1758 words

**Byline:** By Laura Collins-Hughes

**Body**

But she did ''burst into tears'' reading Jez Butterworth's rewrite of his new Broadway play, which left her with 10 days ''to create an entirely new character.''

Most plays that transfer to New York from London arrive in close to their original form. There might be small changes to the text, to make particular lines comprehensible to American ears, but usually not much more than that.

Laura Donnelly, the star of Jez Butterworth's new play, ''The Hills of California,'' knew that the playwright had been planning rewrites since early in the London run, which stretched from January to June this year. The current Broadway engagement at the Broadhurst Theater would give Butterworth the chance.

''He was really excited about that,'' Donnelly, 42, said over coffee on a recent morning in Manhattan, her dark hair lightened, permed and cut in a '70s style for the play. ''He kept referring to it as like, 'little bits here and there,' and I was like, 'OK, cool. Yep, no problem.' I think this is also what he told Sam [Mendes], our director, and told our producers. So they scheduled in two weeks of rehearsals.''

What Butterworth, Donnelly's partner of nearly a dozen years, had actually ended up doing was a major rewrite of the third act -- an overhaul that alters the substance, plot and even meaning of the play.

From the start, Donnelly has portrayed two characters in ''The Hills of California'': Veronica Webb, a guesthouse owner in Blackpool, England, in 1955, who is rigorously training her four adolescent daughters to become an American-style girl group; and Joan, her estranged and longed-for favorite child, who returns home at last in 1976, in Act III. But the Joan of the West End script was significantly different from the Joan of the Broadway script.

''I read it, and I burst into tears,'' Donnelly said. ''Because I was like, I have 10 days. I have 10 days, and I need to create an entirely new character. And that's very different from creating a character from scratch. It's more like trying to laser off a tattoo at the same time as you're trying to put a new one on over the top.''

Do not mistake this for preciousness on Donnelly's part. For one thing, Leanne Best, who plays Gloria, another of the Webb sisters, cheerfully corroborated the cast's initial reaction. ''I'm not going to lie and say there wasn't blind panic,'' she said.

For another, Donnelly is not some delicate flower. That much is suggested by her rÃ©sumÃ© of steel-spined roles -- like the combative Amalia True in the short-lived HBO series ''The Nevers,'' the tenacious Jenny Fraser in the Starz series ''Outlander'' and the stalwart Caitlin Carney in Butterworth's Tony Award-winning play ''The Ferryman,'' for which Donnelly won an Olivier Award and got a Tony nomination.

There was, in any case, an unmistakably warm blend of personal affection and professional admiration in Donnelly's words about Butterworth. While both she and ''The Hills of California'' were nominated for Oliviers this year, she believes his rewrites have made it ''unquestionably better.''

''There is an exhale at the end of this that didn't exist before,'' she said.

Donnelly grew up in Belfast, Northern Ireland, and graduated in 2004 from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. She made her Broadway debut a decade ago, opposite Hugh Jackman, in Butterworth's ''The River.''

She was the sole cast member from Ian Rickson's original 2012 London production to move with the play to New York.

By email, Jackman noted ''a timelessness'' about Donnelly, but a humor and cheekiness, too; the word that recurred to him was ''power.''

''Laura is like a force onstage,'' he added. ''It's like her feet go 300 feet into the ground.''

He remembers her as ''quietly present'' during rehearsals and ''patient as an artist.''

''She allowed the character to speak to her, to evolve,'' he wrote.

In a video recording of the performance at the New York Public Library, it is impressive to watch her swiftly win over an audience that it is safe to guess had come to see Jackman.

When I mentioned the recording to Donnelly, she lit up instantly. ''The River'' was the play on which she met Butterworth. They now have two children, ages 6 and 8, who were expected to join their parents in New York just before Sunday's opening of ''The Hills of California.''

Yet serendipity and romance are not the only reasons it still gives Donnelly ''mild goose bumps'' to think back on ''The River'' and what she recalls as ''an incredibly magical time.''

''It was like the beginning of something,'' she said, ''the beginning of me really taking my work and my art seriously and giving myself permission to do that and stopping kind of the little voice that came from Belfast in the '80s, thinking that acting is frivolous or that theater is, you know, in some way just for fun, and that you can't take yourself too seriously in life or in work.

''I kind of let go of all of that in that time,'' she continued. ''And that was a lot to do with seeing how seriously Jez took his work and how seriously Ian Rickson took his work. It was like they kind of granted me permission. And in fact, it was kind of the price of entry.''

That, she said, was when she ''started feeling like a grown-up in the business.''

Mendes, who previously directed Donnelly in ''The Ferryman,'' described her by telephone as someone who, unusually, ''doesn't seek to ingratiate herself with the audience.''

''Almost every actor I've ever met is giving a performance to two people at the same time,'' he said. ''One, the actor that they're acting opposite, and two, the audience. But with Laura, you feel like the audience is eavesdropping, somehow observing this character. And there's a kind of purity that comes from that.''

OFFSTAGE, DONNELLY IS thoughtful, funny, surprising. When I told her I was furious to be able to locate only the first six of the dozen episodes of ''The Nevers,'' she said dryly: ''I'll tip you off. Don't bother with the second six episodes.''

Not what you would usually hear from a show's star about a job she said she loved: ''I was springing out of bed at 5 a.m. every day.'' But then ''The Nevers'' did lose Joss Whedon, its creator, halfway through, at a cliffhanger point in the supernatural, steampunk plot.

The series' sixth episode, which can still be viewed, had demanded an extraordinary hat trick. In it, Donnelly played a ***working-class*** Victorian Londoner named Amalia True, a Canadian soldier from a dystopian future who finds herself inhabiting Amalia's body, and the Victorian gentlewoman the soldier sets out to remake Amalia into.

''I guess what I came to understand doing that was that I had a range that I had never got to necessarily test out before,'' Donnelly said.

So when Butterworth suggested that she play both Veronica and Joan in ''The Hills of California,'' it seemed to her like something she would have fun investigating.

For his part, Butterworth said by phone that Donnelly's riffling through those three ''Nevers'' variations probably had something to do with his wanting to cast her, though of course he was already well aware of her chameleonic prowess.

''When Laura is doing, let's say, an impersonation of another actor,'' he said, ''which she does all the time -- she's very good at it, and she'd hate me to tell you that -- she does the facial expressions and kind of the bone structure of the people as well. Like, she changes how she looks as well as the voice. It's a little bit of a party trick, and it's kind of scary.''

Joan, in ''The Hills of California,'' is an impeccable mimic, too, having been brought up by Veronica to imitate the voices, movements and styles of the Andrews Sisters.

Donnelly suspects that her own talent at mimicry may stem from having been a child in Belfast during the Troubles, ever alert for a shift of energy in the air.

''I think if you grow up in any sense feeling like you have to be somewhat hypervigilant in order to be safe, then you tap into that ability and you're watching the micro-expressions of the people around you,'' she said.

The legacy of the Troubles inspired ''The Ferryman,'' in which Donnelly played a woman whose husband has long been disappeared. During the show's Broadway run, determined to keep the sensations of her role fresh, she read Patrick Radden Keefe's topically related nonfiction book ''Say Nothing.''

Now the book has been adapted into an FX mini-series of the same name, with a Nov. 14 premiere on Hulu. In it Donnelly plays a grown daughter of Jean McConville, a Belfast mother of 10 who was abducted by the Irish Republican Army in 1972, and whose murdered body was not found for more than 30 years.

Donnelly leaped at that role, but a lot of other screen work she is offered seems ''very thin in quality,'' she said, compared to what she gets to do onstage.

She is wary of accepting a job for the wrong reasons: because it's flattering to be asked or feels better than not doing anything, or out of anxiety about ''being seen to be acting regularly,'' she said.

So, as unmoored as she said she feels when she is not working, she has chosen to work less. But lately she has also been trying to figure out who she is outside of work and motherhood, and find ways to use her brain and curiosity when she can't use them on a role.

The law has long been a fascination of hers; if she hadn't gotten into drama school when she applied, her plan was to do a year of law school and try again. Riveted these days by live trials on Court TV and YouTube, Donnelly is considering pursuing a law degree -- in the kind of at-your-own-pace course that wouldn't get in the way of her acting.

She says she has no intention of practicing, ever. Or of giving up acting. She just doesn't want to settle for poor quality, and why would she?

''I'm not thinking in terms of future career,'' she said. ''This is my career.''

And for the next few months, that means immersing herself in ''The Hills of California.'' Relearning the play during those two weeks of London rehearsals was ''very, very scary,'' she said. The danger was that her Broadway performance would be too much in her head, not in her viscera.

Yet in transforming that final act, she said, Butterworth has brought a completeness to a story that before had felt unresolved, and consequently been, for her, ''quite difficult to live in.''

''It feels very different doing it on this occasion,'' Donnelly said, persuasively. ''And I do just think it is the most beautiful rewrite that he could have done.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/theater/laura-donnelly-hills-of-california-broadway.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/theater/laura-donnelly-hills-of-california-broadway.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Laura Donnelly, center, star of ''The Hills of California,'' on the High Line path in Manhattan. Below from left, Nicola Turner, Nancy Allsop, Sophia Ally and McDonnell in the play at the Broadhurst Theater. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SCOTT ROSSI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR4.

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[***Vance Championed 2017 Report on Families From Architects of Project 2025***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW8-TT11-DXY4-X3R6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 3, 2024 Tuesday 11:59 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1334 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:** JD Vance, as he was dipping his toe into politics, praised the Heritage Foundation report — 29 essays opposing abortion and seeking to instruct Americans on how to raise children — as “admirable.”

**Body**

Years before he became the Republican vice-presidential nominee, JD Vance endorsed [*a little-noticed 2017 report*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity) by the Heritage Foundation that proposed a sweeping conservative agenda to restrict sexual and reproductive freedoms and remake American families.

In a series of 29 separate essays, conservative commentators, policy experts, community leaders and Christian clergy members opposed the spread of in vitro fertilization and other fertility treatments, describing those treatments as harmful to women. They praised the rapidly expanding number of state laws restricting abortion rights and access, saying that the procedure should become “unthinkable” in America. And they cited hunger as a “great motivation” for Americans to find work.

Mr. Vance, then known as the author of a best-selling memoir, became a champion of the project. He wrote the introduction and praised the volume as “admirable,” and was [*the keynote speaker*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity) at the public release of the report at Heritage’s offices in Washington.

The report was released just months after Donald J. Trump became president, as social conservatives were laying the foundation for an aggressive agenda restricting sexual freedom and reproductive rights. Those policies became a hallmark of the Trump administration and Mr. Vance’s political career.

Taken together, the pieces in the report amount to an effort to instruct Americans on what their families should be, when to grow them and the best way to raise their children. Authors argued in the 2017 report that women should become pregnant at younger ages and that a two-parent, heterosexual household was the “ideal” environment for children.

“The ideal situation for any child is growing up with the mother and father who brought that child into the world,” wrote Katrina Trinko, a conservative journalist, [*in an essay detailing*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity) the “tragedy” of babies born to single mothers.

Although Mr. Vance did not address in detail the specific issues of fertility treatments, abortion rights or marriage, the broad vision expressed in the report comports with some of the views he has expressed about American families.

He has been an [*ardent opponent of abortion rights*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity), saying he wanted to protect life “from the date of conception.” During his Senate race in 2022, [*he promised to oppose*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity) legislation codifying the right to marriage for same-sex couples. He has stressed the importance of having children, saying not doing so “makes people more sociopathic.”

And in a comment that prompted a wave of outrage among liberal and independent women, he criticized prominent Democrats as “childless cat ladies” — a claim he later dismissed as a “sarcastic remark.”

Mr. Vance’s campaign neither defended nor disavowed the opinions expressed in the report, saying he had no role in editing the essays and “did not have any input on the commentary.”

“Senator Vance has long made clear that he supports I.V.F. and does not agree with every opinion in this seven-year-old report, which features a range of unique views from dozens of conservative thinkers,” said Luke Schroeder, a spokesman for Mr. Vance. “It’s bizarre that The New York Times is writing an entire piece attacking Senator Vance for the views of other individuals.”

The Heritage Foundation also said Mr. Vance had no involvement with the policy ideas included in the report, but declined to offer an opinion on the content.

“Senator Vance had no role in producing or approving the contents of the 2017 Index of Culture and Opportunity, outside of writing the introduction,” said Noah Weinrich, a spokesman for the organization.

In his introduction, Mr. Vance argued that economic struggles were inextricable from what he saw as cultural decay, suggesting that fixing the state of American life required not just proposals about trade, jobs and education but an embrace of conservative social values that would define the nation’s families.

“Culture, in other words, must serve as the beginning of a conversation, not the end of one, and proper conversation about culture will never be used as a weapon against those whom Christ described as ‘the least of these,’” he wrote in the foundation’s Index of Culture and Opportunity report. “It will be a needed antidote to a simplistic political discourse.”

One of the essays takes a deeply skeptical view of in vitro fertilization and other fertility treatments, arguing that they cause women to be “lured into the belief that they can have children whenever they are finally ready.”

The piece casts women as turning to fertility treatments as “magic pills” to delay motherhood for professional advancement rather than as expensive last resorts for couples desperate to have a child. It also refers to egg-freezing, the medical procedure through which eggs are harvested, frozen and stored for later use, as a “scheme.”

“We need to stop practices that may bring harm to others: the children born from high-tech pregnancies as well as the women who are exploited for their healthy reproductive capacities,” writes Jennifer Lahl, an anti-abortion advocate, who founded the Center for Bioethics and Culture, a group that questions the use of fertility treatments.

Mr. Trump [*said on the campaign trail*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity) last week that he wants to make I.V.F. treatment free for all Americans, a proposal that faces a steep — [*if not impossible*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity) — climb through Congress and the federal government to becoming law. Mr. Vance, who has expressed support for I.V.F., defended that position on the trail but offered no specifics on how Mr. Trump would fund his plan.

Another set of pieces reiterate long-held conservative economic views, including eliminating regulations on businesses, cutting federal spending, expanding charter schools, increasing work requirements for welfare programs and voicing opposition to programs that offer government assistance for Americans to buy or rent homes.

“The private market has proved more than capable of providing a wide array of housing types that are affordable for many income levels — and could do even better for those of lower incomes absent overly restrictive zoning and other regulatory impediments,” wrote Howard Husock, a conservative housing policy expert.

In a separate piece, Cal Thomas, a conservative commentator, calls welfare programs the “ultimate poison” that create poverty by discouraging work.

“The threat of an empty stomach is a great motivator for people who are able to work to find work,” [*Mr. Thomas wrote*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity). “For many, human nature would rather get a check from the government without working for it than earn a check from a job.”

The report was published as Mr. Vance was dipping his toe into politics and was famous for his memoir. His beliefs on specific issues were relatively unknown, and his endorsement of the Heritage report offered an early declaration of his socially conservative values.

“Two of the biggest factors driving regional differences in upward mobility are the prevalence of single-parent families and concentrated poverty, indicating that both family and neighborhood structure matter in the lives of our nation’s ***working class***,” he wrote in the introduction.

In recent weeks, Mr. Trump has gone out of his way to distance himself from the Heritage Foundation and the group’s Project 2025 effort, a policy blueprint for the next Republican administration that has become a major Democratic attack line.

Mr. Vance’s participation in the foundation’s Index of Culture and Opportunity report offers a reminder of the yearslong ties between him and the conservative think tank — connections that deepened in the years that followed.

In June, Mr. Vance [*announced*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity) that he [*wrote the foreword*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity) to a new book by the Heritage Foundation’s president, [*Kevin D. Roberts*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity), Project 2025’s principal architect. Publication of that book has since been [*delayed until after the election.*](https://www.heritage.org/2017-index-culture-and-opportunity)

PHOTO: JD Vance wrote the introduction to a 2017 Heritage Foundation report, calling it “admirable.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

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[***How Will Trump Verdict Affect the Election?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C69-1YW1-DXY4-X00T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 6, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 25; LETTERS

**Length:** 1292 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re '''Guilty' May Not Matter,'' by Frank Bruni (Opinion, June 2):

Mr. Bruni fears that Donald Trump's newfound status as a convicted felon may not be enough for him to lose the election. Although Mr. Bruni may be right, he and the rest of us who desperately want to keep this despicable demagogue from returning to the White House should consider why so many millions would vote for a candidate with a criminal record.

Mr. Trump's appeals to grievance and nostalgia for a bygone era have found fertile ground among the non-college-educated ***working class*** whose economic advancement has stalled over the past several decades. In many cases Mr. Trump simply exploits racism and xenophobia, but legitimate injury is there as well.

Income gains have stagnated despite rising productivity; good blue-collar, union jobs have been offshored, replaced by lower-paying nonunion jobs in the service sector; and the profit-driven health care system grows increasingly heartless.

With his declarations of a system rigged against both him and his supporters, Mr. Trump has cynically channeled anger at elites who have successfully ridden out or even engineered capitalism's latest jolts.

Although Mr. Trump leads the party that has traditionally championed the interests of the moneyed elite, Democrats have largely failed to offer a compelling alternative for these disaffected voters. The Democrats need to start concentrating on progressive solutions to ***working-class*** woes, and President Biden must make a convincing case for the real-life impacts of his not-insignificant achievements.

If this does not happen, we could well see a second Trump presidency, no matter how many criminal counts he has against him.

Kenneth M. CoughlinNew York

To the Editor:

Re ''7 Writers on the Verdict'' (Opinion, June 2) and ''Holy Cow: 34 for 45!,'' by Maureen Dowd (column, June 2):

It seems to me there are two important ironies underlying the reflections of the Times Opinion writers on the verdict. The first is that even though Donald Trump was worried that the revelation about Stormy Daniels might have harmed his election chances -- and for that reason he bought her silence and falsified business records -- it turns out that he apparently needn't have bothered since, as the Opinion writers seem generally to agree, many voters are not particularly concerned by his conduct.

The second irony suggested by at least some of the Opinion writers is that not only may Mr. Trump's conduct not harm his election chances, but the decision to prosecute him for that conduct may actually help his chances.

For example, Matthew Continetti argues that the prosecution ''undermined confidence in the rule of law and rallied G.O.P. voters to Trump.'' And Maureen Dowd reports her sister saying: ''I wasn't going to vote for Trump. But now I am because I thought this whole thing was a sham.''

In the end, we may not know the effect of Mr. Trump's conduct or of the jury verdict until the voters render their verdict on Nov. 5. And it seems likely that there will be more ironies to come before that date.

Walter SmithWashington

To the Editor:

The conviction of former President Donald Trump creates an opportunity. President Biden should announce that if the Republican Party decides that it cannot nominate a convicted felon, he will no longer find it necessary to be the candidate of the Democratic Party.

Open nominating conventions by both parties can forestall a presidential campaign that risks irremediable societal division and enable essential generational change.

Peter McAuliffIslamorada, Fla.

To the Editor:

Donald Trump's guilt or innocence is of no consequence for me. As far as I'm concerned, he's the lesser of two evils.

My family suffers under President Biden and the Democrats. And, contrary to Mr. Biden's assurances that we're really better off, we just don't know it, I know exactly how much more I'm paying for gas. I know exactly how much more we're paying for food, electricity and water.

My family was definitely better off under Mr. Trump, and that's of consequence for me.

Edward LittleTemple City, Calif.

To the Editor:

Re ''Time Flies When You're Being Convicted,'' by Gail Collins and Bret Stephens (The Conversation, June 4):

Mr. Stephens writes of Donald Trump: ''I doubt that anyone previously inclined to vote for him will now be swayed to vote for President Biden.'' That is obvious: The MAGA nation will continue to support Mr. Trump's most extreme ideas and rhetoric, and opportunistic Republicans will go along for a variety of self-interested reasons.

The question is whether traditional conservatives, who believe in good character, the rule of law and the criminal justice system, and sensible, centrist independents will refuse to vote at all in this presidential election because they cannot abide choosing between a felon, even one convicted on what Mr. Stephens considers a weak legal theory, and his incumbent opponent, who is well past his prime and must defend very unpopular policies.

If many potential voters stay home on Election Day, it will affect the outcome of the Biden-Trump contest.

This election is ultimately about the weaknesses of the American political system. It is hard to engage in a process that produced major-party candidates who are so deeply flawed, albeit in very different ways. In about five months, we will get the president we deserve, and it will be ugly.

Steven S. BerizziNorwalk, Conn.

Foster Kids Deserve Their Money

To the Editor:

Re ''Foster Children Fight to Stop States From Taking Their Federal Benefits'' (news article, May 27):

Foster children entitled to Social Security benefits shouldn't have to wait for federal or state legislation to right the wrongs of localities pocketing money that they are owed.

New York is unfortunately one of the cities that seizes the money of disabled children. The Legal Aid Society has been pushing Mayor Eric Adams's administration to adopt practices employed by other states that safeguard children's benefits to pay for essential needs or to set them up for independence after they age out of foster care.

Arizona has emerged as the gold standard on this front; the state contracts with a third party to identify eligible children to preserve these funds in sanctioned savings accounts.

Ironically, New York City contracts with the same company, but instead of doing right by these children, the Administration for Children's Services diverts the overwhelming majority of benefits to underwrite the costs of providing foster care.

New York City must not wait for Congress or others to act. It must do the right thing and follow the lead of other jurisdictions that have figured out how to both comply with federal requirements and ensure that these vulnerable children have the benefits and every single penny to which they are entitled.

Dawne MitchellNew YorkThe writer is a chief attorney for the Juvenile Rights Practice at the Legal Aid Society.

Free School Meals

To the Editor:

Re ''How Free School Meals Went Mainstream'' (Headway, nytimes.com, May 21):

How wonderful that children can eat lunch and breakfast in school without stigmatization and that experts now recognize the benefits of universal free meals.

It wasn't always this way. When the Black Panthers and the Young Lords launched free breakfast programs in Oakland and New York in the late 1960s, politicians and pundits branded the effort as dangerously radical and subversive.

Today conservative forces still seek to roll back free meals for kids, but fortunately they lack momentum and compelling arguments.

Marc EdelmanCallicoon, N.Y.The writer is a professor of anthropology at Hunter College and the CUNY Graduate Center.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/05/opinion/donald-trump-conviction-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/05/opinion/donald-trump-conviction-election.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A25.

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[***Spaceman, Senator, V.P. Pick? Kamala Harris Sizes Up Mark Kelly.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CK0-SJ61-DXY4-X2CB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1864 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman and Jazmine Ulloa Jonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago. Jazmine Ulloa is a national politics reporter for The Times, covering the 2024 presidential campaign. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** The Arizona senator, a Navy veteran and former astronaut, has an almost impossibly strong political résumé. But an overlooked asset is his expertise on the Southern border.

**Body**

The rugged border lands around Douglas, Ariz., dip through precipitous canyons and shoot skyward on rocky mountain walls, impossible terrain for a 30-foot steel bollard wall but not for the cartels smuggling people and contraband from Mexico.

Senator Mark Kelly, an Arizona Democrat [*under consideration to be Vice President Kamala Harris’s running mate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), knows this expanse well — a fact that even the state’s Republicans acknowledge.

Donald Huish, the G.O.P. mayor of Douglas, recounted a phone call with Mr. Kelly two weeks ago, when the two men talked through progress on making the small city [*an official, expanded port of entry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) into the United States. The senator has pushed hard for the move, and Mr. Huish has embraced it. Both of them see the plan as a way to inject economic stability into the region and possibly defang the coyotes and cartels prowling the passes.

“What gets me about Senator Kelly is, yes, we’re in touch with staff on the issues, but he personally calls me on a regular basis, and I feel comfortable calling him,” said Mr. Huish, who identifies as a strongly conservative Republican. “I’m sure he’s taken some heat from some of his party concerning the border, but he understands it.”

Mr. Kelly, 60, is a relative newcomer to politics. But he would bring to the Democratic ticket [*a résumé as remarkable as any political consultant could dream of*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html): He is the ***working-class*** son of New Jersey police officers, a Navy pilot who flew 39 combat missions off the U.S.S. Midway in Operation Desert Storm, and a NASA astronaut and engineer who collected debris from the Columbia disaster, commanded a shuttle as the United States returned to space and flew the Space Shuttle Endeavour’s final mission.

Oh, and he is married to [*Gabrielle Giffords*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), the former Arizona representative whose near-fatal brain injury in a mass shooting made her a symbol against gun violence, in her battleground state and beyond.

All of that could be hugely helpful to Ms. Harris as she tries to recapture momentum among ***working-class*** voters and keep Arizona, where [*former President Donald J. Trump has been gaining an edge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), winnable for Democrats.

But Mr. Kelly’s special appeal, beyond what other potential running mates from swing states could provide, is his expertise on the technical issues and politics of the U.S.-Mexico border, perhaps Ms. Harris’s biggest vulnerability, his backers say.

“That’s why I appreciate Senator Kelly: He sees the dichotomies, the differences, the challenges that are not all the same on the border,” Mr. Huish said.

A Trump supporter, Mr. Huish said he was not a fan of Ms. Harris. “Her heart’s in the right place,” he said. “Her policies are in the wrong place.” But if Mr. Kelly joined the ticket, he said, it would cause him to “struggle a little bit” with this vote.

Other vice-presidential contenders, like Gov. [*Andy Beshear*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) of Kentucky and Gov. [*Roy Cooper*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) of North Carolina, have made their reputations by winning over Republican voters. Two other governors in the mix, [*Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) and [*Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), hail from states that are perhaps more crucial to Democratic fortunes than Arizona, which, [*while President Biden carried it narrowly in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), was more of a capstone to his victory than a linchpin.

Mr. Kelly’s political identity is tied directly to his appeal to Republicans — not just voters but also politicians and personalities — in a state where the Grand Old Party is bitterly divided between old-line Republicans allied with [*the legacy of Senator John McCain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) and a new guard of Trump loyalists who hold their intraparty rivals in contempt.

As a fellow Navy combat pilot, Mr. Kelly bonded with Mr. McCain well before he entered politics, when he was best known in the state as Ms. Giffords’s husband. He was elected to the [*Senate in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), beating [*Martha McSally, a fellow military pilot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) appointed to Mr. McCain’s seat after his death, and then won a full term in 2022 by [*defeating a Trump-backed conservative, Blake Masters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), by [*nearly five percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html).

Meghan McCain, a conservative media personality and the senator’s daughter, estimated that about 15 percent of Arizona Republicans remained in the McCain wing. Mr. Kelly has been “not just respectful” to her father’s legacy, she said, but “I’d go so far as deferential.”

“He’s smart, he’s charismatic, he has a vision,” Cindy McCain, Mr. McCain’s widow, said in an interview. “You look at his record and who he is as a person, he’s a very lovely man, and of course he brings Arizona.”

With Mr. Kelly’s personal history comes a mystique that cannot be manufactured. Paul Fujimura, a former Naval flight officer who flew an A-6 Intruder with Mr. Kelly for two years, remembered being asked during the Gulf War to go after an Iraqi patrol boat making a run for it out of Kuwait Harbor. Mr. Kelly wanted to attack, but that meant a hard, 135-degree turn at 200 feet above the water, under heavy antiaircraft fire, and bringing another plane that was flying cover with them. At Mr. Kelly’s order, they went ahead and sank the boat.

“To order somebody else to go forward and put their life on the line is a heavy, heavy, heavy responsibility,” said Mr. Fujimura, a senior official in the Transportation Security Administration who this weekend will take over international programs at the U.S. Naval Academy. “You’ve got to be decisive, and you have to commit. It takes courage.”

During Ms. Giffords’s first House run, in 2006, women at her campaign events wanted to know if she was really dating an astronaut, and if so, what was he like. As she [*painstakingly recovered from her brain injury*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), he was seen in the state as [*her steadfast supporter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), even from space.

His willingness [*to stand by — and sometimes in the shadow of — a famous political woman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) has not been lost on Ms. Harris’s team, Democrats say. He has ties to the vice president from their time together in the Capitol, where she has served as the tiebreaking president of the Senate. His Senate chief of staff, Jennifer Cox, came from his wife’s sprawling political operation and is on leave to lead the Harris campaign in Arizona.

His standard campaign uniform, a Navy flight jacket and ship cap, is recognizable with blue-collar audiences anywhere; he has been stumping with endangered Senate Democrats across the country. He even has cordial relations with [*Elon Musk, now an avatar of the right*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), having served on a safety panel for Mr. Musk’s company SpaceX.

And Arizona Democrats are behind him. The state party’s executive board on Wednesday [*formally endorsed Mr. Kelly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) to be the vice-presidential nominee.

“It would be good for Arizona as a border state, and it would be good for our country,” said Raquel Terán, a former chair of the Arizona Democratic Party now running for the House. “He is a coalition builder, and he knows how to get things done.”

Mr. Kelly, who declined to be interviewed for this article, has his drawbacks. If a Harris-Kelly ticket captured the White House, the Democratic governor of Arizona, Katie Hobbs, would appoint a Democratic replacement for Mr. Kelly in the Senate next year, but the seat would be subject to an early special election in 2026, potentially putting it at risk. (Mr. Kelly does not face re-election until 2028.)

Daniel Scarpinato, a Republican operative in the state, noted that Mr. Kelly was not a barnburner on the stump. In Washington, the senator has often been overshadowed legislatively by Senator Kyrsten Sinema, the Democrat-turned-independent who helped craft some of Mr. Biden’s signature accomplishments, especially the infrastructure law.

Mr. Kelly has also not faced the harsh spotlight of a national campaign, and has potential political liabilities like a [*high-altitude surveillance balloon company*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) he helped found with Chinese venture capital, Mr. Scarpinato said.

But like other Republicans, Mr. Scarpinato circled back to the border, and Mr. Kelly’s deft handling of it, as a huge boon to a Democratic ticket.

John Giles, the Republican mayor of Mesa, Ariz., a sprawling suburb of Phoenix in critical Maricopa County, agreed.

“He’s a wonky, nerdy guy who has to know the details of how things work,” he said. “He’s not a superficial guy.”

Mr. Kelly’s approach to the border embraces barriers like Mr. Trump’s wall in some places, though not across the entire frontier. He has also called for an immigration policy that treats migrants with respect and maintains asylum options. Most of all, [*he has pushed back against politicians*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) (he does not say Republicans) who have swept into Arizona’s borderlands since the George W. Bush administration, held photo opportunities and partisan news conferences, and then returned to Washington only to snuff out legislative solutions and preserve their political talking points.

Local officials say Mr. Kelly is attuned to the complexities of the issue and grasps the difference between a smuggler’s haven like Cochise County, which includes Douglas, and a major port of entry like Yuma, Ariz., where migrants cross legally, appeal for asylum and are often released pending their court date.

Douglas’s police chief, Kraig Fullen, remembered when the only border barrier between his city and its southern sister, Agua Prieta, was a dilapidated fence. Now, there are immigration officials, surveillance cameras and a towering metal fence the color of rust.

As Mexican criminal organizations have grown more sophisticated, law enforcement officials said, their smuggling operations have, too. Sheriff’s deputies arrest people from across the country, some of them teenagers, who have been lured on social media apps like TikTok to drive migrants through the desert for a few thousand dollars a night.

When the numbers of migrants began to climb to new heights last year, a Catholic church in Douglas transformed itself into a shelter. Volunteers collected donations and helped the newcomers.

“We’re a town of 17,000,” said Mr. Huish, the Douglas mayor. “We have zero capabilities of handling even 30 people staying overnight and waiting for transport out.”

Mr. Kelly is well aware. After Mr. Biden [*changed the nation’s asylum policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html) by executive order last month to try to slow the flow of migrants, the senator called Mr. Huish to ask if the change was working. But the flow of migrants had already slowed considerably, Mr. Huish said.

Now, he was focused on restoring an orderly flow of goods and people through a formal port of entry, complete with major infrastructure improvements that his senator, Mr. Kelly, is trying to secure.

If anything, Mr. Huish said, he is worried about [*Mr. Trump’s promise of across-the-board tariffs on most imports*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/us/politics/harris-vice-president-search.html), including those that would cross at a new Douglas port of entry.

“That could be a problem,” he said.

PHOTOS: Mark Kelly at the White House, above; a 2013 hearing on gun violence with his wife, Gabrielle Giffords, who was injured in a shooting; and in 2006 with the crew of the Shuttle Discovery. As senator, he has pushed to make Douglas, Ariz., lower left, a U.S. point of entry. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROD LAMKEY, JR. FOR NEW YORK TIMES; DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES; CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES; PAUL RATJE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

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[***Economic Woes Spill Into Egyptian Nights***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW2-G8J1-JBG3-60M9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1256 words

**Byline:** By Vivian Yee and Hadeer Mahmoud Ahmed

**Body**

It's so hot in Cairo that people like to go out all night. It might look like a party, but in reality, one shopkeeper said, ''everybody is dead on the inside.''

Ten p.m. arrives in Cairo's Sayyida Zeinab neighborhood with the same dogged tenacity as it does anywhere else, but down the fluorescent shopping streets and in the sidewalk cafes, few people used to glance at the clock. It might have been near bedtime in other countries, but Cairo was practically still waking up.

That was summer in the past, season of sweat, and the city adapted its schedule. Days were for cooling inside, or at least avoiding the sun's blitzkrieg. Nighttime offered mercy. Though the concrete sidewalks still belched up the day's accumulated heat, the neighborhood came alive only after isha, the last of the five daily Muslim prayers. The day went on long into early morning.

Not this summer. With an energy shortage prompting the government to mandate earlier closing times, 10 p.m. now brings a dimming to Sayyida Zeinab: metal shutters are down or rolling toward the ground, turning the loudly colored, exuberantly lit storefronts to gray.

Years into an economic crunch that has left the government scrambling for dollars and made life a misery for all but the richest, Egypt is short on natural gas and funds to buy more, necessitating daily countrywide blackouts until a few weeks ago.

So, starting in July, orders came from on high: To save electricity, stores must close by 10 p.m. and cafes, restaurants and malls by midnight, slightly later on weekends. Only groceries and pharmacies are exempt.

Wealthy Cairenes in the sprawling suburbs can go from air-conditioned homes to air-conditioned cars to air-conditioned malls, or even send their doormen on errands. In the cramped, churning traditional areas of central Cairo, that option does not exist.

''If you go out to shop during the day, you'll boil yourself,'' said Hind Ahmed, 51, who had gone with a friend recently to pick up clothes from a tailor after evening prayers at Sayyida Zeinab's landmark mosque. ''But we end up having to roast, because the stores close early now.''

Her friend Wafaa Ibrahim, 46, barely goes out anymore anyway, late opening times or no. She cannot afford to.

''The minute I run out of money, I lock myself up at home,'' she said. ''Now I don't go out shopping because I don't want to depress myself.''

By that point, it was well past 10 p.m., and signs of halfhearted compliance were appearing. In recent weeks, one shopkeeper who was closing up explained, the police had been driving down the main streets every night, enforcing the order.

No power can mute Cairo entirely. But the volume was uncharacteristically low, the shoppers dwindling even as motorcycles and tuk-tuks blared down the street.

In some ways, the stillness matched the country's gloom. The all-night hustle of ***working-class*** neighborhoods like Sayyida Zeinab, the mahraganat tunes that blare from tuk-tuks and the dazzling displays of nuts and candies can make for a misleading, if jaunty, facade.

Teenage girls peek at windows full of clothed mannequins. Mothers in loose abayas shop for children's sneakers, their sons and daughters occupied with cups of cold mango-topped pudding. Cafe tables colonize part of the street, lorded over by men who suck at water pipes and nurse coffees until late.

Tourists marvel at the shimmying street, at Egyptians' famed friendliness and broad humor. But locals say they joke to cope with what they cannot change.

''Egypt is a graveyard,'' said Saied Mahmoud, 41, who works from noon until closing time in his father's small, wedge-shaped clothing shop near the mosque. ''Everybody is dead on the inside. They've surrendered; they're down. What you see in front of you is dead people walking.''

He earns barely enough for food, rent and bus fare after years of soaring prices, even if inflation had cooled somewhat in recent months, he said. Like many overeducated, underemployed Egyptians, he cannot find better work despite his master's degree in business. Marriage? He could only laugh at the thought of what a wedding, wife and children would cost.

It was only getting worse, he said: Despite his sly attempts to stay open past 10 (shutter partly closed, lights dimmed), customers were hardly coming anyway, either driven away by the rows of shut shops or unable to afford new clothes.

Having to close earlier ''just made muddy water even muddier,'' he said, using an Egyptian expression meaning things had gone from bad to worse.

Since coming to power in a 2013 military takeover, President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi has promised prosperity for a new, improved Egypt. For most Egyptians, however, most of the past decade has been a downward spiral.

Successive devaluations of the currency starting in 2016 damaged their ability to buy the imported goods Egypt depends on. The coronavirus pandemic and wars in Ukraine and the Middle East shocked an economy already weakened by Mr. el-Sisi's policies. Inflation soared; wages did not, and Egypt skimped on the health care and education spending that once supported middle-class life.

Despite recent infusions of cash from international investors and lenders that have stabilized the economy, analysts say the country may face a new crisis unless it makes major changes.

Though Egypt says it has expanded welfare programs, the most recent official statistics say just under 30 percent of Egyptians live in poverty. But that was before the pandemic and the most recent economic crisis. And International Monetary Fund bailouts have forced the government to cut bread, gas and electricity subsidies vital to many poor Egyptians.

Just last month, Egypt increased electricity prices again.

That means even more of a squeeze for Ahmed Ashour's barbershop, named for the Yugoslav statesman Josip Broz Tito. Usually, he stays open from 7 p.m. until 5 a.m. all summer: It is so hot out that men's skin gets inflamed if they come for a shave during the day, he explained. Besides, he has a day job from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. at the Finance Ministry -- he cannot make ends meet without both.

Side streets, including the one where Tito stood, seemed to escape enforcement of the government order. But the main streets' early darkening meant fewer people around, period. Between that and customers' thinning wallets, Mr. Ashour estimated that he had lost 70 percent of his business during the economic crisis.

Customers from around the neighborhood used to drop by for a haircut and stay for hours, he said, hanging out on his worn black chairs with endless cups of coffee and tea. Now they said quick hellos on their way to their own second or third jobs.

People had the new school year to pay for, summer vacations and the ever-rising cost of practically everything. ''A man will consider other stuff, he doesn't pay attention to how he looks,'' he said, though he noted that some customers had learned to cut their own hair at home.

''There's a point where we can't continue like this,'' he said, his forehead dewed with sweat even at 11 p.m. ''It's as if we're hanging ourselves.''

In a nearby alleyway, Hosni Mohammed, 67, was closing up the optical shop where he earned a small salary. From 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., he said, almost nobody came in these days.

''Someone taught me that business falls asleep, but never dies completely,'' he said, trying to take the long view. ''Just like Egypt. It gets tired, but never dies.''

Emad Mekay contributed reporting.Emad Mekay contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/world/middleeast/egypt-economic-crisis.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/world/middleeast/egypt-economic-crisis.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A market in Cairo, left. Many shop once temperatures drop, but some markets have not been able to stay open as late. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HADEER MAHMOUD AHMED FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A9.

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2024

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[***‘Politics Is About Tomorrow, Not Yesterday’; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJ5-PR41-JBG3-625M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 22, 2024 Monday 15:29 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 819 words

**Byline:** David Paul Kuhn

**Highlight:** Joe Biden must have accepted that he is yesterday and chose to let the party move on.

**Body**

Lyndon Baines Johnson would fall asleep at night and imagine himself tied to the ground surrounded by thousands of voices, he [*once told*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover) Doris Kearns Goodwin. “They were all shouting at me and running toward me: ‘Coward! Traitor! Weakling!’ They kept coming closer. They began throwing stones.” Then he would awaken, “terribly shaken.”

This is the troubled man who withdrew from the presidential race. “Johnson gave you all of himself,” Norman Mailer [*once wrote*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover). “He was a political animal.” He would be diminished as one, too — alone, at least politically.

Increasingly isolated, President Biden surely shared that agony when he made the decision to bow out of the 2024 presidential race. Perhaps, ultimately, he came to recall in assessing the race and his situation a fundamental principle of politics. “Politics is about tomorrow, not yesterday,” he told me in 2007.

With the years since showing, he must have accepted that he is yesterday and chose to let the party move on.

Most presidents look backward to find a way forward. They live amid portraits of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Rarely, but occasionally, they have found that there is no way forward. Not long before Johnson’s shocking announcement, he [*asked an aide*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover) for details on President Harry Truman’s 1952 declaration that he would not seek another term.

For Truman, like Johnson, the presidency had worn him thin. Truman’s wife [*had told him*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover) that she did not think either of them could survive four more years and urged him not to run.

Truman and Johnson had also endured dreadful wars, costing tens of thousands of American lives, and suffered embarrassing outcomes in New Hampshire Democratic primaries.

Mr. Biden had the nomination, and however divided the party is over the war in Gaza, for Americans, the blood and treasure are minuscule compared with what they gave to Korea and Vietnam.

For Mr. Biden, it was the mounting calls to exit the race and the realization that someone else might be more able to win it. Truman had asked close advisers if he should run again and was discouraged. After long enabling Johnson’s delusions on Vietnam, the “wise men” [*told him*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover) hard truths. Days later, he withdrew.

Johnson had accomplished domestic feats unmatched since Franklin Roosevelt, who was president when Johnson entered Congress. Like many Democrats of his generation, Mr. Biden saw Johnson’s accomplishments eclipsed by Vietnam. Mr. Biden had to wrestle with whether Donald Trump was his Vietnam and what losing to him would do to his legacy.

It was not easier for Johnson. By 1968, Johnson had worked so hard for the presidency and done so much while in office that it was difficult for him to let it go. He thought the presidency was his in 1960, only for John Kennedy to win. Johnson saw a showman who hadn’t earned it.

“Jack was out kissing babies while I was out passing bills,” Johnson [*once said*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover).

This is how Mr. Biden felt in the 2008 primary contest. Like Johnson, Mr. Biden had mastered Washington. But Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton garnered the presidential spotlight. Then Mr. Biden became vice president, only for Mr. Obama and senior Democrats to pass him over to enable Hillary Clinton’s moment. In 2020 leading pundits underestimated him. By beating Mr. Trump, he seized another chance at leading the nation into tomorrow.

In recent weeks, the president was being asked to heed those who doubted him in races past and never thought he would get this far. Truman and Johnson listened to those voices. Now, too, has Mr. Biden. We will see if Democrats can avoid the fate that followed Truman and Johnson. Both led to Republican presidents. But Johnson and 1968 haunt Democrats most. Then, as now, they stare down an August convention in Chicago, bedeviled by intraparty rifts.

Johnson was originally supposed to be in Chicago for the convention [*to celebrate*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover) his 60th birthday at Soldier Field. Instead, he sat with his family in Texas, forced to watch on television, like regular Americans, as his party clashed inside and outside the convention hall. The unrest underlined the chaos of the era — Vietnam, civil unrest, rising crime, the murders of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy.

Rather than show a way out, Democrats magnified the era’s disarray. We will soon see if Democrats can find a way forward without getting mired in the conflicts that sundered them, as they did back when Mr. Biden was young.

David Paul Kuhn is the author of “[*The Hardhat Riot*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover): Nixon, New York City, and the Dawn of the White ***Working-Class*** Revolution.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Lyndon_Johnson_and_the_American_Dream/Tv8QCgAAQBAJ?hl=en&amp;gbpv=1&amp;dq=they+were+all+shouting+at+me+and+running+toward+me:+Coward!+Traitor!+Weakling&amp;pg=PT216&amp;printsec=frontcover).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 24, 2024

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[***How Will Trump’s Conviction Affect the Election?; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C64-H391-JBG3-6023-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 5, 2024 Wednesday 23:36 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1280 words

**Highlight:** Readers offer their analyses in response to various Opinion writers. Also: Foster children; free school meals.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*‘Guilty’ May Not Matter,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/30/opinion/trump-guilty-verdict-defense.html)” by Frank Bruni (Opinion, June 2):

Mr. Bruni fears that Donald Trump’s newfound status as a convicted felon may not be enough for him to lose the election. Although Mr. Bruni may be right, he and the rest of us who desperately want to keep this despicable demagogue from returning to the White House should consider why so many millions would vote for a candidate with a criminal record.

Mr. Trump’s appeals to grievance and nostalgia for a bygone era have found fertile ground among the non-college-educated ***working class*** whose economic advancement has stalled over the past several decades. In many cases Mr. Trump simply exploits racism and xenophobia, but legitimate injury is there as well.

Income gains have stagnated despite rising productivity; good blue-collar, union jobs have been offshored, replaced by lower-paying nonunion jobs in the service sector; and the profit-driven health care system grows increasingly heartless.

With his declarations of a system rigged against both him and his supporters, Mr. Trump has cynically channeled anger at elites who have successfully ridden out or even engineered capitalism’s latest jolts.

Although Mr. Trump leads the party that has traditionally championed the interests of the moneyed elite, Democrats have largely failed to offer a compelling alternative for these disaffected voters. The Democrats need to start concentrating on progressive solutions to ***working-class*** woes, and President Biden must make a convincing case for the real-life impacts of his not-insignificant achievements.

If this does not happen, we could well see a second Trump presidency, no matter how many criminal counts he has against him.

Kenneth M. Coughlin

New York

To the Editor:

Re “[*7 Writers on the Verdict*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/30/opinion/trump-guilty-verdict-defense.html)” (Opinion, June 2) and “[*Holy Cow: 34 for 45!*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/30/opinion/trump-guilty-verdict-defense.html),” by Maureen Dowd (column, June 2):

It seems to me there are two important ironies underlying the reflections of the Times Opinion writers on the verdict. The first is that even though Donald Trump was worried that the revelation about Stormy Daniels might have harmed his election chances — and for that reason he bought her silence and falsified business records — it turns out that he apparently needn’t have bothered since, as the Opinion writers seem generally to agree, many voters are not particularly concerned by his conduct.

The second irony suggested by at least some of the Opinion writers is that not only may Mr. Trump’s conduct not harm his election chances, but the decision to prosecute him for that conduct may actually help his chances.

For example, Matthew Continetti argues that the prosecution “undermined confidence in the rule of law and rallied G.O.P. voters to Trump.” And Maureen Dowd reports her sister saying: “I wasn’t going to vote for Trump. But now I am because I thought this whole thing was a sham.”

In the end, we may not know the effect of Mr. Trump’s conduct or of the jury verdict until the voters render their verdict on Nov. 5. And it seems likely that there will be more ironies to come before that date.

Walter Smith

Washington

To the Editor:

The conviction of former President Donald Trump creates an opportunity. President Biden should announce that if the Republican Party decides that it cannot nominate a convicted felon, he will no longer find it necessary to be the candidate of the Democratic Party.

Open nominating conventions by both parties can forestall a presidential campaign that risks irremediable societal division and enable essential generational change.

Peter McAuliff

Islamorada, Fla.

To the Editor:

Donald Trump’s guilt or innocence is of no consequence for me. As far as I’m concerned, he’s the lesser of two evils.

My family suffers under President Biden and the Democrats. And, contrary to Mr. Biden’s assurances that we’re really better off, we just don’t know it, I know exactly how much more I’m paying for gas. I know exactly how much more we’re paying for food, electricity and water.

My family was definitely better off under Mr. Trump, and that’s of consequence for me.

Edward Little

Temple City, Calif.

To the Editor:

Re “[*Time Flies When You’re Being Convicted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/30/opinion/trump-guilty-verdict-defense.html),” by Gail Collins and Bret Stephens (The Conversation, June 4):

Mr. Stephens writes of Donald Trump: “I doubt that anyone previously inclined to vote for him will now be swayed to vote for President Biden.” That is obvious: The MAGA nation will continue to support Mr. Trump’s most extreme ideas and rhetoric, and opportunistic Republicans will go along for a variety of self-interested reasons.

The question is whether traditional conservatives, who believe in good character, the rule of law and the criminal justice system, and sensible, centrist independents will refuse to vote at all in this presidential election because they cannot abide choosing between a felon, even one convicted on what Mr. Stephens considers a weak legal theory, and his incumbent opponent, who is well past his prime and must defend very unpopular policies.

If many potential voters stay home on Election Day, it will affect the outcome of the Biden-Trump contest.

This election is ultimately about the weaknesses of the American political system. It is hard to engage in a process that produced major-party candidates who are so deeply flawed, albeit in very different ways. In about five months, we will get the president we deserve, and it will be ugly.

Steven S. Berizzi

Norwalk, Conn.

Foster Kids Deserve Their Money

To the Editor:

Re “[*Foster Children Fight to Stop States From Taking Their Federal Benefits*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/30/opinion/trump-guilty-verdict-defense.html)” (news article, May 27):

Foster children entitled to Social Security benefits shouldn’t have to wait for federal or state legislation to right the wrongs of localities pocketing money that they are owed.

New York is unfortunately one of the cities that seizes the money of disabled children. The Legal Aid Society has been pushing Mayor Eric Adams’s administration to adopt practices employed by other states that safeguard children’s benefits to pay for essential needs or to set them up for independence after they age out of foster care.

Arizona has emerged as the gold standard on this front; the state contracts with a third party to identify eligible children to preserve these funds in sanctioned savings accounts.

Ironically, New York City contracts with the same company, but instead of doing right by these children, the Administration for Children’s Services diverts the overwhelming majority of benefits to underwrite the costs of providing foster care.

New York City must not wait for Congress or others to act. It must do the right thing and follow the lead of other jurisdictions that have figured out how to both comply with federal requirements and ensure that these vulnerable children have the benefits and every single penny to which they are entitled.

Dawne Mitchell

New York

The writer is a chief attorney for the Juvenile Rights Practice at the Legal Aid Society.

Free School Meals

To the Editor:

Re “[*How Free School Meals Went Mainstream*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/30/opinion/trump-guilty-verdict-defense.html)” (Headway, nytimes.com, May 21):

How wonderful that children can eat lunch and breakfast in school without stigmatization and that experts now recognize the benefits of universal free meals.

It wasn’t always this way. When the Black Panthers and the Young Lords launched free breakfast programs in Oakland and New York in the late 1960s, politicians and pundits branded the effort as dangerously radical and subversive.

Today conservative forces still seek to roll back free meals for kids, but fortunately they lack momentum and compelling arguments.

Marc Edelman

Callicoon, N.Y.

The writer is a professor of anthropology at Hunter College and the CUNY Graduate Center.

This article appeared in print on page A25.

**Load-Date:** June 5, 2024

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[***Putting Sexual Assault on Trial, in a Fraught One-Woman Case; audiobooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BWJ-KWH1-DXY4-X0G0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 26, 2024 Friday 23:20 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 350 words

**Byline:** Laura Collins-Hughes

**Highlight:** The actress Jodie Comer recasts her Tony-winning turn in Suzie Miller’s hit play “Prima Facie” for a new novelization.

**Body**

The actress Jodie Comer recasts her Tony-winning turn in Suzie Miller’s hit play “Prima Facie” for a new novelization.

PRIMA FACIE, by Suzie Miller. Read by Jodie Comer.

For Tessa Ensler, a young hotshot barrister on the rise in London’s criminal courts, the law is a game to be relished. In defending the accused, she sees her role as merely telling the better story: the one that the jury believes. As for the truth of her clients’ claims of innocence, she has been trained not to inquire.

Suzie Miller’s [*“Prima Facie”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/23/theater/prima-facie-review-jodie-comer.html) — a hit drama last year on Broadway, now expanded into a novel narrated by [*Jodie Comer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/23/theater/prima-facie-review-jodie-comer.html), the play’s Tony Award-winning star — hinges on a case in which Tessa inescapably does know the truth. After she is raped by a male colleague who denies it, she takes the stand as a victim. Traumatized and diminished, she is on the receiving end of the undermining questions she has so often asked other women, in service of the men accused of assaulting them.

With a heroine whose surname is a nod to the playwright [*formerly known as Eve Ensler*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/23/theater/prima-facie-review-jodie-comer.html), the author of “The Vagina Monologues,” this novel, like the stage version, is ultimately a political rallying cry. By fleshing out the 100-minute solo play, though, Miller makes her tale more compelling and human, even if some clunkiness remains. We get a much fuller sense of Tessa, her ***working-class*** family and the myriad ways that gender and class mark her as an outsider in the pedigreed legal world.

In the nine-hour-plus audiobook, Comer gets to go deeper with the role; this isn’t a replication of her intrepid stage turn, but a continuation of it. The theatrical production’s fleet physicality has given way to more intimate storytelling at a more leisurely pace. It’s a nimble, beautifully modulated performance, and a showcase for Comer’s facility with voices.

On Broadway, Comer was the main draw for “Prima Facie.” That’s true here, too. With the novel, though, she’s telling the better story.

PRIMA FACIE | By Suzie Miller | Read by Jodie Comer | Macmillan Audio | 9 hours, 15 minutes

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Leon Edler FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2024

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[***Race Tightens in Vital Midwest States, Polls Find***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2V-K351-DXY4-X3MW-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:** 1740 words

**Byline:** By Reid J. Epstein, Ruth Igielnik and Camille Baker

**Body**

The race between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump has tightened in two of the Northern battlegrounds, New York Times/Siena College polls found.

Follow live updates on the 2024 election here.

Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald J. Trump are in an even tighter race in the battlegrounds of Michigan and Wisconsin than just seven weeks ago, according to new polling from The New York Times and Siena College.

Ms. Harris's advantage from early August has been chiseled away slightly by Mr. Trump's enduring strength on economic issues, the polls found, a potentially troubling development for the vice president given that the economy remains the most important issue driving voters.

With less than 40 days until Election Day, the race is essentially tied in Michigan, with Ms. Harris receiving 48 percent support among likely voters and Mr. Trump garnering 47 percent -- well within the poll's margin of error. In Wisconsin, a state where polls have a history of overstating support for Democrats, Ms. Harris holds 49 percent to Mr. Trump's 47 percent.

The polls also found that Ms. Harris had a lead of nine percentage points over Mr. Trump in Nebraska's Second Congressional District, whose lone electoral vote could be decisive in the Electoral College. In one possible scenario, the district could give Ms. Harris exactly the 270 electoral votes she would need to win the election if she carried Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania and Mr. Trump captured the Sun Belt battlegrounds, where Times/Siena polls show he is ahead.

[We've had a lot of close elections in recent memory, but in none of them were the polls so close, Nate Cohn writes.]

The Times and Siena College also tested the presidential race in Ohio, which is not considered a battleground for the White House but has one of the country's most competitive Senate races. Mr. Trump leads by six points in Ohio, while Senator Sherrod Brown, a Democrat, is ahead of his Republican opponent, Bernie Moreno, by four points.

Wisconsin, which has for months appeared to be a bright spot for Democrats on the presidential battleground map, has been decided by less than a point in four of the last six campaigns, including 2020. Mr. Biden won Michigan by three points that year after Mr. Trump carried it by three-tenths of a point in 2016.

Mr. Trump remains broadly disliked, but interviews with those polled show that Ms. Harris faces a challenge in winning over voters who cannot bring themselves to support the former president.

''I'm not a happy camper,'' said Matt Henderson, 65, a maintenance man for the local electric company in Westland, Mich. He said he was likely to vote for Ms. Harris not because he was politically drawn to her but to prevent Mr. Trump from returning to power.

''Jan. 6, 2021, proved he is a traitor,'' Mr. Henderson said. ''He doesn't care about anything but himself. He tried to steal an election.''

The polls found that 80 percent of Black voters across Michigan, Wisconsin and Ohio were planning to vote for Ms. Harris, and 13 percent for Mr. Trump. An additional 7 percent of Black voters said they did not know how they would vote. While Ms. Harris has a huge edge among Black voters, the 80 percent figure is less than Mr. Biden won nationally four years ago.

[Follow the latest polls and see updated polling averages of the Harris vs. Trump matchup.]

Antonio Dawkins, 40, a regional sales manager from Waukesha, Wis., a suburb of Milwaukee, said he planned to vote but would leave the presidential line blank. He dislikes Mr. Trump but is also dissatisfied with Ms. Harris.

''She's kind of taking the car salesman pitch and trying to sell everybody that she's not Trump, and that's not enough,'' said Mr. Dawkins, who is Black. ''She says a lot of things that sound good with no details. So I guess they call that -- there's no meat and potatoes.''

The polling results fit a recurring theme with voters in battleground states: Many tend to believe that Mr. Trump's time in office helped people like them, and they worry that Ms. Harris's policies would hurt people like them.

In Michigan and Wisconsin, voters were about equally likely to say Ms. Harris's policies would help as they are to say her policies would hurt: 41 percent versus 40 percent. But 46 percent of voters in the two states said Mr. Trump's policies would help people like them.

Yet when voters in Michigan and Wisconsin were presented with a direct head-to-head question about which candidate they trusted more to ''help people like you,'' Ms. Harris had a slight edge, suggesting that voters drew a subtle distinction between the candidates and their policies.

Voters in the states were also tied on which candidate they trust more to help the ***working class***.

After the economy, abortion was the second most important issue to voters in Michigan and Wisconsin, with 18 percent saying it was central to their choice. That is an increase from May, when 13 percent of voters in the two states said abortion was their top issue.

On abortion, voters in Michigan preferred Ms. Harris to Mr. Trump by 20 points and in Wisconsin by 13 points. In Wisconsin, though, that is down from a 22-point advantage in August. In Michigan, Ms. Harris's numbers on abortion are largely unchanged.

Mr. Trump's biggest vulnerabilities relate to his comportment. In Wisconsin, 55 percent of undecided and persuadable voters cited his behavior, his honesty and his ability to serve as president as among their chief concerns. In Michigan, the number was lower, at 47 percent.

''He's divisive, he's violent, he's vile,'' said Lesley McKenzie, 64, an executive assistant from Southfield, Mich. ''He's unbecoming to even sit or even to pass by the White House. I mean, it's totally crazy.'' She added: ''He is like rolling in a pigsty. Every day he comes up with crazy things. I don't think he's all there. And if he is, oh my God.''

The crucial group of voters who could decide the election -- undecided and persuadable Americans -- has shrunk slightly since August as they begin to solidify their decisions.

In Michigan and Wisconsin, these voters leaned slightly toward Ms. Harris, though they have reservations about both candidates. Roughly a third said their primary concern about Mr. Trump is his personality, while 12 percent worried about whether he could actually do the job and 8 percent were apprehensive about his honesty and truthfulness.

Nathan Booth, 27, a surgical resident from the Detroit suburbs, called Mr. Trump's debate performance this month ''embarrassing.'' Dr. Booth said he voted for Mr. Trump in 2016 and then for Mr. Biden in 2020 because of the Republican president's behavior.

Despite those feelings, Dr. Booth said he was inclined to vote for Mr. Trump again this year because of his dissatisfaction with Mr. Biden's handling of the economy.

''In the last three years, my purchasing power has gone down,'' he said. ''I have less money than I did before, and I imagine that the majority of the country making under $100,000 is feeling the same way.''

Fewer undecided and persuadable voters had concerns about Ms. Harris's personality and temperament. Just 10 percent in Michigan and Wisconsin said her personality or judgment were their main concern, while 19 percent worried about her honesty and truthfulness.

The polls also offer a window into how the vice-presidential candidates are viewed in the Midwest, particularly in Ohio, the home state of Mr. Trump's running mate: Senator JD Vance.

In the three states polled, 49 percent of voters viewed Ms. Harris's running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, as honest and trustworthy, compared with 45 percent for Mr. Vance. Even in Ohio, Mr. Walz was viewed as more honest and trustworthy.

Across the Midwest, Mr. Walz was seen as more caring, but in Ohio, slightly more voters saw Mr. Vance as someone who ''cares about people like me.''

The polls showed that concern about immigration is more prevalent in Ohio, where Mr. Vance and Mr. Trump have drawn attention for amplifying false claims that Haitian immigrants in the city of Springfield were killing and eating pets.

Ohio voters were less likely than their neighbors in Michigan and Wisconsin to say that America's openness to people from around the world is essential to who we are as a nation, though a majority of the state's voters still said this.

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/harris-trump-poll-michigan-wisconsin.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/us/politics/harris-trump-poll-michigan-wisconsin.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2024

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[***Even Summer Nights Can’t Escape Egypt’s Economic Crisis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVV-W6M1-JBG3-6004-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 1, 2024 Sunday 15:05 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 1280 words

**Byline:** Vivian Yee and Hadeer Mahmoud Ahmed Vivian Yee is a Times reporter covering North Africa and the broader Middle East. She is based in Cairo.

**Highlight:** It’s so hot in Cairo that people like to go out all night. It might look like a party, but in reality, one shopkeeper said, “everybody is dead on the inside.”

**Body**

It’s so hot in Cairo that people like to go out all night. It might look like a party, but in reality, one shopkeeper said, “everybody is dead on the inside.”

Ten p.m. arrives in Cairo’s Sayyida Zeinab neighborhood with the same dogged tenacity as it does anywhere else, but down the fluorescent shopping streets and in the sidewalk cafes, few people used to glance at the clock. It might have been near bedtime in other countries, but Cairo was practically still waking up.

That was summer in the past, season of sweat, and the city adapted its schedule. Days were for cooling inside, or at least avoiding the sun’s blitzkrieg. Nighttime offered mercy. Though the concrete sidewalks still belched up the day’s accumulated heat, the neighborhood came alive only after isha, the last of the five daily Muslim prayers. The day went on long into early morning.

Not this summer. With an energy shortage prompting the government to [*mandate earlier closing times*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01), 10 p.m. now brings a dimming to Sayyida Zeinab: metal shutters are down or rolling toward the ground, turning the loudly colored, exuberantly lit storefronts to gray.

Years into an [*economic crunch*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) that has left the government scrambling for dollars and made life a misery for all but the richest, Egypt is short on natural gas and funds to buy more, necessitating daily [*countrywide blackouts*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) until a few weeks ago.

So, starting in July, orders came from on high: To save electricity, stores must close by 10 p.m. and cafes, restaurants and malls by midnight, slightly later on weekends. Only groceries and pharmacies are exempt.

Wealthy Cairenes in the sprawling suburbs can go from air-conditioned homes to air-conditioned cars to air-conditioned malls, or even send their doormen on errands. In the cramped, churning traditional areas of central Cairo, that option does not exist.

“If you go out to shop during the day, you’ll boil yourself,” said Hind Ahmed, 51, who had gone with a friend recently to pick up clothes from a tailor after evening prayers at Sayyida Zeinab’s landmark mosque. “But we end up having to roast, because the stores close early now.”

Her friend Wafaa Ibrahim, 46, barely goes out anymore anyway, late opening times or no. She cannot afford to.

“The minute I run out of money, I lock myself up at home,” she said. “Now I don’t go out shopping because I don’t want to depress myself.”

By that point, it was well past 10 p.m., and signs of halfhearted compliance were appearing. In recent weeks, one shopkeeper who was closing up explained, the police had been driving down the main streets every night, enforcing the order.

No power can mute Cairo entirely. But the volume was uncharacteristically low, the shoppers dwindling even as motorcycles and tuk-tuks blared down the street.

In some ways, the stillness matched the country’s gloom. The all-night hustle of ***working-class*** neighborhoods like Sayyida Zeinab, the [*mahraganat tunes*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) that blare from tuk-tuks and the dazzling displays of nuts and candies can make for a misleading, if jaunty, facade.

Teenage girls peek at windows full of clothed mannequins. Mothers in loose abayas shop for children’s sneakers, their sons and daughters occupied with cups of cold mango-topped pudding. Cafe tables colonize part of the street, lorded over by men who suck at water pipes and nurse coffees until late.

Tourists marvel at the shimmying street, at Egyptians’ famed friendliness and broad humor. But locals say they joke to cope with what they cannot change.

“Egypt is a graveyard,” said Saied Mahmoud, 41, who works from noon until closing time in his father’s small, wedge-shaped clothing shop near the mosque. “Everybody is dead on the inside. They’ve surrendered; they’re down. What you see in front of you is dead people walking.”

He earns barely enough for food, rent and bus fare after years of [*soaring prices*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01), even if inflation had cooled somewhat in recent months, he said. Like many overeducated, underemployed Egyptians, he cannot find better work despite his master’s degree in business. Marriage? He could only laugh at the thought of what a wedding, wife and children would cost.

It was only getting worse, he said: Despite his sly attempts to stay open past 10 (shutter partly closed, lights dimmed), customers were hardly coming anyway, either driven away by the rows of shut shops or unable to afford new clothes.

Having to close earlier “just made muddy water even muddier,” he said, using an Egyptian expression meaning things had gone from bad to worse.

Since [*coming to power*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) in a 2013 military takeover, President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi has promised prosperity for a [*new, improved Egypt*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01). For most Egyptians, however, most of the past decade has been a downward spiral.

Successive devaluations of the currency starting in 2016 damaged their ability to buy the imported goods Egypt depends on. The [*coronavirus pandemic*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) and wars [*in Ukraine*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) and the [*Middle East*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) shocked an [*economy already weakened*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) by Mr. el-Sisi’s policies. Inflation soared; wages did not, and Egypt skimped on the health care and [*education spending*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) that once supported middle-class life.

Despite recent infusions of cash from international investors and lenders that have stabilized the economy, analysts say the country may face a new crisis unless it makes major changes.

Though Egypt says it has expanded welfare programs, the most recent [*official statistics*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) say just under 30 percent of Egyptians live in poverty. But that was before the pandemic and the most recent economic crisis. And [*International Monetary Fund bailouts*](https://enterprise.news/egypt/en/news/edition/am/2024-07-01) have forced the government to cut bread, gas and electricity subsidies vital to many poor Egyptians.

Just last month, Egypt increased electricity prices again.

That means even more of a squeeze for Ahmed Ashour’s barbershop, named for the Yugoslav statesman Josip Broz Tito. Usually, he stays open from 7 p.m. until 5 a.m. all summer: It is so hot out that men’s skin gets inflamed if they come for a shave during the day, he explained. Besides, he has a day job from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. at the Finance Ministry — he cannot make ends meet without both.

Side streets, including the one where Tito stood, seemed to escape enforcement of the government order. But the main streets’ early darkening meant fewer people around, period. Between that and customers’ thinning wallets, Mr. Ashour estimated that he had lost 70 percent of his business during the economic crisis.

Customers from around the neighborhood used to drop by for a haircut and stay for hours, he said, hanging out on his worn black chairs with endless cups of coffee and tea. Now they said quick hellos on their way to their own second or third jobs.

People had the new school year to pay for, summer vacations and the ever-rising cost of practically everything. “A man will consider other stuff, he doesn’t pay attention to how he looks,” he said, though he noted that some customers had learned to cut their own hair at home.

“There’s a point where we can’t continue like this,” he said, his forehead dewed with sweat even at 11 p.m. “It’s as if we’re hanging ourselves.”

In a nearby alleyway, Hosni Mohammed, 67, was closing up the optical shop where he earned a small salary. From 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., he said, almost nobody came in these days.

“Someone taught me that business falls asleep, but never dies completely,” he said, trying to take the long view. “Just like Egypt. It gets tired, but never dies.”

Emad Mekay contributed reporting.

Emad Mekay contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: A market in Cairo, left. Many shop once temperatures drop, but some markets have not been able to stay open as late. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HADEER MAHMOUD AHMED FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A9.

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2024

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[***J.D. Vance’s Chance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGV-GH61-DXY4-X211-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1852 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:** Why Donald Trump tapped Vance to be his successor.

**Body**

Why Donald Trump tapped Vance to be his successor.

Donald Trump did something yesterday that he’s never before done. He picked a successor.

Trump [*chose Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio as his running mate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), a strategic move driven by the former president’s belief that he’ll win in November by recapturing the Midwestern states he lost in 2020. With Vance’s hardscrabble upbringing and Trump-aligned ideology, the senator is Trump’s attempt to appeal to those voters.

Selecting Vance also signals the party’s final commitment to Trumpism. Vance is one of the most aggressive and ideological disciples of the MAGA movement. Instead of balancing the ticket with someone who could expand Trump’s appeal to new voters, Trump has anointed the senator as [*the future of the Republican Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

The party that Trump took over in 2016 — one guided by establishmentarians like Mitt Romney, Paul Ryan and John McCain — is now unrecognizable. Trump ushered in economic populism and pushed out the quest for limited government spending. He traded foreign interventionism for restrictive trade policies and downgraded the importance of country-club Republicans while prioritizing blue-collar workers.

The arrival of Vance on the ticket shows there is no going back.

At first blush, it may seem surprising that Trump would put the future of the party in the hands of a relatively new convert to his brand of conservatism. (As an author and private citizen, Vance said in 2016 that Trump might be “America’s Hitler.” Later, as he ran for office, the Ohioan embraced Trumpism.) But Trump is focused on winning, and he believes Vance is an asset.

An unusual path

There are several reasons Trump was drawn to Vance. The senator is an articulate communicator on television. Even his most ardent critics respect his expertise as a MAGA spokesman, a skill that Trump highly prizes. Vance also served in the Marines and deployed to Iraq, making him the only candidate on either party’s ticket with military experience.

Vance, a Yale Law School graduate and former venture capitalist, was previously known for his best-selling book, “Hillbilly Elegy,” which later became a film starring Amy Adams. The subject is Vance’s upbringing in a poor family, but the context is about an often overlooked segment of the country: white, ***working-class*** people in Middle America. The book turned him into a renowned explainer of Trumpism’s appeal even as he criticized Trump.

But Vance carries risk, too. At 39, he’s the second-youngest member of the Senate. He was sworn into office for the first time last year. That limited political résumé could undercut Trump’s attack on Vice President Kamala Harris as ill-prepared to step in for President Biden if necessary.

Vance had also been one of Trump’s most biting critics, and he left a trail of video clips for Democrats to use against the former president. Even in his new life as a pro-Trump Republican, Vance carries a controversial record, including his pledge to end abortion and his outspoken support for a national abortion ban proposed by Senator Lindsey Graham. (Aligning with Trump, Vance said in an interview with Sean Hannity last night that abortion should be decided at the state level.)

The last leg

Vance ascends to the ticket as Trump seems to be gathering steam. A judge yesterday dismissed the criminal case against him for taking classified documents from the White House. He survived an assassination attempt this past weekend and leads in the polls. Meanwhile, Democrats crestfallen about Biden’s debate performance have tried pushing for the president to quit the race.

In that climate, Vance is more wind at Trump’s back — youth and energy and buzz. Even if the former president has chosen political kinship over party expansion, he’s betting that Vance has what he needs to retake the presidency.

More on Vance

* Trump picked Vance — a more combative choice than his other finalists, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida and Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota — [*almost at the last minute*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

1. On Fox News, Hannity asked Vance about his earlier criticisms of Trump. Vance laughed and said, “He changed my mind.”
2. Harris called Vance to congratulate him, and to ask him to [*take part in a vice-presidential debate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

More on the convention

* Trump, with a bandage on his right ear, made his [*first public appearance since the shooting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html). The audience cheered and chanted “Fight!”

1. Trump [*said he had revised his convention speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), scheduled for Thursday. “I think it would be very bad if I got up and started going wild about how horrible everybody is, and how corrupt and crooked, even if it’s true,” he said.
2. Delegates approved the party’s new platform, which softens its positions on abortion while [*endorsing higher tariffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) and [*omitting any mention of climate change*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).
3. Several prominent Black Republicans — including Senator Tim Scott and Representative Byron Donalds — spoke last night, part of the party’s efforts to [*win over nonwhite voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).
4. Sean O’Brien, the first Teamsters president to address a Republican convention, [*praised Trump as a “tough S.O.B.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) But he did not endorse Trump, and his criticisms of big corporations received tepid applause.
5. Nikki Haley, Ron DeSantis and other former Trump critics will speak at the convention tonight, along with several Senate candidates. [*Here’s what to watch for*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

THE LATEST NEWS

The Trump Shooting

* The F.B.l. gained access to the phone of the man who shot Trump, but investigators [*have not been able to discern his motive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html). Former classmates [*described him as a solitary student*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

1. Three congressional committees have begun inquiries into the shooting, and the director of the Secret Service is scheduled to testify on Monday. One likely question: Why was the gunman’s rooftop position [*outside the security perimeter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html)
2. Bystander video from two minutes before shots rang out [*shows people at the rally pointing to the gunman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) and trying to warn law enforcement.
3. Within minutes of the shooting, far-right activists, lawmakers and Russian sympathizers were [*spreading baseless conspiracy theories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).
4. Biden called the widow of the man killed in the shooting, but she didn’t want to speak to him, she [*told The New York Post*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html). She has not heard from Trump, she added.

Trump’s Documents Case

* Judge Aileen Cannon dismissed the criminal case accusing Trump of mishandling classified documents. Cannon ruled that the Justice Department [*improperly appointed the special counsel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) who charged Trump.

1. The ruling from Cannon, a Trump appointee, [*rejected decades of established law*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html). The special counsel, Jack Smith, said he would appeal it.

President Biden

* In an NBC News interview, Biden [*said that it was a mistake*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) to have told Democratic donors before last week’s shooting to “put Trump in a bull’s-eye,” but that Trump’s threat to democracy was real.

1. Democratic officials are moving to confirm Biden as the party’s nominee [*before the end of the month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), despite opposition from some elected leaders.
2. The latest New York Times/Siena College polls show [*Trump leading Biden in Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), a battleground state. Virginia, which Biden easily won in 2020, is also competitive.
3. The same polls suggest Harris is stronger than Biden among younger and nonwhite voters, but weaker with older and white ***working-class*** voters, [*Nate Cohn writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

International

* Israel and Egypt entered talks over a [*potential Israeli withdrawal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) from Gaza’s border with Egypt. That could help bring about a cease-fire deal.

1. Iran’s new president, Masoud Pezeshkian, says he hopes to make the country more socially open and engaged with the West. Others have [*promised the same before, and failed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).
2. Gambian lawmakers voted to [*keep a ban on female genital cutting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), reversing a decision earlier this year.

Other Big Stories

* Wildfires have [*burned across 30,000 acres*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) in Southern California, forcing more than 1,000 people to evacuate their homes.

1. Forecasters expect Washington, D.C., to top 100 degrees for the third straight day, as dangerous levels of heat [*stretch from Texas to the Northeast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).
2. After years of confusion around a jellyfish fossil, [*researchers turned it upside down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) — and discovered it was not a jellyfish, but an ancient sea anemone.

Opinions

Times Opinion writers picked the [*best and worst moments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) from the Republican convention’s first night.

Trump has become the [*defining figure of our age*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), Ross Douthat writes.

Of all industrialized democracies, the U.S. is [*the most politically violent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), Matthew Dallek and Robert Dallek write.

Here’s a column by Paul Krugman on [*Project 2025*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

MORNING READS

Japanese childhood: The [*randoseru backpack*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) has been a staple of elementary schools for almost 150 years.

Prime Day: Wirecutter is [*collecting the best deals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) from Amazon’s sitewide sale.

Best books: We heard from the experts last week; now we want to hear from readers. What are [*your favorite books of the 21st century*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html)

Quiz: Test your [*knowledge of modern literature*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

Health: “[*Tracking your macros*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html)” is a trendy way of logging what you eat. Experts say it can help, as long as it doesn’t become an obsession.

Lives Lived: The discoveries of the Nobel Prize-winning biochemist Bengt Samuelsson led to drugs that treat inflammation, glaucoma and allergies. He [*died at 90*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

SPORTS

M.L.B.: Teoscar Hernández, a Los Angeles Dodgers outfielder, won the Home Run Derby after top contenders crashed out early. [*Read a recap*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

N.F.L.: The retired running back Terrell Davis was detained after an [*incident with a flight attendant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) on a flight to California. Davis said he tapped the attendant’s arm to ask for ice.

Soccer: The president of Colombia’s soccer federation and his son were [*charged with fighting security guards*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) at the chaotic Copa América final over the weekend.

ARTS AND IDEAS

The video game maker EA Sports has brought back its popular N.C.A.A. Football series, which was dormant for over a decade because of legal restrictions. But the rules in college sports have changed — athletes can now make money — and EA paid more than 11,000 players to include them. The standard fee: [*$600, plus a copy of the game*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

For more: Chris Vannini of The Athletic [*reviews the new game*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

More on culture

* An official in Georgia [*removed the judge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) overseeing the criminal trial of the rapper Young Thug, because he had met secretly with prosecutors and a key witness.

1. Taylor Swift’s “The Tortured Poets Department” topped the Billboard 200 for [*the 12th week in a row*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) — thanks in part to her releasing three new versions of the album.
2. “[*She was a rebel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html)”: Alyssa Milano, Tori Spelling and other celebrities remembered the actress Shannen Doherty, who died on Saturday.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Make this [*lemon and garlic chicken*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) with fresh, in-season cherry tomatoes.

Use a bidet. It’s [*good for the environment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

Stop doomscrolling with the help of [*this little reading light*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

Save on these on-sale [*kitchen workhorses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html). Yesterday’s pangram was normally.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

PHOTO: Senator J.D. Vance and his wife, Usha, at the convention last night. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris and Trump Are Neck and Neck in Michigan and Wisconsin, Polls Find***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2M-38P1-DXY4-X33V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 28, 2024 Saturday 10:56 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1728 words

**Highlight:** The race between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump has tightened in two of the Northern battlegrounds, New York Times/Siena College polls found.

**Body**

The race between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump has tightened in two of the Northern battlegrounds, New York Times/Siena College polls found.

[*Follow live updates on the 2024 election here.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election)

Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald J. Trump are in an even tighter race in the battlegrounds of Michigan and Wisconsin than just seven weeks ago, according to [*new polling from The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election).

[*Ms. Harris’s advantage from early August*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) has been chiseled away slightly by Mr. Trump’s enduring strength on economic issues, the polls found, a potentially troubling development for the vice president given that the economy remains the most important issue driving voters.

With less than 40 days until Election Day, the race is essentially tied in Michigan, with Ms. Harris receiving 48 percent support among likely voters and Mr. Trump garnering 47 percent — well within the poll’s margin of error. In Wisconsin, a state where [*polls have a history*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) of [*overstating support for Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election), Ms. Harris holds 49 percent to Mr. Trump’s 47 percent.

The polls also found that Ms. Harris had [*a lead of nine percentage points over Mr. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) in Nebraska’s Second Congressional District, whose lone electoral vote could be decisive in the Electoral College. In one possible scenario, the district could give Ms. Harris exactly the 270 electoral votes she would need to win the election if she carried Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania and Mr. Trump captured the Sun Belt battlegrounds, [*where Times/Siena polls show he is ahead*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election).

[We’ve had a lot of close elections in recent memory, but in none of them were the polls so close, [*Nate Cohn writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election).]

The Times and Siena College also tested the presidential race in Ohio, which is not considered a battleground for the White House but has one of the country’s most competitive Senate races. Mr. Trump leads by six points in Ohio, while Senator Sherrod Brown, a Democrat, [*is ahead of his Republican opponent, Bernie Moreno*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election), by four points.

Wisconsin, which has for months appeared to be a [*bright spot for Democrats on the presidential battleground map*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election), has been decided by less than a point in four of the last six campaigns, [*including 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election). Mr. Biden won Michigan by [*three points*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) that year after Mr. Trump carried it by [*three-tenths of a point*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) in 2016.

Mr. Trump remains broadly disliked, but interviews with those polled show that Ms. Harris faces a challenge in winning over voters [*who cannot bring themselves to support the former president*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election).

“I’m not a happy camper,” said Matt Henderson, 65, a maintenance man for the local electric company in Westland, Mich. He said he was likely to vote for Ms. Harris not because he was politically drawn to her but to prevent Mr. Trump from returning to power.

“Jan. 6, 2021, proved he is a traitor,” Mr. Henderson said. “He doesn’t care about anything but himself. He tried to steal an election.”

The polls found that 80 percent of Black voters across Michigan, Wisconsin and Ohio were planning to vote for Ms. Harris, and 13 percent for Mr. Trump. An additional 7 percent of Black voters said they did not know how they would vote. While Ms. Harris has a huge edge among Black voters, the 80 percent figure is less than [*Mr. Biden won nationally four years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election).

[Follow [*the latest polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) and see updated [*polling averages of the Harris vs. Trump matchup*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election).]

Antonio Dawkins, 40, a regional sales manager from Waukesha, Wis., a suburb of Milwaukee, said he planned to vote but would leave the presidential line blank. He dislikes Mr. Trump but is also dissatisfied with Ms. Harris.

“She’s kind of taking the car salesman pitch and trying to sell everybody that she’s not Trump, and that’s not enough,” said Mr. Dawkins, who is Black. “She says a lot of things that sound good with no details. So I guess they call that — there’s no meat and potatoes.”

The polling results fit a recurring theme with voters in battleground states: Many tend to believe that Mr. Trump’s time in office helped people like them, and they worry that Ms. Harris’s policies would hurt people like them.

In Michigan and Wisconsin, voters were about equally likely to say Ms. Harris’s policies would help as they are to say her policies would hurt: 41 percent versus 40 percent. But 46 percent of voters in the two states said Mr. Trump’s policies would help people like them.

Yet when voters in Michigan and Wisconsin were presented with a direct head-to-head question about which candidate they trusted more to “help people like you,” Ms. Harris had a slight edge, suggesting that voters drew a subtle distinction between the candidates and their policies.

Voters in the states were also tied on which candidate they trust more to help the ***working class***.

After the economy, abortion was the second most important issue to voters in Michigan and Wisconsin, with 18 percent saying it was central to their choice. That is an increase from May, when 13 percent of voters in the two states said abortion was their top issue.

On abortion, voters in Michigan preferred Ms. Harris to Mr. Trump by 20 points and in Wisconsin by 13 points. In Wisconsin, though, that is down from a 22-point advantage in August. In Michigan, Ms. Harris’s numbers on abortion are largely unchanged.

Mr. Trump’s biggest vulnerabilities relate to his comportment. In Wisconsin, 55 percent of undecided and persuadable voters cited his behavior, his honesty and his ability to serve as president as among their chief concerns. In Michigan, the number was lower, at 47 percent.

“He’s divisive, he’s violent, he’s vile,” said Lesley McKenzie, 64, an executive assistant from Southfield, Mich. “He’s unbecoming to even sit or even to pass by the White House. I mean, it’s totally crazy.” She added: “He is like rolling in a pigsty. Every day he comes up with crazy things. I don’t think he’s all there. And if he is, oh my God.”

The crucial group of voters who could decide the election — undecided and persuadable Americans — has shrunk slightly since August as they begin to solidify their decisions.

In Michigan and Wisconsin, these voters leaned slightly toward Ms. Harris, though they have reservations about both candidates. Roughly a third said their primary concern about Mr. Trump is his personality, while 12 percent worried about whether he could actually do the job and 8 percent were apprehensive about his honesty and truthfulness.

Nathan Booth, 27, a surgical resident from the Detroit suburbs, called [*Mr. Trump’s debate performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) this month “embarrassing.” Dr. Booth said he voted for Mr. Trump in 2016 and then for Mr. Biden in 2020 because of the Republican president’s behavior.

Despite those feelings, Dr. Booth said he was inclined to vote for Mr. Trump again this year because of his dissatisfaction with Mr. Biden’s handling of the economy.

“In the last three years, my purchasing power has gone down,” he said. “I have less money than I did before, and I imagine that the majority of the country making under $100,000 is feeling the same way.”

Fewer undecided and persuadable voters had concerns about Ms. Harris’s personality and temperament. Just 10 percent in Michigan and Wisconsin said her personality or judgment were their main concern, while 19 percent worried about her honesty and truthfulness.

The polls also offer a window into how the vice-presidential candidates are viewed in the Midwest, particularly in Ohio, the home state of Mr. Trump’s running mate: Senator JD Vance.

In the three states polled, 49 percent of voters viewed Ms. Harris’s running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, as honest and trustworthy, compared with 45 percent for Mr. Vance. Even in Ohio, Mr. Walz was viewed as more honest and trustworthy.

Across the Midwest, Mr. Walz was seen as more caring, but in Ohio, slightly more voters saw Mr. Vance as someone who “cares about people like me.”

The polls showed that concern about immigration is more prevalent in Ohio, where Mr. Vance and Mr. Trump have drawn attention for [*amplifying false claims*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election) that Haitian immigrants in the city of Springfield were killing and eating pets.

Ohio voters were less likely than their neighbors in Michigan and Wisconsin to say that America’s openness to people from around the world is essential to who we are as a nation, though a majority of the state’s voters still said this.

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/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election).
* 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/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election), 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/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election). 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/live/2024/09/29/us/harris-trump-election).

This article appeared in print on page A16.

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[***The Sins of the Educated Class; David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C6C-PPS1-DXY4-X04B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 6, 2024 Thursday 16:48 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2787 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:** Progressive elites aren’t helping the people they say they’re fighting for, and they’re hurting the rest of us.

**Body**

When I was young, I was a man on the left. In the early 1980s, I used to go to the library and read early-20th-century issues of left-wing magazines like The Masses and The New Republic. I was energized by stories of workers fighting for their rights against the elites — at Haymarket, at the 1921 Battle of Blair Mountain, on the railways where the Pullman sleeping car porters struggled for decent wages a few years after that. My heroes were all on the left: John Reed, Clifford Odets, Frances Perkins and Hubert Humphrey.

But I got out of college and realized we didn’t live in the industrial age; we live in the information age. The center of progressive energy moved from the ***working class*** to the universities, and not just any universities, but the elite universities.

By now we’re used to the fact that the elite universities are places that attract and produce progressives. ***Working-class*** voters now mostly support Donald Trump, but at Harvard, America’s richest university, 65 percent of students identify as progressive or very progressive, according to a May 2023 [*survey*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/) of the graduating class.

Today we’re used to the fact that elite places are shifting further and further to the left. Writing for The Harvard Crimson, Julien Berman used A.I. to analyze opinion pieces in college newspapers for their ideological content. “Opinions of student writers at elite universities” in 2000, he [*found*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/), “weren’t all that more progressive than those at nonelite ones.” But by 2023, opinions at The Crimson had grown about two and a half times more progressive than they were in 2001. More generally, Berman concluded, “Opinion sections at elite universities have gotten significantly more progressive, and they’ve outrun their nonelite counterparts.”

Today, we’re used to the fact that students at elite universities have different interests and concerns from students at less privileged places. Marc Novicoff and Robert Kelchen in May published an investigative [*report*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/) in The Washington Monthly titled “Are Gaza Protests Happening Mostly at Elite Colleges?” They surveyed 1,421 public and private colleges and concluded, “The answer is a resounding yes.”

A few schools with a large number of lower-income students, they found, had Gaza protests, “but in the vast majority of cases, campuses that educate students mostly from ***working-class*** backgrounds have not had any protest activity.” Among private schools, encampments and protests “have taken place almost exclusively at schools where poorer students are scarce and the listed tuitions and fees are exorbitantly high.”

I went to an elite university and have taught at them. I find them wonderful in most ways and deeply screwed up in a few ways. But over the decades and especially recently, I’ve found the elite, educated-class progressivism a lot less attractive than the ***working-class*** progressivism of Frances Perkins that I read about when I was young. Like a lot of people, I’ve looked on with a kind of dismay as elite university dynamics have spread across national life and politics, making America worse in all sorts of ways. Let me try to be more specific about these dynamics.

The first is false consciousness. To be progressive is to be against privilege. But today progressives dominate elite institutions like the exclusive universities, the big foundations and the top cultural institutions. American adults who identify as very progressive skew white, well educated and urban and hail from relatively advantaged backgrounds.

This is the contradiction of the educated class. Virtue is defined by being anti-elite. But today’s educated class constitutes the elite, or at least a big part of it. Many of the curiosities of our culture flow as highly educated people try to resolve the contradiction between their identity as an enemy of privilege, and the fact that, at least educationally and culturally, and often economically, they are privileged.

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.

Imagine you graduated from a prestigious liberal arts college with a degree in history and you get a job as a teacher at an elite Manhattan private school. You’re a sincere progressive down to your bones. Unfortunately, your job is to take the children of rich financiers and polish them up so they can get into Stanford. In other words, your literal job is to reinforce privilege.

This sort of cognitive dissonance often has a radicalizing effect. When your identity is based on siding with the marginalized, but you work at Horace Mann or Princeton, you have to work really hard to make yourself and others believe you are really progressive. You’re bound to drift further and further to the left to prove you are standing up to the man.

This, I think, explains the following phenomenon: Society pours hundreds of thousands of dollars into elite students, gives them the most prestigious launching pads fathomable, and they are often the ones talking most loudly about burning the system down.

This also explains, I think, the leftward drift of the haute bourgeoisie. As the sociologist Musa al-Gharbi puts it in his forthcoming book, “[*We Have Never Been Woke*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/)”: “After 2011, there were dramatic changes in how highly educated white liberals answered questions related to race and ethnicity. These shifts were not matched among non-liberal or non-Democrat whites, nor among nonwhites of any political or ideological persuasion. By 2020, highly educated white liberals tended to provide more ‘woke’ responses to racial questions than the average Black or Hispanic person.”

Progressivism has practically become an entry ticket into the elite. A few years ago, a Yale admissions officer wrote, “For those students who come to Yale, we expect them to be versed in issues of social justice.” Recently Tufts included an optional essay prompt that explicitly asked applicants what they were doing to advance social justice.

Over the years the share of progressive students and professors has steadily risen, and the share of conservatives has approached zero. Progressives have created places where they never have to encounter beliefs other than their own. At Harvard, 82 percent of progressives say that all or almost all of their close friends share their political beliefs.

A lot of us in the center left or the center right don’t want to live amid this much conformity. We don’t see history as a zero-sum war between oppressor and oppressed. We still believe in a positive-sum society where all people can see their lives improve together.

The second socially harmful dynamic is what you might call the cultural consequences of elite overproduction. Over the past few decades, elite universities have been churning out very smart graduates who are ready to use their minds and sensibilities to climb to the top of society and change the world. Unfortunately, the marketplace isn’t producing enough of the kinds of jobs these graduates think they deserve.

The elite college grads who go into finance, consulting and tech do smashingly well, but the grads who choose less commercial sectors often struggle. Social activists in Washington and other centers of influence have to cope with sky-high rents. Newspapers and other news websites are laying off journalists. Academics who had expected to hold a prestigious chair find themselves slaving away as adjunct professors.

In a series of essays culminating in his book “End Times: Elites, Counter Elites and the Path of Political Disintegration,” Peter Turchin [*argued*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/) that periods of elite overproduction lead to a rising tide of social decay as alienated educated-class types wage ever more ferocious power struggles with other elites. This phenomenon most likely contributed to surges in social protest during the late 1960s, the late 1980s and then around 2010. Research using Google nGrams [*shows*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/) that discourse mentioning “racism” spiked around each of these three periods.

Elite overproduction was especially powerful during the period after the financial crisis. In the early 2010s, highly educated white liberals increasingly experienced a disproportionate rise in depression, anxiety and negative emotions. This was accompanied by a sharp shift to the left in their political views. The spread of cancel culture and support for decriminalizing illegal immigration and “defunding the police” were among the quintessential luxury beliefs that seemed out of touch to people in less privileged parts of society. Those people often responded by making a sharp countershift in the populist direction, contributing to the election of Donald Trump and to his continued political viability today.

As a nonprogressive member of the educated class, I’d say that elite overproduction induces people on the left and the right to form their political views around their own sense of personal grievance and alienation. It launches unhappy progressives and their populist enemies into culture war battles that help them feel engaged, purposeful and good about themselves, but it seems to me that these battles are often more about performative self-validation than they are about practical policies that might serve the common good.

The third dynamic is the inflammation of the discourse. The information age has produced a vast cohort of people (including me) who live by trafficking in ideas — academics, journalists, activists, foundation employees, consultants and the various other shapers of public opinion. People in other sectors measure themselves according to whether they can build houses or care for seniors in a nursing home, but people in our crowd often measure ourselves by our beliefs — having the right beliefs, pioneering new beliefs, staying up-to-date on the latest beliefs, vanquishing the beliefs we have decided are the wrong beliefs.

Nothing is more unstable than a fashionable opinion. If your status is defined by your opinions, you’re living in a world of perpetual insecurity, perpetual mental and moral war. The man who saw all this coming was the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who started his major works with a book called “Distinction” in 1979.

Bourdieu argued that just as economic capitalists use their resource — wealth — to amass prestige and power, people who form the educated class and the cultural elite, symbolic capitalists, use our resources — beliefs, fancy degrees, linguistic abilities — to amass prestige, power and, if we can get it, money.

Symbolic capitalists, Bourdieu continued, wage daily battles of consecration, battles over what will be admired and what will be disdained, who gets to be counted among the elect and who is counted among the damned.

Bourdieu’s work is so powerful because it shows how symbolic capitalists turned political postures into power tools that enable them to achieve social, cultural and economic might. If exchanging viewpoints is turned into a struggle for social position, then of course conversation will assume the brutality of all primate dominance contests.

These sorts of battles for symbolic consecration are now the water in which many of us highly educated Americans swim. In the absence of religious beliefs, these moral wars give people a genuine sense of meaning and purpose. They give people a way of acting in the world that they hope will shift beliefs and produce a better society.

But it’s awful to live in a perpetual state of cultural war, and it’s awful to live in a continual state of social fear. The inflammation of the discourse serves the psychic and social self-interests of the combatants, but it polarizes society by rendering a lot of people in the center silent, causing them to keep their heads down in order to survive.

Will these three dynamics continue to drive American society batty?

I can tell a story in which those of us in the educated class, progressive or not, come to address the social, political and economic divides we have unwittingly created.

In this reality we would face up to the fact that all societies have been led by this or that elite group and that in the information age those who have a lot of education have immense access to political, cultural and economic power. We would be honest about our role in widening inequalities. We would abhor cultural insularity and go out of our way to engage with people across ideology and class. We would live up to our responsibilities as elites and care for the whole country, not just ourselves. Most important, we would dismantle the arrangements that enable people in our class to pass down our educational privileges to our children, generation after generation, while locking out most everyone else.

That would mean changing the current college admissions criteria, so they no longer massively favor affluent young kids whose parents invest in them from birth. That would also mean opening up many other pathways so that more people would find it easier to climb the social ladder even if they didn’t get into a selective college at age 18.

But there is another possible future. Perhaps today’s educated elite is just like any other historical elite. We gained our status by exploiting or not even seeing others down below, and we are sure as hell not going to give up any of our status without a fight.

To see how likely this second possibility is, I urge you to preorder al-Gharbi’s “We Have Never Been Woke.” It comes out this fall, and it announces him as a rising intellectual star.

I really can’t tell what al-Gharbi’s politics are — some mixture of positions from across the spectrum maybe. He does note that he is writing from the tradition of Black thinkers — stretching back to W.E.B. Du Bois — who argue that white liberals use social justice issues to build status and make themselves feel good while ultimately offering up “little more than symbolic gestures and platitudes to redress the material harms they decry (and often exacerbate).”

He observes that today’s educated-class activists are conveniently content to restrict their political action to the realm of symbols. In his telling, land acknowledgments — when people open public events by naming the Indigenous peoples who had their land stolen from them — are the quintessential progressive gesture.

It’s often non-Indigenous people signaling their virtue to other non-Indigenous people while doing little or nothing for the descendants of those who were actually displaced. Educated elites rename this or that school to erase the names of disfavored historical figures, but they don’t improve the education that goes on within them. Student activists stage messy protests on campus but don’t even see the custodial staff who will clean up afterward.

Al-Gharbi notes that Black people made most of their progress between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s, before the rise of the educated class in the late 1960s, and that the educated class may have derailed that progress. He notes that gaps in wealth and homeownership between white and Black Americans have grown larger since 1968.

He suggests that educated elites practice their own form of trickle-down economics. They imagine that giving diverse college grads university administration jobs and other social justice sinecures will magically benefit the disadvantaged people who didn’t go to college.

He charges that while members of the educated class do a lot of moral preening, their lifestyles contribute to the immiserations of the people who have nearly been rendered invisible — the Amazon warehouse worker, the DoorDash driver making $1.75 an hour after taxes and expenses.

That rumbling sound you hear is the possibility of a multiracial, multiprong, right/left alliance against the educated class. Donald Trump has already created the nub of this kind of movement but is himself too polarizing to create a genuinely broad-based populist movement. After Trump is off the stage, it’s very possible to imagine such an uprising.

Ruh-roh. The lesson for those of us in the educated class is to seriously reform the system we have created or be prepared to be run over.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://features.thecrimson.com/2023/senior-survey/national-politics/).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A25.

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[***The Union Leader Behind the Ports Strike; DealBook Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3P-G5W1-DXY4-X009-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Highlight:** As president of the International Longshoremen’s Association, Harold Daggett is taking advantage of organized labor’s resurgence to drive a hard bargain.

**Body**

As president of the International Longshoremen’s Association, Harold Daggett is taking advantage of organized labor’s resurgence to drive a hard bargain.

The union leader clamping down on U.S. commerce

As the strike shutting down East and Gulf Coast ports enters a third day, the man behind the work stoppage shows no signs of relenting.

[*Meet Harold Daggett*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7), 78, the president of the International Longshoremen’s Association. He is taking advantage of organized labor’s resurgent power to pose a major challenge to the American economy in the name of higher pay for his members.

“We’re going to show these greedy bastards you can’t survive without us,” Daggett said in a speech on Tuesday as the I.L.A.’s roughly 45,000 members walked off the job at more than a dozen ports. The union is pressing major shipping companies for steep rises in pay and benefits, including a 61.5 percent increase in wages over six years.

But Daggett isn’t stopping there, demanding limits on ports’ adoption of automation technology despite the U.S. falling behind other global terminals in efficiency.

The economic stakes are huge: The ports account for about 60 percent of container-based U.S. trade, handling nearly $600 billion worth of imports, according to S&amp;P Global Market Intelligence.

“People are going to sit up and realize how important longshoremen jobs are,” Daggett told The Wall Street Journal. “They won’t be able to sell cars. They won’t be able to stock malls. They won’t be able to do anything in this country.”

Daggett has led the union since 2011, after rising through the its ranks. Such is his stature that the I.L.A. recently introduced a statue of him outside its headquarters.

That’s despite criticism of his pay — he made $728,694 as head of the I.L.A., according to federal filings — and longstanding accusations that he has mob ties. (He denies the claims.)

Daggett seems to be fully aware of his power over even the White House, which has avoided antagonizing a powerful union leader whose political support it needs. President Biden has pressured shippers to improve their offer to reopen talks.

That said, Daggett appears to be courting Democrats and Republicans alike: He met with Donald Trump at Mar-a-Lago in advance of the strike.

Some believe challenging Daggett may be the best way to end the fight. [*Analysts at JPMorgan Chase and Moody’s*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) expect the standoff to end only if the government intervenes.

That may be painful: Last month, Daggett warned Biden not to invoke federal law to break the strike, threatening to slow down any restarted operations. “In today’s world, [*I’ll cripple you*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7),” Daggett said.

HERE’S WHAT’S HAPPENING

Tesla sales rise, suggesting a potential rebound in consumer interest in electric vehicles. The car maker said on Wednesday that [*global sales rose*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) 6.4 percent in the third quarter, the first such increase this year. But the figures came in below analyst expectations, and Tesla shares fell more than 3 percent on the news.

President Biden opposes an Israeli attack on Iran nuclear sites. Biden said that he would not support [*strikes on the facilities*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) in retaliation for Tehran’s missile assault on Tuesday, amid worries of a worsening war in the Middle East. But he said that the Group of 7 nations had agreed to [*impose new sanctions on Iran*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7).

The owner of the Miami Dolphins is said to be close to selling minority stakes. [*Stephen Ross*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7), the N.F.L. team’s owner, is in advanced talks with Ares Management and Joe Tsai, the billionaire owner of the Brooklyn Nets, according to Bloomberg. An agreement would be one of the first deals since the league [*allowed private equity firms*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) to buy into teams.

The clouds hanging over OpenAI’s big round

OpenAI has finally [*closed its mega fund-raising round*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7), valuing the ChatGPT creator at a staggering $157 billion — nearly double its valuation from just nine months ago.

That gives the unprofitable start-up billions more to keep up with rivals in the artificial intelligence race. But the round also illustrates how much tougher that competition is getting.

Who’s in: OpenAI raised $6.6 billion from investors led by Thrive Capital, Josh Kushner’s venture capital firm. The round also included Microsoft, Nvidia, SoftBank’s Vision Fund, Fidelity, the Emirati investment firm MGX, Tiger Global Management, Coatue Management, Khosla Ventures, Altimeter Capital and Cathie Wood’s ARK Venture Fund.

The round underscores a widespread belief in OpenAI’s dominance. Potential investors were reportedly asked to [*commit at least $250 million*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) just to see the company’s financial documents. Several went beyond that, with SoftBank investing about $500 million and Tiger about $350 million.

Thrive put in $750 million of its own money and $550 million from other investors through a special purpose vehicle, which makes OpenAI one of its single-biggest investments. The firm’s thesis, DealBook hears: OpenAI leads the sector on several fronts, including its products, training data and engineering talent, and will grow more valuable as A.I. is on the path to become a trillion-dollar industry.

But OpenAI also faces steep challenges. The start-up is expected to lose $5 billion this year, and keeping up with bigger rivals including Google and Amazon will force it to [*keep raising new capital*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7).

That’s pushing OpenAI to abandon some of its long-held precepts. Terms of the new round give the start-up two years to convert to a for-profit business from a nonprofit organization, or the new funding will become debt.

OpenAI is also said to have made a big demand of investors. They had to pledge not to invest in certain major competitors, according to [*The Financial Times*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) and [*The Wall Street Journal*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7). Those companies include Anthropic, which was created by OpenAI alumni; Safe Superintelligence, which was recently co-founded by OpenAI’s former chief scientist; and xAI, which is run by Elon Musk, an OpenAI co-founder.

The stipulation most likely ruled out many potential investors, given how widely venture firms are spreading their A.I. bets. That OpenAI was still able to draw prominent investors for its round shows its power in the industry. But it also suggests that the company is worried about growing competition.

A Harris-Trump split on manufacturing and trade

One of the few things that Vice President Kamala Harris and Donald Trump agree on is the need to [*bolster manufacturing at home*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7).

But the presidential candidates are proposing different approaches to doing so — forcing companies to prepare for either path come November.

Harris appears likely to continue the Biden administration’s approach. President Biden has used industrial policy to try to revive growth and jobs, with the Inflation Reduction Act and the CHIPS and Science Act spurring private companies to invest billions in clean energy and semiconductor making.

Harris is promising [*tax credits*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) to support manufacturing in biotech and aerospace, as well as the iron and steel industries.

Trump is talking about tariffs and trade fights. He has promised to take an even [*more aggressive approach*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) than he did in his first term, proposing a 60 percent tariff on Chinese imports and a more than 10 percent tariff on goods from elsewhere. Trump has also threatened 100 percent tariffs on cars coming from Mexico.

And he’s gone after individual companies, warning [*John Deere*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) of penalties if the farm equipment maker moved production to Mexico.

(Worth noting: Trump has a track record of making policy claims and threats that don’t become reality. And America’s [*trade deficit with China soared*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) while he was president.)

Blue-collar political support and bolstering U.S. industry are driving the push. Both candidates have spent considerable time and political capital courting ***working-class*** Americans, especially in battleground states.

But in a fraught geopolitical environment, both Harris and Trump also want to strengthen homegrown manufacturing to maintain access to critical supplies for industries including defense and technology.

Companies are bracing for disruption either way. Harris has said she would continue using “targeted” tariffs, possibly mirroring Biden’s imposition of levies for specific industries rather than blanket restrictions. She has also said she would work with allies, as Biden has done, particularly to counter China.

But Trump’s approach may herald more battles. Trading partners like the European Union retaliated against U.S. tariffs by slapping import restrictions on prominent American goods such as Harley-Davidson motorcycles. And in March, a European tariff on American whiskey will take effect unless a deal is worked out.

Jordan takes on NASCAR

Michael Jordan was famous for taking on defenses on the basketball court. Now, his NASCAR team is going after the family that controls the motor sport.

Jordan’s 23XI Racing and another team, Front Row Motorsports, have [*sued NASCAR and its C.E.O*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7)., Jim France, accusing them of anticompetitive behavior that they say is unfairly hurting their returns.

The lawsuit is the latest move in a long-running fight. Jordan and Curtis Polk, his longtime business partner, bought a NASCAR team in 2020 and have invested millions in it.

Their bet: The value of NASCAR broadcast rights would grow and that the competition could evolve into a spectator sport with far wider appeal. That hunch was validated when NASCAR signed a deal last year with Amazon, Fox, NBC and Warner Bros. Discovery worth $7.7 billion.

But many teams say they can’t make money because of how NASCAR is run. 23XI has accused NASCAR of not [*fairly sharing the huge broadcast revenues*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7), and teams say they collectively expect to lose more than $200 million over the next five years if nothing changes.

Bob Jenkins, the owner of Front Row Motorsports, told CNBC that he [*hadn’t turned a profit in 20 years*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7).

NASCAR’s ownership is different from other sports leagues. Unlike the N.B.A. and the N.F.L., which are jointly owned by the team owners, NASCAR has been controlled by the France family since 1948. Teams aren’t permanent franchises but instead depend on a charter, which they can lose if they perform poorly or don’t race their cars consistently.

NASCAR controls the sport, including buying the racetracks and forcing teams to buy from suppliers it has chosen. “The France family operates NASCAR like a closed-door shop, wheeling and dealing its monopoly power in smoke-filled backrooms,” 23XI Racing and Front Row Motorsports claim in their [*lawsuit*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7).

Jordan wants more money and permanent change. Jeffrey Kessler, the prominent sports lawyer who represents the plaintiffs, said that they were seeking an injunction to “end NASCAR’s exclusionary practices and restore competition.” 23XI Racing and Front Row Motorsports are also seeking monetary damages over the “below market” terms of their team charters.

NASCAR didn’t respond to a request for comment.

THE SPEED READ

Deals

* Levi Strauss is considering the [*sale of its Dockers brand*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7), which weighed down on otherwise positive quarterly results. (CNBC)

1. Toyota will invest [*$500 million*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) in Joby Aviation, a flying taxi company that aims to start commercial services next year. (FT)

Elections, politics and policy

* Jack Smith, the special counsel pursuing the federal election case against Donald Trump, in newly unsealed court filings made his case for why [*the former president is not immune*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7) from prosecution on federal charges of plotting to overturn the 2020 election. (NYT)

1. “Elon Musk Gave Tens of Millions to Republican Causes [*Far Earlier Than Previously Known*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7)” (WSJ)

Best of the rest

* A former romantic partner of [*Pavel Durov*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7), the founder of the messaging app Telegram, has accused him of abusive behavior. (NYT)

1. Four months after Adam Neumann failed to buy WeWork, he has now introduced a [*competitor to his former company*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7). (Bloomberg)
2. “LVMH Took Over the Paris Olympics. Now It’s [*Snagged Formula One*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7).” (WSJ)

We’d like your feedback! Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/harold-daggett-ila-port-strike-leader-3fad74f7).

PHOTO: Harold Daggett is the undisputed union leader driving a strike that has shut down ports on the East and Gulf coasts. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***‘The Yellowstone Effect’: Cities Cash In on Cowboy Culture; square feet***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYV-DMG1-DXY4-X001-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1655 words

**Byline:** Patrick Sisson

**Highlight:** Lands in cities and towns that were once shipping points for livestock can be low-lying, unfavorable and often prone to flooding. They’re also hotbeds for new developments.

**Body**

It seems everyone is a little country these days: Markets for [*western-themed fashion*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/) have been re-energized and country music is [*hotter than it’s been in decades*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/).

“We call it the ‘Yellowstone effect,’” said Joel Cowley, the chief executive of the Calgary Stampede in Alberta, one of the largest rodeos in the world. “There’s a romanticism about the West and the cowboy that comes and goes. But I’m not sure in my lifetime that I’ve ever seen it as high as it is now.”

Cowboy culture going mainstream has translated to economic opportunities for cities and towns with a Western heritage. This summer, 1.5 million fans attended the Calgary Stampede to experience the annual rodeo show filled with concerts, cattle and circus performers. Those 10 days were a record turnout for the Canadian city’s marquee event, and officials are trying to emulate that vibrancy for the other 355 days of the year. Similar moves are taking place in other cities known for their cowboy culture including Denver, Houston and Kansas City, Mo.

In Calgary, that means transforming the area where the Stampede is held, and the adjoining neighborhoods, into a year-round entertainment and cultural district that influences growth and investment downtown, said Kate Thompson, the president and chief executive of Calgary Municipal Land Company, whose organization is charged with redeveloping the area, which has hosted fairs since 1886.

“We sometimes joke that we’re building an Olympic Village while hosting an Olympics,” she said.

Calgary, like other cities and towns that were once shipping points for livestock, is discovering that the low-lying, unfavorable, often flood-prone land that made sense to devote to livestock and processing cattle instead of homes and businesses offers a hotbed for new developments.

These cities hope their real estate projects will result in something similar to the [*successful stockyards redevelopment*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/) in Fort Worth. There, local leaders worked with developers for over a decade to capitalize on the city’s cow town heritage. The success of that project brought scores of sports and entertainment events, millions of visitors and [*new developments*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/), including hotels, restaurants and retail, with plans for more.

Ms. Thompson’s group, which is owned by the city of Calgary, has been one of the driving forces behind transforming roughly 290 acres of fairgrounds, parking lots and low-density development east of downtown into a new district with multiple arenas, restaurants, stores and hundreds of residential units. The first phase included a new light rail stop near the park, $100 million in infrastructure improvements and a $500 million expansion of the BMO Centre arena that began hosting events in June.

Next, the group has plans to build thousands of additional residential units and venues for art and opera, as well as parks, a youth center and the [*Stampede Trail,*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/) a wide commercial street that can be closed to traffic for festivals.

Similar redevelopment projects are in the works throughout the United States. In Denver, [*a $1 billion-plus project transforming 240 acres of stockyards*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/), where the [*National Western Stock Show*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/) takes place, has been building new educational and entertainment facilities on underutilized land. In Houston, county officials recently announced a project to [*redevelop NRG Park and continue to host its famous rodeo*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/), including potentially developing mixed-use projects on the venue’s underused parking lots.

And in Kansas City, Mo., the American Royal Livestock Show is breaking ground on a new $350 million, 127-acre suburban home. The West Bottoms neighborhood, where the stock show once stood, is the focus of a [*$500 million*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/) investment. West Bottoms is modeled on the Dumbo neighborhood of Brooklyn, said Ian Ross, the founder of [*Somera Road*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/), the West Bottoms’ project developer, where after decades of abandonment, rundown warehouses were reborn as galleries and work spaces starting in the 1980s.

“The West Bottoms was where Kansas City was born, where the cattle trade began,” he said. “I think people are seeking those authentic, story-driven neighborhoods and are eager to help bring them back to life, unlike these new, somewhat sterile mixed-use developments.”

It helps that these western cities have momentum, with growing populations and economies, making it more feasible to build or redevelop real estate that may have been on the periphery or devoted to industries that have receded or departed. The Meatpacking District in New York City and Fulton Market, once a center for produce in Chicago, are two examples.

“The bottom line is cities are looking at underutilized land to accommodate population growth,” said Greg Kwong, an executive vice president at CBRE. “The fact that you have a western or stockyard theme could even be coincidental.”

Big-city stockyards for holding animals before they were slaughtered had fallen into decline by the 1950s, when changes in marketing, logistics and refrigeration made it easier for companies to process and package meat in one location.

But in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, they were instrumental in growing cities in the Western United States and Canada, especially after the introduction of the railroads and refrigerated train cars. This created nodes for shipping livestock and processing cattle, said Dominic Pacyga, an academic who curates the Packingtown Museum, located in a Chicago industrial park near where the city’s own famous Union Stock Yard once stood. Stock shows and agricultural fairs grew out of this economic shift as means to promote these industries to consumers and companies in the East.

Since then, special events like the Calgary Stampede and the National Western Stock Show have kept these campuses alive as yearly highlights. Now, city leaders see a new future for these sites.

“There’s real estate pressure,” said Brad Buchanan, the chief executive of the National Western Center Authority in Denver. “There’s an opportunity to add to the future of this place without losing what got us here in the first place.”

Many of the new developments maintain the area’s regional identity and heritage, and various project architects have reused wooden posts or exposed steel beams, or taken visual inspiration from ranches and barns. But developers are also leveraging investment, including government funds to, in part, build sites that showcase the future of agriculture and livestock.

The National Western Center is home to a Colorado State University campus called CSU Spur, which focuses on agriculture and sustainability. That campus finished construction in January 2023. A majority of the funding — $688 million — for that project, which includes new equestrian and livestock centers and entertainment venues, comes from bonds in measures that lawmakers had passed to fend off a threat from the National Western Stock Show moving to the neighboring city of Aurora.

Near the Spur, the Exchange Building, where the chalkboards that traders once used to note the day’s cattle prices still hang, just commenced a redevelopment plan to turn the space into a hub for start-ups focused on the future of water technology and food. Andrew Feinstein, a fifth-generation Denver resident whose firm, EXDO Development, played an instrumental role in revitalizing the stockyards-adjacent RiNo neighborhood, learned that his great-uncle, a union leader, had taken meetings in the building.

Mr. Feinstein sees the site as an iconic asset that nobody has yet reimagined, one that, over time, will have significant effects on surrounding areas.

But the opportunities come with challenges and sometimes unintended consequences. The projects can be difficult to take on, since a lack of modern infrastructure can complicate construction and efforts to reconnect neighborhoods.

Michael Hancock, the former mayor of Denver who played a crucial role in the National Western Center project, said that adding modern pipes and roads, as well as cleaning up the environmental challenges of a former cattle lot, presented hurdles. And most neighborhoods clustered around the stockyards have large populations of ***working-class*** and immigrant residents who worry the redevelopments will place pressure on local housing markets.

Neighborhood groups, including the GES Coalition, which represents Denver residents in Globeville and Elyria-Swansea, are worried that new developments will lead to rising rents and have pushed the National Western Center to [*consider more community-focused projects*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/marketing-pr/beyonces-impact-on-western-wear/). Mr. Feinstein said that he expected the accusations of displacement, but that he saw the investment and new infrastructure that came with the stockyards project as a rising tide that would help locals and the city.

“Denver is trying to hold on to its Western heritage and its Western spirit, while embracing modernity,” Mr. Feinstein said. “And I think if we get things right at the National Western Campus, we’ll pull that off.”

PHOTOS: Cowboy culture’s entrance into the mainstream has translated to economic opportunities for cities with a Western heritage, like Calgary, Alberta. Above, a calf roping event this summer at the Calgary Stampede, an annual rodeo show. (B1); This summer, 1.5 million fans attended the Calgary Stampede to experience the annual rodeo show.; The 10-day event in Calgary, Alberta, is filled with concerts, cattle and circus performers.; The first phase at the Calgary fairgrounds included a new light rail stop near the park, $100 million in infrastructure improvements and a $500 million expansion of the BMO Center arena. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMBER BRACKEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); In Denver, a $1 billion-plus project is building educational and entertainment facilities on 240 acres of stockyards that include an agricultural exhibit, center, and an area where spectators can watch veterinarians perform surgery (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES STUKENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B5) This article appeared in print on page B1, B5.

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[***Trudeau's Party Has a Problem: Trudeau***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYW-0J11-JBG3-63DG-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

A vote in Montreal is seen as a referendum on Canada's prime minister, who has brushed aside calls to step down as party members fear a wipeout in the next general election.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Liberal Party should be a shoo-in for a Parliamentary seat at the southern point of the island of Montreal.

The district has been a stronghold for his party for more than half a century. It was home to another Liberal prime minister a generation ago. The base for a former Liberal justice minister. An easy drive to Mr. Trudeau's own redoubt in the city.

And yet, days before a special election on Monday to choose the district's member of Canada's Parliament, polls show a tight three-way contest. For many lifelong Liberals, the problem is clear: It is Mr. Trudeau himself.

''I am a Liberal supporter, but it's almost like enough is enough,'' Michael Altimas, 79, a retired city bus driver, said during a walk on a sunny day along the district's long pedestrian commercial street. ''For the most part, he's been a good prime minister.''

''But he's had nine years,'' Mr. Altimas added, ''and people are hearing often enough that he messed up and they don't want to support him anymore.''

The election to fill a vacancy in the district has become a referendum on Mr. Trudeau, the once golden boy of Western leaders who is now fighting for his political survival. His own Liberal Party members are increasingly calling for him to step aside, worried that the party risks a drubbing in the next general election under the deeply unpopular leader.

Public grumblings about his leadership grew louder over the summer after his party lost a special election in Toronto in June -- in another stronghold -- and after President Biden's decision to step down as the Democratic candidate in the U.S. election suggested a path forward for Canada's Liberals.

The stunning loss in Toronto has raised the stakes for the election in Montreal. Underscoring Mr. Trudeau's cratering popularity is his near total absence from the local campaign.

His face does not appear on posters in the Liberal campaign office's storefront windows or on the district's lampposts. He appeared once to introduce the Liberal candidate, but hasn't been back since. Other party leaders, by contrast, have been visibly present.

''Right now, Justin Trudeau has no political coattails,'' said Nik Nanos, a leading pollster in Canada. ''He's become the lightning rod for the general disaffection directed at the Liberal Party.''

When Mr. Trudeau was first elected in 2015, he enjoyed ''one of the strongest brands in the polling history of Canada,'' Mr. Nanos said. But Mr. Trudeau's approval ratings are now stuck just above 20 percent and trail by double digits those of the main opposition Conservative Party leader, Pierre Poilievre.

For the past year, Mr. Poilievre has set the national political agenda through relentless attacks on Mr. Trudeau's handling of issues most concerning to voters, including the economy, housing and immigration. The Liberal government has often reacted to Mr. Poilievre's criticisms with hurried policy tweaks.

Mr. Trudeau has vowed to run for a fourth term in the next general election, which must be called by the fall of 2025. But a string of recent developments has amplified the pessimism of Liberals and former allies: the abrupt resignation of the Liberal Party's campaign director; the labor minister's resignation and the transportation minister's public angling for a provincial post; an exodus of senior government employees; and the sudden decision by the New Democratic Party to abandon an agreement to support Mr. Trudeau's party for fear of being tainted by the association.

A loss in Montreal's special election could embolden internal opposition and further undermine Mr. Trudeau's public image.

The district, called LaSalle--Ã‰mard--Verdun, has been redrawn a few times but has been a Liberal fortress since the 1960s. Its traditionally ***working-class*** and immigrant residents backed the Liberals, as have newcomers to its gentrifying neighborhoods.

In the last general election in 2021, the Liberal candidate won by 20 percentage points over his closest rival. Today, polls show the Liberals with a slight edge but locked in a tight battle against two opposition parties, the Bloc QuÃ©bÃ©cois, a national party that supports Quebec independence, and the New Democratic Party.

Many voters interviewed on Wellington Street in Verdun -- a long pedestrian street filled with restaurants, cafÃ©s and neighborhood stores -- singled out Mr. Trudeau for influencing their decision.

''It's hard to imagine a world in which Trudeau gets re-elected,'' said Christopher Gaudreault, 28, a classical pianist, who has voted for Liberals, Greens and New Democrats. ''What I've been hearing in my circles is that pretty much everyone across the board is fed up with Trudeau for various reasons.''

''People are just eager for a change and hope for something better,'' he added.

So far, Mr. Trudeau has wielded the extraordinary powers conferred on Canada's political party leaders to quash internal dissent.

Last November, Percy Downe, a Senator who served as chief of staff to a former prime minister, became one of the first Liberals to suggest publicly that Mr. Trudeau step aside for a fresh face before the next election. Few Liberals followed suit -- at least publicly.

Mr. Downe, in an interview, explained that most senators -- who, under Canada's Constitution, are appointed rather than elected -- have been named by Mr. Trudeau. At the same time, the more powerful members of the House of Commons fear questioning Mr. Trudeau, who, like all Canadian party leaders, enjoys near total control over individual party members' electoral prospects.

''You won't be allowed to run in the next election,'' Mr. Downe said, pointing out that no candidate can run in a district without the party leader's endorsement. He called party leaders' absolute power over their members ''a fundamental weakness in our democratic system.''

After the Liberals' loss in the Toronto race in June, the Canadian news media was filled with anonymous Liberal criticism of Mr. Trudeau's leadership. Only one Liberal member of Parliament -- who has announced that he was retiring from politics -- openly called on Mr. Trudeau to step down. Other Liberal lawmakers called for an emergency national meeting to discuss the party's future.

Mr. Trudeau brushed away those calls.

Royce Koop, a political scientist at the University of Manitoba, said Mr. Trudeau had succeeded because time was running out for the Liberals to change leaders before the next election.

''If you're Trudeau and you're trying to hang on, delay is a good tactic,'' Mr. Koop said.

Even though Mr. Trudeau has largely stayed away from the LaSalle--Ã‰mard--Verdun race, his grip on the party is still evident. Mr. Trudeau handpicked the candidate, a city councilor named Laura Palestini, in mid-July -- angering three other Liberal candidates vying for the candidacy.

One of them, Christopher Baenninger, an entrepreneur, said Liberal Party officials had reassured him that the candidate would be elected by members in an open race. He said he had spent five months gathering support, knocking on doors seven days a week.

Among Liberal supporters, he said half were committed ''no matter what.'' But he said the other half were ''tired Liberals, who were, like, 'Trudeau's been in power for nine years now. We're looking for something fresh.'''

The open nomination had made Liberals ''feel like their voices are heard,'' said another former candidate, Eddy Kara, a Liberal organizer and a filmmaker. But the last-minute decision to close the nomination and parachute in a candidate risks leaving Liberals feeling disenfranchised and ''exacerbating people's negative perceptions'' about politics, he added.

Parker Lund, a Liberal Party spokesman, said in an email that the selection of Ms. Palestini was ''fully in line with our national nomination rules.'' He did not respond to requests to interview a senior party official about the state of the Liberal Party.

At Ms. Palestini's campaign office, the campaign manager, Marie-Pascale Des Rosiers, said the candidate was not granting interviews and declined to let a journalist accompany her while campaigning.

A few doors away, at the New Democrats' campaign office, the excitement about a possible upset victory was palpable. The party's leader, Jagmeet Singh, whose own electoral district is in a Vancouver suburb, has visited Montreal about a dozen times to campaign with the party's local candidate, Craig SauvÃ©, a city councilor.

The Bloc QuÃ©bÃ©cois, whose candidate is Louis-Philippe SauvÃ©, has also expressed optimism about winning.

The New Democrats' candidate, Mr. SauvÃ©, said he was knocking on doors two to three times a day.

''There is a generalized fatigue,'' he said, ''with regards to the Liberal Party.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/world/americas/special-election-montreal-trudeau.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/world/americas/special-election-montreal-trudeau.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: After nine years in office, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has approval ratings barely above 20 percent, and, a leading pollster said, ''has no political coattails.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY SPENCER COLBY/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Pierre Poilievre, the Conservative Party leader, is much more popular than Mr. Trudeau, whom he relentlessly attacks. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PATRICK DOYLE/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Body Politics, and Demi Moore***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYW-0J11-JBG3-63FK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 77; FALL PREVIEW

**Length:** 1434 words

**Byline:** By Manohla Dargis

**Body**

By the end of the 1990s, after years of giving her all to Hollywood and baring most of her all, too, Demi Moore began her fade-out. She had been a major film star that decade, complete with huge hits, humbling flops, famous friends, a celebrity marriage and headline-making magazine covers. Like all stars, she put in the work and sold the merch, herself included. And, like a lot of female stars, she made movies with male filmmakers who turned her into a spectacle of desire, a spectacle that she partly sought ownership of via her body.

You see a lot of her body in Moore's latest movie, ''The Substance,'' from the French filmmaker Coralie Fargeat. (It opens Sept. 20.) It's a body-horror freakout that satirically takes aim at the commodification of women, and Moore is ferociously memorable in it as an actress who's fired when she hits 50. It's a performance that's strong enough that you stop thinking about the fact that she's naked in a lot of the scenes, strong enough to make you stop wondering what her exercise regime is or what work, if any, she's had done. By the end, I admired how she had risen above the material; I also hoped she has better movies in her future.

She deserves them. Her performance in ''The Substance'' is a gaudy, physically demonstrative role that requires her to convey a range of outsize states that dovetail with the movie's excesses, from her character's plasticky on-camera smiles to her private despair and boiling rage. Like some of Moore's best-known movies, ''The Substance'' also requires her to shed her clothing. Even after decades of watching her perform in states of undress, it is startling to see Moore, now 61, stand naked before a mirror as the camera slowly travels across her body. There's a near-clinical quality to how she looks at herself and, I think, a touch of defiance.

The 1980s weren't a welcoming period for women in the mainstream movie industry, yet Moore gradually succeeded in making a name for herself in between hanging with her pals in the Brat Pack and appearing in mediocre films (''St. Elmo's Fire'') and flat-out rotten ones (''About Last Night,'' ugh). Her big break came with ''Ghost'' (1990), a dreamy, sad romance in which she plays a dewy-eyed artist whose lover (Patrick Swayze) is murdered. Moore looked ''terminally wistful much of the time'' in the film, as Janet Maslin observed in The New York Times. Yet Moore also ''combines toughness and delicacy most attractively,'' which nicely expresses her gift for characters who often seem compelled to safeguard their vulnerabilities.

''Ghost'' was the top-grossing movie of the year, racked up more than a half a billion dollars at the global box office and catapulted Moore into true stardom. She followed this by starring in, as well as producing, ''Mortal Thoughts'' (1991), a deliciously nasty noirish drama about two ***working-class*** Jersey friends (Moore and Glenne Headly) who cover up the murder of one of their husbands, played with relish and persuasive vulgarity by Moore's husband at the time, Bruce Willis. One of her finest movies, it gave her a chance to express her range partly because she was working with a real filmmaker, Alan Rudolph. In contrast to many of her earlier directors, he didn't treat Moore like a sex puppet but instead helped her create a nuanced, teasingly elusive woman.

With the exception of ''Ghost'' and some other notable releases, the early and mid-1990s weren't much better for actresses than the previous decade had been. The month after ''Ghost'' opened, Meryl Streep, speaking at the Screen Actors Guild's first National Women's Conference, shared some bleak statistics that the organization had compiled. With their top guns, dashing adventurers and hyper-muscular heroes like Rambo, the 1980s had been so bad for women that in 1989, Streep told the audience, men had hogged 71 percent of the roles in feature films and were earning more than double what women did. ''If the trend continues,'' Streep ominously warned, ''by the year 2010 we may be eliminated from movies altogether.''

Despite this somber landscape, Moore thrived in the 1990s until she didn't. After ''Ghost,'' she again became headline news in 1991 for appearing hugely pregnant and beautifully nude on the cover of Vanity Fair, sending puritans to their fainting couches. (The accompanying article was as unflattering as the cover was flattering, a foreboding sign that she had become an easy target.) She held her own alongside Tom Cruise and Jack Nicholson in the military court drama ''A Few Good Men'' (1992); starred in the schlocky drama ''Indecent Proposal'' (1993) as a married woman who sleeps with a billionaire for a million bucks; and played a villain opposite Michael Douglas in ''Disclosure'' (1994), a disingenuous, sleazy thriller that tries to say something about sexual harassment but is really about male fears of female power.

Moore kept her clothes on in her movies more than she took them off, but it's the ones in which she ditched her outfits, in part or full, that predictably sparked reams of publicity and some nitwit outrage. They're still the films that she's often most closely identified with, for better and for worse, with the bottom-barrel crummiest being the inept, grimly unfunny comedy ''Striptease'' (1996). She plays an exotic dancer who likes shimmying to Annie Lennox and is trying to recover custody of her daughter while navigating a byzantine, politically freighted intrigue. Moore has some nice moments in which she gets to show off her comic timing and the dancer's humanity, but the movie is mostly interested in showing off her body.

By the time Moore shot ''Striptease,'' star salaries had skyrocketed to previously unseen heights; or, rather, salaries for actors like Sylvester Stallone had soared. Bruce Willis, Moore wrote in her engaging 2019 memoir, ''Inside Out,'' was paid more than $20 million for the third ''Die Hard'' flick. Moore was paid $12.5 million to star in ''Striptease,'' which earned her the nickname Gimme Moore. Hard-body male stars like Willis, Stallone, Cruise, Arnold Schwarzenegger and others were lavishly rewarded for flaunting their six-packs and bulging biceps in ridiculous, giddily violent action flicks while Moore was skewered for having the audacity to bare herself in an equally nonsensical comedy about a heroic, loving single mom.

Looking back on the period, I wonder if all those professional macho men factored into her decision to star in Ridley Scott's ''G.I. Jane'' (1997), another career high point in which she bulked up to play a Navy S.E.A.L. I love the film, despite its flaws, including an unfortunate scene in which Moore executes some very impressive one-armed push-ups in short shorts while her nipples stand at attention in a sleeveless undershirt. I get why the scene was shot. Moore was a celebrated, bankable sex symbol. She also had a buzz cut for much of the running time and was otherwise so deglammed that I imagine she, Scott and company felt that they needed to eroticize her to peddle the film. It didn't work; the movie flopped badly.

In her memoir, Moore spends a lot of time on her kids, husbands and movies, but what's striking is the space she devotes to her body. It makes for painful, at times infuriating reading, as when she revisits her experience with ''Indecent Proposal.'' She writes that while she agreed to the sex scenes, the director Adrian Lyne promised that he'd cut anything she found objectionable. ''Still, I would be on display again,'' she writes, ''and all I could think about was my body, my body, my body.'' So, once again, she threw herself into an exercise regime until she felt good about how she looked. In response, Lyne told her she was too thin, the perverse reverse of what the director Ed Zwick said to her before ''About Last Night'': She was too fat.

Moore deserved better from Lyne, from Zwick, from the movie industry she made a lot of money from and from all those media types who eagerly fawned over her until they gleefully fileted her. Over her career, she has gone through the usual stages of Hollywood stardom -- invention, exploitation, idolization, rejection and resurrection -- with what seems to be a lot self-actualizing work along with grit, sweat and, yes, talent. In a career filled with box-office highs, derided lows and states of undress, she has been by turns celebrated and mocked for being precisely what the movies asked her to be: a fantasy, one that is emblematic of how the world continues to look at women and that now finds Moore staring right back, naked and defiant.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/09/movies/demi-moore-the-substance.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/09/movies/demi-moore-the-substance.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HOLLYWOOD PICTURES, VIA EVERETT COLLECTION

PHIL BRAY/HOLLYWOOD PICTURES

ALLSTAR PICTURE LIBRARY LTD., VIA ALAMY

COLUMBIA PICTURES, VIA EVERETT COLLECTION.)

Demi Moore plays an actress trying to cope with issues of aging in Hollywood in ''The Substance.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY MUBI) This article appeared in print on page AR77.

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[***Threats Unnerve Ohio City After Trump's False Claims***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYW-0J11-JBG3-63CV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1516 words

**Byline:** By Miriam Jordan and Peter Baker

**Body**

Springfield, Ohio, is caught in the middle of the nation's political wars after former President Donald J. Trump made a debunked claim about Haitian immigrants and pets.

The dogs and cats of Springfield, Ohio, appear to be perfectly safe, but many of its people are finding their lives upended this week by political rumormongering that has resulted in multiple bomb threats, school closures and a decision to dispatch the F.B.I.

Ever since former President Donald J. Trump claimed on national television that undocumented migrants were stealing and devouring the household pets of Springfield -- ''they're eating the dogs,'' he practically shouted, ''they're eating the cats'' -- the rhythms and routines in the city have not been the same.

Never mind that city authorities have refuted the story and that many residents called it ridiculous. The furor created by Mr. Trump during Tuesday night's presidential debate has put Springfield in the cross-hairs of the nation's political wars. For the past two days, bomb threats have proliferated, closing City Hall, schools and a motor vehicles office. F.B.I. agents have descended on the community to guard against danger not to animals but to humans.

The unexpected and unwanted attention generated by Mr. Trump's false stories led to real-life confusion and anxiety for some residents. Schools have been evacuated, children sheltered at home and parents forced to make other plans during the workday. Gethro Jean, a Haitian pastor, said that he had been fielding questions from congregants who were concerned about attending church on Sunday.

''Our town was pinpointed in the debate,'' said Cydney Mills, 41, who kept her three children out of school on Friday after the latest round of bomb threats. ''After that, people are just showing their true colors and exhibiting hate.''

Jude Earlywine, 14, was in English class at Springfield High School on Friday morning when he heard that hundreds of young children were filing into the gymnasium after bomb threats had forced the evacuation of their elementary schools.

''Everyone was talking about it, and many people got scared because they thought that thousands of students could be killed if someone really wanted to bomb us,'' he said, noting that his high school alone, the only one in the city, enrolls more than 1,500 students.

Mr. Trump's fixation on Springfield drew an angry rebuke on Friday from President Biden, who denounced his predecessor for trafficking in false rumors that have demonized Haitian migrants and inflamed the presidential campaign.

At a brunch on the South Lawn of the White House billed as a ''celebration of Black excellence,'' Mr. Biden noted that Haitian immigrants were ''under attack in our country right now,'' a reference everyone in the audience appeared to understand even though he did not name Mr. Trump. ''It's simply wrong,'' Mr. Biden said, his voice rising in indignation. ''There's no place in America. This has to stop, what he's doing. It has to stop.''

Mr. Trump refused to back down on Friday and vowed to conduct a mass deportation from Springfield if he is elected, saying that Haitian immigrants there were ''destroying their way of life.'' Although he did not repeat the claim about the pets, neither did he retract it, even though his own Republican running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, who first aired the rumor, has since acknowledged that it may not be true.

''We're going to get these people out,'' Mr. Trump told reporters during a stop in California. ''We're going to have the largest deportation in the history of our country and we're going to start with Springfield and Aurora,'' referring to a city in Colorado where he has said Venezuelan gangs are ''taking over buildings.''

The rumors about Springfield may be tied to right-wing agitators. The day after the debate, Christopher Pohlhaus, leader of the national neo-Nazi group Blood Tribe, took credit on his Telegram channel, according to NBC News. Mr. Pohlhaus wrote that Blood Tribe had ''pushed Springfield into the public consciousness.''

The majority of Haitians in Springfield and elsewhere in the United States are in the country legally, having received temporary protected status from the Biden administration under a program started by President George W. Bush for nationals of countries in turmoil.

Springfield, situated between Dayton and Columbus, has attracted Haitian immigrants in recent years after city leadership successfully marketed the city as an attractive place to do business. It is accessible to two interstates and home to several colleges.

It was also affordable. Auto-parts makers, food and clothing distributors and others set up shop there, especially from about 2017. But there were not enough workers.

Word traveled rapidly among Haitians in Florida, Haiti and even in other countries, that Springfield boasted well-paying jobs and a low cost of living. Since the pandemic, between 12,000 and 20,000 Haitians have arrived there, according to estimates by city officials.

The Haitians were particularly attractive to employers because many of them had or were eligible for work authorization through their temporary protected status or another Biden administration program.

Jean Prospere, a Haitian who lives in Springfield with his teenage son, Keith, said that he had been shaken by the attacks on Haitians.

''I'm not feeling good,'' he said. ''I saw that information in social media networks, and it's not real,'' he said, referring to Haitians stealing neighbors' pets for consumption.

Mr. Prospere said he fled Haiti in 2019 after gangs extorted him and threatened to kill him. He has applied for asylum and has received authorization to work. Currently, he assembles car parts at a company outside Springfield. ''I hope we can find a solution between Haitian people and American people in Springfield,'' he said.

The frenzy has perhaps upset parents the most. Ms. Mills was dropping off two of her children at Snowhill Elementary a few minutes behind schedule on Friday morning when she noticed that students were being escorted to several buses lined up outside.

Ms. Mills suspected that, following Thursday's threats that shuttered schools, ''something crazy was going on,'' she said. Soon her cellphone buzzed with a message from the district informing parents that the school had been evacuated and their children were being relocated to the city's high school for pickup there. She drove off with her daughter, Trinity, 8, and son Gabriel, 10.

Ms. Mills decided not to drop off her youngest child, Jason, 4, at his preschool program. Fulton Elementary had reopened on Friday after a bomb threat led to its closure and evacuation on Thursday.

''Once I found out what going on at Snowhill, I emailed his teacher at Fulton and said we'd rather be safe than sorry,'' said Ms. Mills. ''She told me that very few kids were showing up.''

Ms. Mills, who lives in the ***working-class*** area of Springfield, referred to as the South Side, said she had many Haitian neighbors. They had helped spruce up the neighborhood, she said, because they were renting homes that had been boarded up or dilapidated.

''There are tons of houses that had boards over windows or big old red X signs,'' she said. ''There are Haitians moving in and they are fixing them.''

Local police officers and federal agents with bomb-sniffing dogs eventually combed Snowhill Elementary on Friday and declared the building safe. But the day was already lost, leaving many families unnerved.

Michelle Johnson, 51, a lifelong Springfield resident, sat on her front porch with three grandchildren, ages 7, 10 and 13. She has custody and had to go pick them up at school.

She thought the threats were just someone trying to get attention and she worried that the same thing was going to happen on Monday. ''When will it stop?'' she asked.

Jude, the teenager at Springfield High School, said parents had pulled fellow students out of class after receiving a notice from the superintendent about threats to schools. A sophomore, Jude told his mother that he wanted to stay in school to take an Advanced Placement history exam later in the day.

By lunch time, hundreds of students had left the high school, he said, and the marching band's hall rally, planned ahead of the Friday night football game, had been canceled. Misinformation about Haitians on social media and bomb threats have become the main topic of conversation among his friends this week, he said.

''Everybody is completely on edge,'' Jude said. ''It's really stressful.'' He added, ''I feel that something big is about to happen, but I don't know what it is.''

''What I am really hoping is that something big just happens,'' he said, meaning a big news event elsewhere, ''and it all dissolves from there.'' Then, he said, ''we are not in the national spotlight anymore and nobody is accusing members of our immigrant community of eating our pets and spreading other lies.''

Kevin Williams contributed reporting from Springfield.Kevin Williams contributed reporting from Springfield.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-trump-haitian-immigrants-cats-dogs.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-trump-haitian-immigrants-cats-dogs.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Biden said his predecessor's attacks on Haitian migrants are ''simply wrong.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY ROD LAMKEY JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

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[***Tech Mogul Is Acquitted Of Charges In Sale to HP***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C6R-0F51-DXY4-X1TY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 615 words

**Byline:** By Michael J. de la Merced

**Body**

Mr. Lynch, who was accused of defrauding Hewlett-Packard after it paid $11 billion for his software company, spent a decade working to clear his name.

Mike Lynch, a British software mogul who was once one of his country's most celebrated chief executives, was acquitted of fraud on Thursday in San Francisco federal court, clearing him of charges that he had led one of the biggest frauds in the technology industry.

A jury found him not guilty of falsely inflating revenue at Autonomy, the company he founded and led, when he sold it to Hewlett-Packard for $11 billion in 2011.

Mr. Lynch, 58, who faced decades in prison, had initially been charged with 16 counts of fraud and conspiracy, though one fraud charge was eventually dismissed.

Thursday's verdict, after a trial that began in mid-March, is a milestone in Mr. Lynch's decade-long odyssey to clear his name.

HP acquired Autonomy, paying a 60 percent premium over its stock price, in a bid to transform itself into a high-growth software provider. But questions soon arose about Autonomy's figures, and before long the California-based tech pioneer took an $8.8 billion accounting charge on the acquisition, citing ''serious accounting improprieties.'' HP's stock price plummeted.

The company subsequently accused Mr. Lynch and his lieutenants of providing misleading information about the company's finances.

At the time, investors called the Autonomy acquisition one of the worst deals in history and a key point in the decline of HP as a leader of the tech industry.

It also tarnished the reputation of Mr. Lynch, who rose from ***working-class*** origins outside London to the heights of British industry. A maker of data analytics software, Autonomy became one of Britain's biggest technology success stories. Mr. Lynch in 2011 was named a scientific adviser to David Cameron, the prime minister at the time, and a director of the BBC.

Mr. Lynch argued that HP executives including the chief executive, Meg Whitman, who fired him, were blaming him for their own mismanagement of Autonomy.

In 2018, American federal prosecutors charged Mr. Lynch with fraud, accusations that the executive consistently denied.

The odds of an acquittal only diminished over the years. Autonomy's chief financial officer, Sushovan Hussain, was convicted of similar charges and served prison time. And in 2022, a London judge overseeing a civil trial against Mr. Lynch -- a case described as ''amongst the longest and most complex in English legal history'' -- found him liable for defrauding HP. (HP has sought some $4 billion in damages; Mr. Lynch has argued he owes nothing.)

Last year, Mr. Lynch lost a fight to avoid extradition to the United States. He was taken to San Francisco and confined to a townhouse under 24-hour surveillance and court-mandated private security, on his dime.

At the California trial, prosecutors argued that Mr. Lynch was the ''driving force'' behind a complicated fraud in which hardware sales were improperly classified as software ones to bolster revenue, and contracts were backdated. Stephen Chamberlain, a former Autonomy vice president of finance, was also on trial on similar charges.

Mr. Lynch testified that he had not been involved in Autonomy's day-to-day financial operations and had delegated many tasks.

Jurors took about two days to reach their verdict, finding Mr. Lynch and Mr. Chamberlain not guilty on all charges.

''I am elated with today's verdict and grateful to the jury for their attention to the facts over the last 10 weeks,'' Mr. Lynch said in a statement. ''I am looking forward to returning to the U.K. and getting back to what I love most: my family and innovating in my field.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/06/business/dealbook/mike-lynch-autonomy-fraud-hp.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/06/business/dealbook/mike-lynch-autonomy-fraud-hp.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page B4.

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[***How Trump and Biden Might Attack Each Other at the CNN Debate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBJ-FN91-DXY4-X024-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 25, 2024 Tuesday

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Politics

**Length:** 1515 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas and Michael Gold

**Body**

Immigration, the economy, democracy and abortion rights: Here are the main ways each candidate is likely to slam the other at Thursday's high-stakes confrontation.

President Biden and former President Donald J. Trump have sparred for months on the campaign trail, in interviews with reporters and through paid advertisements, creating phantom likenesses of each other to thrash and tear down.

On Thursday, they will confront each other at a CNN debate in Atlanta, their first face-to-face meeting since their last onstage clash in 2020 and since Mr. Trump tried to overturn Mr. Biden's subsequent victory at the polls. The event will give both of them a rich opportunity to deploy their attack lines and policy arguments before a national audience.

Here's what we know about how each man will try to gain the upper hand.

Trump's main lines of attack

Since he emerged as the presumptive Republican nominee, Mr. Trump and his campaign have focused on attacking Mr. Biden over immigration and the economy, which polls have found to be the top concerns for many voters.

Immigration

As he did during his political rise in 2016, Mr. Trump has made immigration a central focus of his campaign. He is all but guaranteed to blame Mr. Biden for a surge in illegal border crossings, calling the president's policies overly permissive.

Mr. Trump claims that Mr. Biden's approach to immigration has fueled violent crime -- even though broader statistics do not bear that out -- by citing several high-profile criminal cases that the authorities say involved immigrants in the United States illegally.

And as he stokes fear around immigration and tries to push the issue to the center of the election, Mr. Trump has falsely cast all those crossing the border as violent criminals or mentally ill. (Families with children make up about 40 percent of all migrants who have entered the United States this year.)

Looking to chip away at the coalition that elected Mr. Biden, Mr. Trump has claimed without evidence that people in the country illegally are taking the jobs of ***working-class*** Black and Hispanic voters, a situation he blames Mr. Biden for.

Mr. Trump is also likely to attack Mr. Biden's recent executive order on immigration, which prevents migrants from seeking asylum at the southern border when crossings surge. Mr. Trump has argued that the order will still encourage migrants to enter the country, and that it is too little, too late. He says, of course, that Mr. Biden needs to restore the strict border policies of the Trump presidency.

Biden's rebuttal: With Republican help, Mr. Biden secured a long-sought border deal in Congress in February. But Mr. Trump quickly told his allies to torpedo the agreement, saying it would be poor politics to take immigration off the table. That gave Mr. Biden someone else to blame for the border crisis.

''The American people are going to know why it failed,'' the president said at the time, a theme he could play up at the debate. He has also condemned Mr. Trump for saying that immigrants are ''poisoning the blood'' of the country, a phrase that echoes the language of Adolf Hitler.

The economy and cost of living

Mr. Trump and his campaign have consistently tried to harness negative feelings about the economy as a way of attacking Mr. Biden. In speeches, Mr. Trump frequently accuses the president of doing little to address increased food and housing costs. And he blames the Biden administration's policies for contributing to inflation, arguing that increased government spending has led costs to skyrocket.

More recently, Mr. Trump has tried to link his message on immigration to the economy, arguing that Mr. Biden's handling of the surge of migrants has driven up costs, an assertion he makes without citing clear evidence.

To bolster his argument, Mr. Trump frequently mentions the costs of gasoline and energy, which he claims were significantly lower during his administration and which he promises to address by increasing oil drilling.

He has frequently asked voters whether they were better off during his administration, pointing to the growing economy he inherited and that continued to grow while he was in office. But Mr. Trump often ignores the impact the coronavirus pandemic had on the American economy in the last year of his presidency. Some economists say those effects were intensified by decisions he made that prioritized short-term economic growth over long-term stability.

Biden's rebuttal: Mr. Biden returned to his hometown, Scranton, Pa., this year to emphasize his ***working-class*** roots and accuse Mr. Trump of being a puppet of plutocrats rather than a friend to normal people.

At the debate, the president is likely to adopt a similar ''Main Street vs. Wall Street'' approach, and to try to deflect Mr. Trump's criticisms by highlighting his administration's efforts to cut consumer costs on things like prescription drugs, bank fees and airline travel.

One big question for Trump: How much will he attack Biden's mental and physical fitness?

On the campaign trail, Mr. Trump mocks Mr. Biden's physical attributes, imitates his gait and speech, and argues that his rival is not mentally fit to be president. Such attacks are greeted with raucous laughter and cheers at Trump rallies.

Mr. Trump is likely to again contend that Mr. Biden is not fit to serve as president. But with Mr. Biden on the stage next to him, it is unclear how forceful Mr. Trump may be, or whether he will draw on the cartoonish impressions favored by his supporters. And any attention drawn to Mr. Biden's slips could backfire if Mr. Trump makes gaffes of his own, as he has done repeatedly.

Biden's main lines of attack

Mr. Biden and his campaign have signaled early and often that they plan to hammer Mr. Trump on abortion and democracy, two issues on which polls show that voters place more faith in the president than his predecessor.

Abortion rights

Democrats have honed a simple message on abortion: ''Donald Trump did this.'' And it doesn't just apply to the overturning of Roe v. Wade.

Since that momentous Supreme Court decision in 2022, Mr. Biden and his allies have assailed Mr. Trump over abortion bans in Arizona and Florida, a court ruling in Alabama that imperiled the use of in vitro fertilization, and efforts to limit access to birth control.

''Let's be clear. There's one person responsible for this nightmare, and he's acknowledged it and he brags about it: Donald Trump,'' Mr. Biden said at a campaign event in Florida shortly before a six-week abortion ban went into effect there.

Protecting abortion access has strong appeal across party lines, as successful referendum efforts in red states have shown. And on the campaign trail, Mr. Biden has made a broader argument that Mr. Trump is seeking to take the country backward on equality for women, including by allowing state governments to monitor their pregnancies and prosecute them for having abortions.

Trump's rebuttal: After sending mixed signals for months, Mr. Trump said in April that he believed abortion rights should be left up to the states and that he would not sign a federal ban if Congress put one before him. He falsely insists that most Americans were happy to leave abortion restrictions to the states, even as he has criticized stringent abortion bans. And he has ducked questions on mifepristone, a widely used drug in medication abortions.

Democracy

Few topics make Mr. Biden more animated than the threat he believes that Mr. Trump poses to American democracy.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/25/us/politics/trump-biden-cnn-debate-attacks.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/25/us/politics/trump-biden-cnn-debate-attacks.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The first debate of the 2024 general election for president is set for Thursday evening, to be hosted by CNN in Atlanta. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Megan Varner/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***The Four Issues Trump and Biden Will Clash Over at the Debate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBC-PXP1-DXY4-X01R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1505 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Michael Gold Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the re-election campaign of President Biden. Michael Gold is a political correspondent for The Times covering the campaigns of Donald J. Trump and other candidates in the 2024 presidential elections.

**Highlight:** Immigration, the economy, democracy and abortion rights: Here are the main ways each candidate is likely to slam the other at Thursday’s high-stakes confrontation.

**Body**

Immigration, the economy, democracy and abortion rights: Here are the main ways each candidate is likely to slam the other at Thursday’s high-stakes confrontation.

President Biden and former President Donald J. Trump have sparred for months on the campaign trail, in interviews with reporters and through paid advertisements, creating phantom likenesses of each other to thrash and tear down.

On Thursday, they will [*confront each other at a CNN debate in Atlanta*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html), their first face-to-face meeting since their last onstage clash in 2020 and since Mr. Trump tried to overturn Mr. Biden’s subsequent victory at the polls. The event will give both of them a rich opportunity to deploy their attack lines and policy arguments before a national audience.

Here’s what we know about how each man will try to gain the upper hand.

Trump’s main lines of attack

Since he emerged as the presumptive Republican nominee, Mr. Trump and his campaign have focused on attacking Mr. Biden over immigration and the economy, which polls have found to be the top concerns for many voters.

Immigration

As he did during his political rise in 2016, Mr. Trump has made immigration a central focus of his campaign. He is all but guaranteed to blame Mr. Biden for a surge in illegal border crossings, calling the president’s policies overly permissive.

Mr. Trump claims that Mr. Biden’s approach to immigration has fueled violent crime — even though broader statistics do not bear that out — by citing several high-profile criminal cases that the authorities say involved immigrants in the United States illegally.

And as he stokes fear around immigration and tries to push the issue to the center of the election, Mr. Trump has falsely cast all those crossing the border as violent criminals or mentally ill. (Families with children make up about 40 percent of all migrants who have entered the United States this year.)

Looking to chip away at the coalition that elected Mr. Biden, Mr. Trump has claimed without evidence that people in the country illegally are taking the jobs of ***working-class*** Black and Hispanic voters, a situation he blames Mr. Biden for.

Mr. Trump is also likely to attack Mr. Biden’s [*recent executive order*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html) on immigration, which prevents migrants from seeking asylum at the southern border when crossings surge. Mr. Trump has argued that the order will still encourage migrants to enter the country, and that it is too little, too late. He says, of course, that Mr. Biden needs to restore the strict border policies of the Trump presidency.

Biden’s rebuttal: With Republican help, Mr. Biden secured a long-sought border deal in Congress in February. But Mr. Trump quickly told his allies to torpedo the agreement, saying it would be poor politics to take immigration off the table. That [*gave Mr. Biden someone else to blame*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html) for the border crisis.

“The American people are going to know why it failed,” the president said at the time, a theme he could play up at the debate. He has also condemned Mr. Trump for saying that immigrants are [*“poisoning the blood” of the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html), a phrase that echoes the language of Adolf Hitler.

The economy and cost of living

Mr. Trump and his campaign have consistently tried to harness negative feelings about the economy as a way of attacking Mr. Biden. In speeches, Mr. Trump frequently accuses the president of doing little to address increased food and housing costs. And he blames the Biden administration’s policies for contributing to inflation, arguing that increased government spending has led costs to skyrocket.

More recently, Mr. Trump has tried to link his message on immigration to the economy, arguing that Mr. Biden’s handling of the surge of migrants has driven up costs, an assertion he makes without citing clear evidence.

To bolster his argument, Mr. Trump frequently mentions the costs of gasoline and energy, which he claims were significantly lower during his administration and which he promises to address by increasing oil drilling.

He has frequently asked voters whether they were better off during his administration, pointing to the growing economy he inherited and that continued to grow while he was in office. But Mr. Trump often ignores the impact the coronavirus pandemic had on the American economy in the last year of his presidency. Some economists say those effects were intensified by decisions he made that prioritized short-term economic growth over long-term stability.

Biden’s rebuttal: Mr. Biden [*returned to his hometown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html), Scranton, Pa., this year to emphasize his ***working-class*** roots and accuse Mr. Trump of being a puppet of plutocrats rather than a friend to normal people.

At the debate, the president is likely to adopt a similar “Main Street vs. Wall Street” approach, and to try to deflect Mr. Trump’s criticisms by highlighting [*his administration’s efforts to cut consumer costs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html) on things like prescription drugs, bank fees and airline travel.

One big question for Trump: How much will he attack Biden’s mental and physical fitness?

On the campaign trail, Mr. Trump mocks Mr. Biden’s physical attributes, imitates his gait and speech, and argues that his rival is not mentally fit to be president. Such attacks are greeted with raucous laughter and cheers at Trump rallies.

Mr. Trump is likely to again contend that Mr. Biden is not fit to serve as president. But with Mr. Biden on the stage next to him, it is unclear how forceful Mr. Trump may be, or whether he will draw on the cartoonish impressions favored by his supporters. And any attention drawn to Mr. Biden’s slips could backfire if Mr. Trump makes gaffes of his own, [*as he has done repeatedly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html).

Biden’s main lines of attack

Mr. Biden and his campaign have signaled early and often that they plan to hammer Mr. Trump on abortion and democracy, two issues on which polls show that voters place more faith in the president than his predecessor.

Abortion rights

Democrats have honed a simple message on abortion: “Donald Trump did this.” And it doesn’t just apply to the overturning of Roe v. Wade.

Since that momentous Supreme Court decision in 2022, Mr. Biden and his allies have assailed Mr. Trump over abortion bans in Arizona and Florida, a court ruling in Alabama that imperiled the use of in vitro fertilization, and efforts to limit access to birth control.

“Let’s be clear. There’s one person responsible for this nightmare, and he’s acknowledged it and he brags about it: Donald Trump,” Mr. Biden said at a campaign event in Florida shortly before a [*six-week abortion ban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html) went into effect there.

Protecting abortion access has strong appeal across party lines, as successful referendum efforts in red states have shown. And on the campaign trail, Mr. Biden has made a broader argument that Mr. Trump is seeking to take the country backward on equality for women, including by allowing state governments to monitor their pregnancies and prosecute them for having abortions.

Trump’s rebuttal: After sending mixed signals for months, Mr. Trump said in April that he believed abortion rights should be left up to the states and that he [*would not sign a federal ban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html) if Congress put one before him. He falsely insists that most Americans were happy to leave abortion restrictions to the states, even as he has criticized stringent abortion bans. And he has ducked questions on [*mifepristone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/us/politics/biden-trump-debate-stakes.html), a widely used drug in medication abortions.

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**End of Document**



[***Far Right Pulls French Youths Toward Its Side***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CDG-6N01-JBG3-60PF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 5, 2024 Friday

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

**Length:** 1530 words

**Byline:** By Aurelien Breeden, Aida Alami and Dmitry Kostyukov

**Body**

Most young people in France usually don't vote or they back the left. That is still true, but support has surged for the far right, whose openly racist past can feel to them like ancient history.

In the 1980s, a French punk rock band coined a rallying cry against the country's far right that retained its punch over decades. The chant, still shouted at protests by the left, is ''La jeunesse emmerde le Front National,'' which cannot be translated well without curse words, but essentially tells the far right to get lost.

That crude battle cry is emblematic of what had often been conventional wisdom not only in France, but also elsewhere -- that young people frequently tilt left in their politics. Now, that notion has been challenged as increasing numbers of young people have joined swaths of the French electorate to support the far-right National Rally, a party once deemed too extreme to govern.

The results from Sunday's parliamentary vote, the first of a two-part election, showed young people across the political spectrum coming out to cast ballots in much greater numbers than in previous years. A majority of them voted for the left. But one of the biggest jumps was in the estimated numbers of 18-to-24-year-olds who cast ballots for the National Rally, in an election that many say could reshape France.

A quarter of the age group voted for the party, according to a recent poll by the Ifop polling institute, up from 12 percent just two years ago.

There is no one reason for such a significant shift. The National Rally has tried to sanitize its image, kicking out overtly antisemitic people, for instance, who shared the deep-seated prejudice of the movement's founder, Jean-Marie Le Pen. And the party's anti-immigrant platform resonates for some who see what they consider uncontrolled migration as a problem.

The party also benefits from the passage of time; many of the young people backing the National Rally were toddlers, or not even born, when Mr. Le Pen shocked France by reaching the 2002 presidential runoff.

And the National Rally was savvy in its choice of a new face: Jordan Bardella, a charismatic 28-year-old with an impressive TikTok following who took over as its president from Mr. Le Pen's daughter Marine in 2022. He has helped clean up the party's racist image while also pushing for preferential treatment for French citizens over even legal migrants.

''We are from a generation that never knew Jean-Marie Le Pen,'' said Enzo Marano, 23, the head of a local National Rally youth chapter who was recently handing out the party's fliers in a Paris suburb. ''We are the Bardella generation.''

Mr. Bardella, analysts say, embodies the final stages of the National Rally's decades-long efforts to rebrand itself -- harnessing social media to reach young voters and repackaging its message into a slick social media campaign centered on him.

Focusing on Mr. Bardella is a crucial tactic for the party, whose founders included former Nazi collaborators and some of whose members still come under fire for racist or antisemitic comments.

''When you talk more about the party itself, you have to talk about that party's history and its ideology,'' said Laurent Lardeux, a sociologist at the National Institute of Youth and Popular Education. But when the campaign centered on a person, he added, ''You can set ideology aside and talk much more about character, posture -- it's branding and communication.''

That strategy, combined with growing anger against President Emmanuel Macron, appears to have worked so far. The National Rally trounced Mr. Macron's party in recent European parliamentary elections, a poor showing that led him to call snap elections for France's Parliament.

But his gamble that the nation would shift back to the center appeared to fail when the National Rally dominated that election, too, which heads to a runoff for most seats this weekend.

The far right's growing popularity has alarmed the left, which is still the choice of most young voters. The New Popular Front, an alliance of left-wing parties, got 42 percent of the votes of people age 18 to 24 on Sunday, more than any other group, according to Ifop.

Left-wing activists are now working hard to get out the vote for this Sunday's runoff.

''We don't have a choice,'' Amadou Ka, a candidate for the New Popular Front, said recently while campaigning in Creil, a town about 30 miles north of Paris.

The participation rate for people age 18 to 24 surged to 56 percent during the first round of voting, up from 25 percent in 2022, according to Ifop.

Analysts say young people are more likely to vote when a lot is at stake, as is the case in this election, which could bring the National Rally to power for the first time. If the party were to win an absolute majority, Mr. Macron would almost certainly be forced to appoint Mr. Bardella as prime minister, giving him control over domestic policy.

For those who support the right, this is the National Rally's big chance.

''We are at power's doorstep,'' Mr. Marano said as he passed out campaign material.

Some people were openly hostile, crumpling the leaflets and angrily referring to the party's antisemitic and racist past. ''This, to me, is fascism,'' one older man said in broken French, pointing to a leaflet featuring a beaming Mr. Bardella.

Olivier Galland, a sociologist at the National Center for Scientific Research, said Mr. Bardella appealed to young ***working-class*** voters, many in rural areas, who often struggled to secure stable jobs.

''Bardella embodies that part of France's youth that feels forgotten by traditional politicians,'' he said.

Noah Ludon, 19, a history student who joined the National Rally this month, said he identified with Mr. Bardella because they both grew up in middle-class families in Parisian suburbs with large immigrant populations.

''I don't feel at home anymore,'' Mr. Ludon said, referring to an influx of migrants. ''Finding a French butcher has become hard.'' Asked to elaborate, he said he meant a butcher that was not halal.

Mr. Ludon, who said his mother had been assaulted in a supermarket parking lot, said crime was also a big concern.

Such statements echo Mr. Bardella's talking points, shared with his more than 1.8 million followers on TikTok. Although other French politicians are also on TikTok, Mr. Bardella is known for being particularly adept and gets more likes and comments than other politicians -- even those like Mr. Macron who have far more followers.

''He is good at balancing serious and lighter content, surfing on trends, showing a personal side,'' said Marie Guyomarc'h, a spokeswoman for Visibrain, a company that analyzes social media. ''He's not the only one,'' she added, ''but he's the only one for whom it has worked so well.''

Many of Mr. Bardella's videos address classic far-right talking points like crime and immigration. But other clips have little to do with policy.

In some of Mr. Bardella's most popular videos, he alludes to spoof video montages that toy with the notion that he and Gabriel Attal, Mr. Macron's prime minister, are secretly in love -- a winking rejoinder to his followers that he knows what they are posting, and has a sense of humor about it. On social media he has also referenced the video game Call of Duty, which, according to a profile in Le Monde, he used to play as a teenager.

In other words, he is one of them.

It is just that chumminess, and the far-right agenda he is working to humanize, that frightens many young people from immigrant backgrounds or who belong to ethnic minorities.

Rania Daki, 21, a student and activist who grew up in Aubervilliers, a Paris suburb, said that talk of Ms. Le Pen scared her as a child -- back then, she recalled, those who supported the far right did so in hushed tones.

''Now, it has become completely normal,'' Ms. Daki said.

She and two friends have written an open letter in the newspaper Libération urging ***working-class*** neighborhoods to vote and have been knocking on doors to get out the message.

But she said the outreach has been hard. Many young people said they were disillusioned by politics. Others said they didn't follow the news.

Worries over discrimination and police violence are particularly strong in the places she canvassed. The National Rally wants to create a legally mandated ''presumption of self-defense'' for law enforcement, which activists worry will make it even harder to hold officers accountable in police violence often directed against people of color.

So when the far right's percentage of the vote appeared on a television screen on Sunday in the offices of Ghett'up, a community organizing association in the multicultural Paris suburb of Saint-Denis, there was a gasp.

''Even before these results, people were attacked, insulted and spit on,'' said Mariam Touré, 22, a law student and community activist who was at the event. Her family fled civil war in Ivory Coast in 2003 and arrived in France in 2009.

''They will never erase us from the political landscape,'' Ms. Touré defiantly told the attendees. ''At the same time,'' she added, her voice cracking, ''I am very scared.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/04/world/europe/france-far-right-youth-vote.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/04/world/europe/france-far-right-youth-vote.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Jordan Bardella, the new face of the National Rally, is a charismatic 28-year-old with a strong TikTok following. At right, people gathered on Sunday in Paris after the first round of voting. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEFF PACHOUD/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

National Rally supporters gave out leaflets last week in a Paris suburb. Youth support has doubled in the past two years, a poll found. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2024

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[***Lavender Haze***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CCF-7CW1-JBG3-6033-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 30, 2024 Sunday

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**Length:** 718 words

**Byline:** By Anne Hull

**Body**

In ''A Place of Our Own,'' June Thomas considers ''six spaces that shaped queer women's culture.''

A PLACE OF OUR OWN: Six Spaces That Shaped Queer Women's Culture, by June Thomas

June Thomas's ability to resurrect the past in ''A Place of Our Own: Six Spaces That Shaped Queer Women's Culture'' is a testament to her meticulous research. But it's her voice -- charming, irreverent, tender -- that makes the journey through lesbian history so worthwhile.

The book starts in the lesbian bars of the 1960s, and travels on to feminist bookstores, rural separatist communities, women's sex-toy shops, vacation destinations and, yes, the softball field. (A longtime Slate editor and podcaster born in England, Thomas confesses to this last phenomenon as a gap in her ''sapphic scholarship.'')

Thomas doesn't tap gently on the glass at these spaces; she flings herself in, starting (metaphorically) in their basements and working up. She scours accounting records, tax receipts and lawsuits going back decades. She reviews the minutes of softball league meetings. She tracks down the women who helped create places that transcended to spaces.

None of these pioneers were in it for the money. They drained their savings and dodged creditors. Purists scoffed at the merch for sale in feminist bookstores, but the refrigerator magnets and Lavender Menace pins kept the lights on. Lesbian bars had the misfortune of a customer base that drank a fraction of what men drank in gay bars, so they had to get creative, like serving a complimentary buffet lunch or sponsoring teams in sports leagues. Go Tower Lounge Hotspots!

Why are queer people so tribal in their need for gathering places? ''Unlike other minority groups,'' Thomas suggests, ''where parents teach their children about family history, religious traditions and systemic prejudice, our birth families are generally ignorant of queer codes and culture. We have to work out their rules, rituals and rich history for ourselves.''

In her chapter on the lesbian land movement of the '70s and '80s, Thomas writes about the idealism that pushed women to sleep in a frozen shack in Oregon, and what it took to survive. ''We were creating a new women's culture, living our dreams and visions, and pushing ourselves to our limits,'' one says.

They also argued over who got to use the chain saw; most preferred the outdoorsy jobs to domestic work, especially dishes. They rejected traditional women's responsibilities on principle, until a chore list had to be made.

Historians will owe Thomas for the sprawling and rich record she's created. But readers owe her most for grappling with the flaws and glories of protected spaces that feel like home. She weaves in her own story, and personal meditations, throughout: the crushes, the intellectual fulfillment at bookstores, the dykes with Alison Bechdel key rings.

Sanctuaries can be messy, exclusionary and cruel. Thomas describes the caste system in lesbian bars, the dismissive attitude professional lesbians showed toward ***working-class*** women. Jacqueline Woodson, a future winner of the National Book Award for young people's literature, who is Black, describes being kept outside on the sidewalk at a chic lesbian bar in Manhattan while white women brushed past to enter.

The book is a Who's Who of interviews -- Susie Bright, the retail godmother of vibrators; Ginny Z. Berson, a member of the Furies, a famous early-70s collective lesbian household; and Elaine Romagnoli, who ran the most storied lesbian bars in New York for four decades.

Thomas is aware she's catching these pioneers in their twilight, and rushes to nail their stories to the page. She notes that three of the six spaces she writes about are nearly gone -- the lesbian bar is a dinosaur, women's bookstores have been crushed by Amazon and feminist sex-toy stores have been superseded by online merchants.

But ''this book isn't a lament for those lost locations,'' Thomas insists. ''Rather it is a joyful celebration of the dream palaces queer women have built: places to meet, share ideas, form teams, create utopias, find G-spots and get away from it all.''

A PLACE OF OUR OWN: Six Spaces That Shaped Queer Women's Culture | By June Thomas | Seal Press | 304 pp. | $30Anne Hull is the author of ''Through The Groves: A Memoir.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/18/books/review/a-place-of-our-own-june-thomas-lesbians.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/18/books/review/a-place-of-our-own-june-thomas-lesbians.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR16.

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[***Trump Dangles New Tax Cuts, Now for a Larger Voting Group***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNR-6H51-DXY4-X0KH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1012 words

**Byline:** By Andrew Duehren

**Body**

The most recent and costliest of Mr. Trump's ideas would end income taxes on Social Security benefits.

First it was a tax cut for hotel and restaurant workers in Nevada, a swing state where Donald J. Trump proposed exempting tips from taxes. Then, in front of powerful chief executives gathered in Washington, Mr. Trump floated cutting the corporate tax rate, helping to ease concerns in the business community about his candidacy.

Now Mr. Trump is calling for an end to taxing Social Security benefits, which could be a boon for retirees, one of the most politically important groups in the United States.

Repeatedly during the campaign, Mr. Trump and Republicans have embraced new, sometimes novel tax cuts in an attempt to shore up support with major constituencies. In a series of social-media posts, at political rallies, and without formal policy proposals, Mr. Trump has casually suggested reducing federal revenue by trillions of dollars.

While policy experts have taken issue with the ideas, Mr. Trump's pronouncements have real political appeal, at times putting Democrats on their back foot. Nevada's two Democratic senators and its powerful culinary union have endorsed ending taxes on tips. The AARP supports tax relief for seniors receiving Social Security benefits, though it has not taken a position on Mr. Trump's proposal.

''You do have to scratch your head a little bit when someone's going around offering free lunches everywhere,'' said Jesse Lee, a Democratic consultant and former Biden White House official. ''We're all for people having their lunch, but we have to raise taxes on the wealthy to pay for it.''

The most recent and most expensive of Mr. Trump's plans is ending income taxes on Social Security benefits, which could cost the federal government as much as $1.8 trillion in revenue over a decade, according to the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. That would burn through the program's financial reserves more quickly and hasten the moment when the government is no longer able to pay out Social Security benefits in full under current law.

It would also provide tax relief to millions of Americans. Congress started taxing Social Security benefits in the 1980s to help prop up the program's finances, and now about 40 percent of people who receive Social Security payments owe taxes on the benefits, according to the Social Security Administration. About 70 million people receive Social Security benefits.

To determine whether someone's benefits are taxed, the government uses a formula that counts half of Social Security payments as income. Individuals making more than $25,000 under that gauge have to pay income taxes on up to 50 percent of the money they receive from Social Security. Individuals making more than $34,000 have to pay taxes on up to 85 percent of their benefits.

Low-income retirees without other savings or earnings may not make enough to owe taxes on their Social Security payments. Households making between roughly $60,000 and $200,000 would receive the largest comparative boost under the proposal, according to an analysis by the Tax Policy Center, a think tank.

Romina Boccia, the director of budget and entitlement policy at the libertarian Cato Institute, said ending taxes on Social Security would shift more of the burden for paying for the benefits onto younger workers.

''I can see the political calculations behind this proposal, but from a tax fairness perspective and a generation fairness perspective, it is a very bad proposal,'' she said.

Still, there is bipartisan support for the concept. Some House Democrats introduced legislation earlier this year that would stop taxing Social Security benefits, while also raising payroll taxes on higher-income Americans to fund the program.

As governor of Minnesota, Tim Walz, whom Vice President Kamala Harris selected as her 2024 running mate, signed legislation that exempted Social Security payments from state taxes for many seniors. Bill Sweeney, the senior vice president for government affairs at AARP, said any changes to Social Security should protect the program's finances. He added that his group's members were not shy about their distaste for taxes on Social Security.

''I know they're calling members of Congress and complaining about this,'' he said.

In an interview on Fox Business last week, Mr. Trump brushed aside concerns about the cost of the idea. He said that accelerating the deadline for addressing Social Security's finances would prompt Congress to fix the program. ''You know that we're going to take care of Social Security,'' he said. ''We're not going to do anything to hurt our seniors.''

Beyond his new ideas, Mr. Trump is also seeking to extend many of the tax cuts he signed into law in 2017. Ms. Harris has also effectively promised to extend many of those tax cuts beyond 2025, when they are currently set to expire. She's adopted a pledge not to raise taxes on any household making less than $400,000 a year.

Even as they prepare to defend much of Mr. Trump's signature tax law, many Democrats believe they have a better political hand on tax policy. For years, they have pummeled Republican tax plans, arguing that they primarily benefit large companies and wealthy Americans. In addition to supporting tax cuts for low-income and middle-class Americans, Democrats are seeking to raise taxes on wealthy Americans and large corporations.

To try to blunt Democratic attacks, some Republicans have sought to emphasize tax cuts for ***working-class*** Americans and small businesses. They hope Mr. Trump focuses on ideas like exempting Social Security from income taxes, rather than further slashing the corporate tax from 21 percent to 15 percent, as he has suggested.

''This feels like an answer to Democratic attacks that Trump is protecting corporate America,'' said Ron Bonjean, a Republican consultant. ''If there is another debate he can pull these out of his back pocket to say he's fighting for seniors and he's fighting for workers who count on tips everyday. It does help politically.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/07/business/economy/trump-tax-cuts.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/07/business/economy/trump-tax-cuts.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump and Republicans have embraced new tax cuts to try to shore up support of major constituencies. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** August 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Justin Trudeau’s Party Has a Popularity Problem: Justin Trudeau***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYM-GNC1-DXY4-X0NS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 14, 2024 Saturday 15:53 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1542 words

**Byline:** Norimitsu Onishi Norimitsu Onishi reports on life, society and culture in Canada. He is based in Montreal.

**Highlight:** A vote in Montreal is seen as a referendum on Canada’s prime minister, who has brushed aside calls to step down as party members fear a wipeout in the next general election.

**Body**

A vote in Montreal is seen as a referendum on Canada’s prime minister, who has brushed aside calls to step down as party members fear a wipeout in the next general election.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s Liberal Party should be a shoo-in for a parliamentary seat at the southern point of the island of Montreal.

The district has been a stronghold for his party for more than half a century. It was home to another Liberal prime minister a generation ago. The base for a former Liberal justice minister. An easy drive to Mr. Trudeau’s own redoubt in the city.

And yet, days before a special election on Monday to choose the district’s member of Canada’s Parliament, polls show a tight three-way contest. For many lifelong Liberals, the problem is clear: It is Mr. Trudeau himself.

“I am a Liberal supporter, but it’s almost like enough is enough,” Michael Altimas, 79, a retired city bus driver, said during a walk on a sunny day along the district’s long pedestrian commercial street. “For the most part, he’s been a good prime minister.

“But he’s had nine years,” Mr. Altimas added, “and people are hearing often enough that he messed up, and they don’t want to support him anymore.”

The election to fill a vacancy in the district has become a referendum on Mr. Trudeau, the [*once golden boy of Western leaders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html) who is now [*fighting for his political survival*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html). His own Liberal Party members are increasingly calling for him to step aside, worried that the party risks a drubbing in the next general election under the deeply unpopular leader.

Public grumblings about his leadership grew louder over the summer after his party lost a special election in Toronto in June — in another stronghold — and after President Biden’s decision to step down as the Democratic candidate in the U.S. election suggested a path forward for Canada’s Liberals.

The stunning loss in Toronto has raised the stakes for the election in Montreal. Underscoring Mr. Trudeau’s cratering popularity is his near-total absence from the local campaign.

His face does not appear on posters in the Liberal campaign office’s storefront windows or on the district’s lampposts. He appeared once to introduce the Liberal candidate but hasn’t been back since. Other party leaders, by contrast, have been visibly present.

“Right now, Justin Trudeau has no political coattails,” said Nik Nanos, a [*leading pollster*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html) in Canada. “He’s become the lightning rod for the general disaffection directed at the Liberal Party.”

When Mr. Trudeau was first elected in 2015, he enjoyed “one of the strongest brands in the polling history of Canada,” Mr. Nanos said. But Mr. Trudeau’s approval ratings are now stuck just above 20 percent and trail by double digits those of the main opposition Conservative Party leader, [*Pierre Poilievre*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html).

For the past year, Mr. Poilievre has set the national political agenda through relentless attacks on Mr. Trudeau’s handling of issues most concerning to voters, including the economy, housing and immigration. The Liberal government has often reacted to Mr. Poilievre’s criticisms with hurried policy tweaks.

Mr. Trudeau has vowed to run for a fourth term in the next general election, which must be called by the fall of 2025. But a string of recent developments has amplified the pessimism of Liberals and former allies: the abrupt resignation of the Liberal Party’s campaign director; the labor minister’s resignation and the transportation minister’s public angling for a provincial post; an [*exodus of senior government employees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html); and the sudden decision by the New Democratic Party [*to abandon an agreement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html) to support Mr. Trudeau’s party for fear of being tainted by the association.

A loss in Montreal’s special election could embolden internal opposition and further undermine Mr. Trudeau’s public image.

The district, called [*LaSalle–Émard–Verdun*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html), has been redrawn a few times but has been a Liberal fortress since the 1960s. Its traditionally ***working-class*** and immigrant residents backed the Liberals, as have newcomers to its gentrifying neighborhoods.

In the last general election in 2021, the Liberal candidate [*won by 20 percentage point*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html)s over his closest rival. Today, polls show the Liberals with a slight edge but locked in a tight battle against two opposition parties, the Bloc Québécois, a national party that supports Quebec independence, and the New Democratic Party.

Many voters interviewed on Wellington Street in Verdun — a [*long pedestrian street*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html) filled with restaurants, cafes and neighborhood stores — singled out Mr. Trudeau as influencing their decision.

“It’s hard to imagine a world in which Trudeau gets re-elected,” said Christopher Gaudreault, 28, a classical pianist, who has voted for Liberals, Greens and New Democrats. “What I’ve been hearing in my circles is that pretty much everyone across the board is fed up with Trudeau for various reasons.

“People are just eager for a change and hope for something better,” he added.

So far, Mr. Trudeau has wielded the extraordinary powers conferred on Canada’s political party leaders to quash internal dissent.

Last November, [*Percy Downe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html), a senator who served as chief of staff to a former prime minister, became one of the first Liberals to suggest publicly that Mr. Trudeau step aside for a fresh face before the next election. Few Liberals followed suit — at least publicly.

Mr. Downe, in an interview, explained that most senators — who, under Canada’s Constitution, are appointed rather than elected — have been named by Mr. Trudeau. At the same time, the more powerful members of the House of Commons fear questioning Mr. Trudeau, who, like all Canadian party leaders, enjoys near-total control over individual party members’ electoral prospects.

“You won’t be allowed to run in the next election,” Mr. Downe said, pointing out that no candidate can run in a district without the party leader’s endorsement. He called party leaders’ absolute power over their members “a fundamental weakness in our democratic system.”

After the Liberals’ loss in the Toronto race in June, the Canadian news media was filled with anonymous Liberal criticism of Mr. Trudeau’s leadership. Only one Liberal member of Parliament — who has announced that he is retiring from politics — openly called on Mr. Trudeau to step down. Other Liberal lawmakers called for an emergency national meeting to discuss the party’s future.

Mr. Trudeau brushed away those calls.

[*Royce Koop*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/americas/canada-election-stephen-harper-justin-trudeau.html), a political scientist at the University of Manitoba, said Mr. Trudeau had succeeded because time was running out for the Liberals to change leaders before the next election.

“If you’re Trudeau and you’re trying to hang on, delay is a good tactic,” Mr. Koop said.

Even though Mr. Trudeau has largely stayed away from the LaSalle–Émard–Verdun race, his grip on the party is still evident. Mr. Trudeau handpicked the candidate, a city councilor named Laura Palestini, in mid-July — angering three other Liberal candidates vying for the candidacy.

One of them, Christopher Baenninger, an entrepreneur, said Liberal Party officials had reassured him that the candidate would be elected by members in an open race. He said he had spent five months gathering support, knocking on doors seven days a week.

Among Liberal supporters, he said half were committed “no matter what.” But he said the other half were “tired Liberals, who were, like, ‘Trudeau’s been in power for nine years now. We’re looking for something fresh.’”

The open nomination had made Liberals “feel like their voices are heard,” said another former candidate, Eddy Kara, a Liberal organizer and a filmmaker. But the last-minute decision to close the nomination and parachute in a candidate risks leaving Liberals feeling disenfranchised and “exacerbating people’s negative perceptions” about politics, he added.

Parker Lund, a Liberal Party spokesman, said in an email that the selection of Ms. Palestini was “fully in line with our national nomination rules.” He did not respond to requests to interview a senior party official about the state of the Liberal Party.

At Ms. Palestini’s campaign office, the campaign manager, Marie-Pascale Des Rosiers, said the candidate was not granting interviews and declined to let a journalist accompany her while campaigning.

A few doors away, at the New Democrats’ campaign office, the excitement about a possible upset victory was palpable. The party’s leader, Jagmeet Singh, whose own electoral district is in a Vancouver suburb, has visited Montreal about a dozen times to campaign with the party’s local candidate, Craig Sauvé, a city councilor.

The Bloc Québécois, whose candidate is Louis-Philippe Sauvé, has also expressed optimism about winning.

The New Democrats’ candidate, Mr. Sauvé, said he was knocking on doors two to three times a day.

“There is a generalized fatigue,” he said, “with regards to the Liberal Party.”

PHOTOS: After nine years in office, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has approval ratings barely above 20 percent, and, a leading pollster said, “has no political coattails.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY SPENCER COLBY/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS); Pierre Poilievre, the Conservative Party leader, is much more popular than Mr. Trudeau, whom he relentlessly attacks. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PATRICK DOYLE/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why More French Youth Are Voting for the Far Right***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CD9-DG51-DXY4-X0NT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1601 words

**Byline:** Aurelien Breeden, Aida Alami and Dmitry Kostyukov Aurelien Breeden is a reporter for The Times in Paris, covering news from France. Aida Alami is a Moroccan reporter who has been contributing to The Times since 2011. She is based in Rabat, Morocco, and Paris.

**Highlight:** Most young people in France usually don’t vote or they back the left. That is still true, but support has surged for the far right, whose openly racist past can feel to them like ancient history.

**Body**

Most young people in France usually don’t vote or they back the left. That is still true, but support has surged for the far right, whose openly racist past can feel to them like ancient history.

In the 1980s, a French punk rock band coined a rallying cry against the country’s far right that retained its punch over decades. The chant, still shouted at protests by the left, is “La jeunesse emmerde le Front National,” which cannot be translated well without curse words, but essentially tells the far right to get lost.

That [*crude battle cry*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally) is emblematic of what had often been conventional wisdom not only in France, but also elsewhere — that young people frequently tilt left in their politics. Now, that notion has been challenged as increasing numbers of young people have joined swaths of the French electorate to support the far-right National Rally, a party once deemed too extreme to govern.

The results from Sunday’s parliamentary vote, the first of a two-part election, showed young people across the political spectrum coming out to cast ballots in much greater numbers than in previous years. A majority of them voted for the left. But one of the biggest jumps was in the estimated numbers of 18-to-24-year-olds who cast ballots for the National Rally, in an election that many say could reshape France.

A quarter of the age group voted for the party, according to [*a recent poll*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally) by the Ifop polling institute, up from 12 percent just two years ago.

There is no one reason for such a significant shift. The National Rally has tried to sanitize its image, kicking out overtly antisemitic people, for instance, who shared the deep-seated prejudice of the movement’s founder, Jean-Marie Le Pen. And the party’s anti-immigrant platform resonates for some who see what they consider uncontrolled migration as a problem.

The party also benefits from the passage of time; many of the young people backing the National Rally were toddlers, or not even born, when Mr. Le Pen [*shocked France*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally) by reaching the 2002 presidential runoff.

And the National Rally was savvy in its choice of a new face: Jordan Bardella, a charismatic 28-year-old with an impressive TikTok following who took over as its president from Mr. Le Pen’s daughter Marine in 2022. He has helped clean up the party’s racist image while also pushing for preferential treatment for French citizens over even legal migrants.

“We are from a generation that never knew Jean-Marie Le Pen,” said Enzo Marano, 23, the head of a local National Rally youth chapter who was recently handing out the party’s fliers in a Paris suburb. “We are the Bardella generation.”

Mr. Bardella, analysts say, embodies the final stages of [*the National Rally’s decades-long efforts to rebrand itself*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally) — harnessing social media to reach young voters and repackaging its message into a slick social media campaign centered on him.

Focusing on Mr. Bardella is a crucial tactic for the party, whose founders included former Nazi collaborators and some of whose members still come under fire for [*racist or antisemitic comments*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally).

“When you talk more about the party itself, you have to talk about that party’s history and its ideology,” said Laurent Lardeux, a sociologist at the National Institute of Youth and Popular Education. But when the campaign centered on a person, he added, “You can set ideology aside and talk much more about character, posture — it’s branding and communication.”

That strategy, combined with growing anger against President Emmanuel Macron, appears to have worked so far. The National Rally trounced Mr. Macron’s party in recent European parliamentary elections, a poor showing that led him to call snap elections for France’s Parliament.

But his gamble that the nation would shift back to the center appeared to fail when the National Rally dominated that election, too, which heads to a runoff for most seats this weekend.

The far right’s growing popularity has alarmed the left, which is still the choice of most young voters. The New Popular Front, an alliance of left-wing parties, got 42 percent of the votes of people age 18 to 24 on Sunday, more than any other group, [*according to Ifop*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally).

Left-wing activists are now working hard to get out the vote for this Sunday’s runoff.

“We don’t have a choice,” Amadou Ka, a candidate for the New Popular Front, said recently while campaigning in Creil, a town about 30 miles north of Paris.

The participation rate for people age 18 to 24 surged to 56 percent during the first round of voting, up from 25 percent in [*2022*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally), according to Ifop.

Analysts say young people are more likely to vote when a lot is at stake, as is the case in this election, which could bring the National Rally to power for the first time. If the party were to win an absolute majority, Mr. Macron would almost certainly be forced to appoint Mr. Bardella as prime minister, giving him control over domestic policy.

For those who support the right, this is the National Rally’s big chance.

“We are at power’s doorstep,” Mr. Marano said as he passed out campaign material.

Some people were openly hostile, crumpling the leaflets and angrily referring to the party’s antisemitic and racist past. “This, to me, is fascism,” one older man said in broken French, pointing to a leaflet featuring a beaming Mr. Bardella.

Olivier Galland, a sociologist at the National Center for Scientific Research, said Mr. Bardella appealed to young ***working-class*** voters, many in rural areas, who often struggled to secure stable jobs.

“Bardella embodies that part of France’s youth that feels forgotten by traditional politicians,” he said.

Noah Ludon, 19, a history student who joined the National Rally this month, said he identified with Mr. Bardella because they both grew up in middle-class families in Parisian suburbs with large immigrant populations.

“I don’t feel at home anymore,” Mr. Ludon said, referring to an influx of migrants. “Finding a French butcher has become hard.” Asked to elaborate, he said he meant a butcher that was not halal.

Mr. Ludon, who said his mother had been assaulted in a supermarket parking lot, said crime was also a big concern.

Such statements echo Mr. Bardella’s talking points, shared with his more than 1.8 million followers on TikTok. Although other French politicians are also on TikTok, Mr. Bardella is known for being particularly adept and gets more likes and comments than other politicians — even those like Mr. Macron who have far more followers.

“He is good at balancing serious and lighter content, surfing on trends, showing a personal side,” said Marie Guyomarc’h, a spokeswoman for Visibrain, a company that analyzes social media. “He’s not the only one,” she added, “but he’s the only one for whom it has worked so well.”

Many of Mr. Bardella’s videos address classic far-right talking points like crime and immigration. But other clips have little to do with policy.

In [*some*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally) of Mr. Bardella’s [*most popular*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally) videos, he alludes to spoof video montages that toy with the notion that he and Gabriel Attal, Mr. Macron’s prime minister, are secretly in love — a winking rejoinder to his followers that he knows what they are posting, and has a sense of humor about it. On social media he has also [*referenced*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally) the video game Call of Duty, which, [*according to a profile in Le Monde*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally), he used to play as a teenager.

In other words, he is one of them.

It is just that chumminess, and the far-right agenda he is working to humanize, that frightens many young people from immigrant backgrounds or who belong to ethnic minorities.

Rania Daki, 21, a student and activist who grew up in Aubervilliers, a Paris suburb, said that talk of Ms. Le Pen scared her as a child — back then, she recalled, those who supported the far right did so in hushed tones.

“Now, it has become completely normal,” Ms. Daki said.

She and two friends have written [*an open letter in the newspaper Libération*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally) urging ***working-class*** neighborhoods to vote and have been knocking on doors to get out the message.

But she said the outreach has been hard. Many young people said they were disillusioned by politics. Others said they didn’t follow the news.

Worries over discrimination and police violence are particularly strong in the places she canvassed. The National Rally wants to create a legally mandated “presumption of self-defense” for law enforcement, which activists worry will make it even harder to hold officers accountable in police violence often directed against people of color.

So when the far right’s percentage of the vote appeared on a television screen on Sunday in the offices of [*Ghett’up*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/article/2024/jun/28/procherie-francois-guillemot-berurier-noir-1985-national-rally), a community organizing association in the multicultural Paris suburb of Saint-Denis, there was a gasp.

“Even before these results, people were attacked, insulted and spit on,” said Mariam Touré, 22, a law student and community activist who was at the event. Her family fled civil war in Ivory Coast in 2003 and arrived in France in 2009.

“They will never erase us from the political landscape,” Ms. Touré defiantly told the attendees. “At the same time,” she added, her voice cracking, “I am very scared.”

PHOTOS: Jordan Bardella, the new face of the National Rally, is a charismatic 28-year-old with a strong TikTok following. At right, people gathered on Sunday in Paris after the first round of voting. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEFF PACHOUD/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); National Rally supporters gave out leaflets last week in a Paris suburb. Youth support has doubled in the past two years, a poll found. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2024

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[***Highlights From Night 1 of the Democratic Convention***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS3-C8J1-DXY4-X01F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1168 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the re-election campaign of President Biden.

**Highlight:** Speeches by President Biden and Hillary Clinton symbolized how Democrats are moving on from the old guard that has led their party for decades.

**Body**

Speeches by President Biden and Hillary Clinton symbolized how Democrats are moving on from the old guard that has led their party for decades.

In a city where he was supposed to claim the mantle of the Democratic Party for the final time, at a convention where he was supposed to cement his political legacy, President Biden instead passed the torch of leadership, wiping away tears as the crowd rose to its feet in a sustained ovation and chanted, “Thank you, Joe.”

The outpouring of gratitude for his decision to step aside and make way for Vice President Kamala Harris seemed to encourage Mr. Biden as he claimed credit for saving democracy, and for much more, in a nearly hourlong speech filled with optimism and a fighting spirit that capped the first night of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

Yet one of the last major moments of Mr. Biden’s political career was pushed well out of prime time on the East Coast after other speakers ran long.

“America, I gave my best to you,” Mr. Biden said. “For 50 years, like many of you, I’ve given my heart and soul to our nation and I’ve been blessed, a million times in return, with the support of the American people.”

Mr. Biden’s speech, and another earlier in the night from Hillary Clinton — who came closer than any other American woman to winning the White House — symbolized how Democrats are moving on from the old guard that has led their party for decades. The convention’s opening night also served to emphasize the historic nature of Ms. Harris’s candidacy, and to frame her as riding on the shoulders of civil rights icons and women who had run for president before her, as she seeks to defeat former President Donald J. Trump.

Here are other highlights from the night:

* A surprise appearance: Ms. Harris unexpectedly took the stage to thank Mr. Biden for his “lifetime of service to our nation.” Her appearance to the pounding rhythm of Beyoncé’s “Freedom” energized the crowd on a night when they had gathered to hear Mr. Biden say goodbye. “Let us fight for the ideals we hold dear, and let us always remember: When we fight, we win,” Ms. Harris told the delegates, who roared back those last five words, which have fast become a rallying cry for Democrats.

1. The glass ceiling: Mrs. Clinton [*told Democrats that the “future is here,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/us/politics/hillary-clinton-dnc-harris.html) soon after Ms. Harris made her surprise appearance. “I wish my mother and Kamala’s mother could see us,” Mrs. Clinton said in an emotional address that had nearly every delegate on their feet. “They would say: ‘Keep going.’” She added: “This is our time, America. This is when we stand up. This is when we break through!”

* A diverse roster: The opening night’s speakers highlighted the Democrats’ diversity as they celebrated Ms. Harris, the first Black woman and person of South Asian descent to lead a major-party ticket for president. Many were women who spanned the generations and included all races, an unmistakable nod to the glass ceiling Ms. Harris is seeking to break. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York [*gave a spirited speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/us/politics/hillary-clinton-dnc-harris.html) to a crowd that chanted her initials. Mayor Karen Bass of Los Angeles spoke of her decades-long relationship with Ms. Harris.

1. A focus on abortion rights: Three women — Amanda Zurawski, Kaitlyn Joshua and Hadley Duvall — shared emotional personal stories about abortion and the post-Roe v. Wade America that Mr. Trump’s appointees to the Supreme Court helped create in 2022. “A second Trump term would rip away even more of our rights,” said Ms. Zurawski, who nearly died in Texas after she was denied an abortion following a miscarriage. They were followed by Gov. Andy Beshear of Kentucky, who won his race in a red state in part by defending abortion rights. “All women should have the freedom to make their own decisions,” Mr. Beshear said, and praised the speakers for their courage.
2. And civil rights, too: Jaime Harrison, who leads the Democratic National Committee, opened the convention noting that a “Black convention chair and a Black D.N.C. chair lead us in nominating a Black and A.A.P.I. woman to be the next president.” The Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr. was celebrated, appearing briefly onstage. And Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia spoke of his elderly mother voting for him. “The 82-year-old hands that used to pick somebody else’s cotton and somebody else’s tobacco, picked her youngest son to be United States senator,” Mr. Warnock said.
3. Labor’s show of support: Shawn Fain, the president of the powerful United Automobile Workers union, was one of several speakers representing unions that have endorsed Ms. Harris and underscored her commitment to workers. He took the stage in prime time in a red T-shirt that bluntly proclaimed “Trump’s a scab.” In his remarks, Mr. Fain championed a ***working class*** at war against the “billionaires class” and “corporate greed.”
4. Attacking Trump, early and often: Speaker after speaker condemned Mr. Trump for his actions in and out of office. Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York [*raised his conviction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/us/politics/hillary-clinton-dnc-harris.html) on 34 felony counts in a Manhattan court. Representative Jasmine Crockett of Texas contrasted Ms. Harris’s career with Mr. Trump’s, saying that “she became a career prosecutor, while he became a career criminal.” Representative Jamie Raskin of Maryland recounted the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol, calling Mr. Trump a “sore loser who does not know how to take no for an answer from American voters, American courts or American women.” And Representative Robert Garcia of California said that during the coronavirus pandemic Mr. Trump had “peddled conspiracy theories across the country” while hundreds of thousands of Americans had died.
5. Smaller than expected protests: Thousands of [*protesters marched through Chicago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/us/politics/hillary-clinton-dnc-harris.html) streets on Monday afternoon, but their numbers were smaller than organizers had hoped. The march, largely focused on opposition to the Biden administration’s policies on Israel and the war on Gaza, was mostly orderly. Several people were detained after pushing through a fence marking a security perimeter around the convention, the police said.
6. From one coach to another: The Golden State Warriors coach Steve Kerr [*took the stage to praise Ms. Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/us/politics/hillary-clinton-dnc-harris.html) fresh from leading the U.S. men’s basketball team to an Olympic gold medal in Paris. “Leadership, real leadership,” Mr. Kerr said, is “not the kind that seeks to divide us, but the kind that recognizes and celebrates our common purpose.” He also praised Ms. Harris’s running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, a one-time high school football coach. “Coach to coach, that guy’s awesome,” Mr. Kerr said.

Jim Rutenberg, Jonathan Weisman and Taylor Robinson contributed reporting from Chicago.

Jim Rutenberg, Jonathan Weisman and Taylor Robinson contributed reporting from Chicago.

PHOTO: President Biden said that Vice President Kamala Harris will continue his legacy. “Democracy has prevailed, democracy has delivered, and now democracy must be preserved,” he said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Dangles New Tax Cut Proposals With Real Political Appeal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNJ-K871-DXY4-X05R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2024 Wednesday 18:45 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1042 words

**Highlight:** The most recent and costliest of Mr. Trump’s ideas would end income taxes on Social Security benefits.

**Body**

The most recent and costliest of Mr. Trump’s ideas would end income taxes on Social Security benefits.

First it was a tax cut for hotel and restaurant workers in Nevada, a swing state where Donald J. Trump [*proposed exempting tips from taxes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html). Then, in front of powerful chief executives gathered in Washington, Mr. Trump [*floated cutting the corporate tax rate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html), helping to ease concerns in the business community about his candidacy.

Now Mr. Trump is calling for an end to taxing Social Security benefits, which could be a boon for retirees, one of the most politically important groups in the United States.

Repeatedly during the campaign, Mr. Trump and Republicans have embraced new, sometimes novel tax cuts in an attempt to shore up support with major constituencies. In a series of social-media posts, at political rallies, and without formal policy proposals, Mr. Trump has casually suggested reducing federal revenue by trillions of dollars.

While policy experts have taken issue with the ideas, Mr. Trump’s pronouncements have real political appeal, at times putting Democrats on their back foot. Nevada’s two Democratic senators and its powerful culinary union have endorsed ending taxes on tips. The AARP supports tax relief for seniors receiving Social Security benefits, though it has not taken a position on Mr. Trump’s proposal.

“You do have to scratch your head a little bit when someone’s going around offering free lunches everywhere,” said Jesse Lee, a Democratic consultant and former Biden White House official. “We’re all for people having their lunch, but we have to raise taxes on the wealthy to pay for it.”

The most recent and most expensive of Mr. Trump’s plans is ending income taxes on Social Security benefits, which could cost the federal government as much as $1.8 trillion in revenue over a decade, according to the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. That would burn through the program’s financial reserves more quickly and hasten [*the moment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html) when the government is no longer able to pay out Social Security benefits in full under current law.

It would also provide tax relief to millions of Americans. Congress started taxing Social Security benefits in the 1980s to help prop up the program’s finances, and now about 40 percent of people who receive Social Security payments owe taxes on the benefits, according to the Social Security Administration. About 70 million people receive Social Security benefits.

To determine whether someone’s benefits are taxed, the government uses a formula that counts half of Social Security payments as income. Individuals making more than $25,000 under that gauge have to pay income taxes on up to 50 percent of the money they receive from Social Security. Individuals making more than $34,000 have to pay taxes on up to 85 percent of their benefits.

Low-income retirees without other savings or earnings may not make enough to owe taxes on their Social Security payments. Households making between roughly $60,000 and $200,000 would receive the largest comparative boost under the proposal, according to an analysis by the Tax Policy Center, a think tank.

Romina Boccia, the director of budget and entitlement policy at the libertarian Cato Institute, said ending taxes on Social Security would shift more of the burden for paying for the benefits onto younger workers.

“I can see the political calculations behind this proposal, but from a tax fairness perspective and a generation fairness perspective, it is a very bad proposal,” she said.

Still, there is bipartisan support for the concept. Some House Democrats introduced legislation earlier this year that would stop taxing Social Security benefits, while also raising payroll taxes on higher-income Americans to fund the program.

As governor of Minnesota, Tim Walz, whom Vice President Kamala Harris [*selected as her 2024 running mate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html), signed legislation that exempted Social Security payments from state taxes for many seniors. Bill Sweeney, the senior vice president for government affairs at AARP, said any changes to Social Security should protect the program’s finances. He added that his group’s members were not shy about their distaste for taxes on Social Security.

“I know they’re calling members of Congress and complaining about this,” he said.

In an interview on Fox Business last week, Mr. Trump brushed aside concerns about the cost of the idea. He said that accelerating the deadline for addressing Social Security’s finances would prompt Congress to fix the program. “You know that we’re going to take care of Social Security,” he said. “We’re not going to do anything to hurt our seniors.”

Beyond his new ideas, Mr. Trump is also seeking to extend many of the tax cuts he signed into law in 2017. Ms. Harris has also effectively promised to extend many of those tax cuts beyond 2025, when they are currently [*set to expire*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html). She’s adopted a pledge not to raise taxes on any household making less than $400,000 a year.

Even as they prepare to defend much of Mr. Trump’s signature tax law, many Democrats believe they have a better political hand on tax policy. For years, they have pummeled Republican tax plans, arguing that they primarily benefit large companies and wealthy Americans. In addition to supporting tax cuts for low-income and middle-class Americans, Democrats are seeking to raise taxes on wealthy Americans and large corporations.

To try to blunt Democratic attacks, some Republicans have sought to emphasize tax cuts for ***working-class*** Americans and small businesses. They hope Mr. Trump focuses on ideas like exempting Social Security from income taxes, rather than further slashing the corporate tax from 21 percent to 15 percent, as he has suggested.

“This feels like an answer to Democratic attacks that Trump is protecting corporate America,” said Ron Bonjean, a Republican consultant. “If there is another debate he can pull these out of his back pocket to say he’s fighting for seniors and he’s fighting for workers who count on tips everyday. It does help politically.”

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump and Republicans have embraced new tax cuts to try to shore up support of major constituencies. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** October 1, 2024

**End of Document**



[***What the Vice President's Campaign Needs***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKD-DDM1-JBG3-634Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 28, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 6; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 2098 words

**Byline:** By Michael J. Sandel

**Body**

Kamala Harris has a lot to do in a short time -- build a team, choose a running mate, introduce herself to the country. But her most important task is to figure out what this election should be about.

Over the past week, Ms. Harris has been campaigning on protecting democracy, the rule of law and reproductive freedom from another four years of Donald Trump. As a forceful defender of abortion rights and a former prosecutor, she is ideally equipped to make these issues the centerpiece of her campaign. She relishes reminding voters of Mr. Trump's status as a felon. ''I took on perpetrators of all kinds,'' she declared in her first campaign rally, at a gym in Milwaukee on Tuesday. ''So hear me when I say: I know Donald Trump's type.''

But standing up to Mr. Trump and defending reproductive rights is not enough. To defeat him, Ms. Harris needs to address the legitimate grievances he exploits -- the sense among many Americans, especially those without a college degree, that their voices aren't heard, that their work isn't respected and that elites look down on them. She needs a message that reconnects the Democratic Party with the ***working-class*** voters it has alienated in recent decades. Delivering this message may not come naturally to her as a former senator from California, and Mr. Trump has wasted no time attempting to brand her a ''radical-left lunatic." But if she wants to shape a progressive politics that can wrest the future from the MAGA movement, then she has to try. It could be the difference between victory and defeat this November.

To begin addressing the anger and polarization gripping this country, Democrats need to recall what brought us to this volatile historical moment: An overwhelming majority of Americans -- some 85 percent -- believe that their leaders don't care what they think and that they lack a meaningful say in shaping the forces that govern their lives.

This sense of disempowerment underlies the Republicans' most potent issues in this campaign: inflation and immigration.

If Ms. Harris continues to repeat economic facts without acknowledging most voters' feelings, she will fail to address the mood of discontent that has her running just behind Mr. Trump in the polls. Low unemployment, robust job growth, rising wages -- by the usual metrics, the economy has been a success during the Biden years. And yet inflation looms so large for voters that most disapprove of the president's handling of the economy. Why? Because inflation is not merely about the price of eggs. Many voters experience it as an assault on their agency, a daily marker of their powerlessness: No matter how hard I work or how much I make, I can't get ahead or even keep up.

And why was the surge in illegal border crossings so troubling, even for voters who live far from the southern border? Not because they believe Mr. Trump's florid demagogy about criminals, rapists and residents of mental hospitals pouring in but because they see a country unable to control its borders as a country unable to control its destiny -- and as a country that treats strangers better than some of its citizens.

Reimagining the economy and renewing our sense of shared citizenship may seem like separate undertakings. The first is about inflation, tax rates and trade policy, and the second is about identity, community and mutual respect. But they are part of the same political project. Economic arrangements not only decide the distribution of income and wealth; they also determine the allocation of social recognition and esteem.

To win back the trust of the voters they've lost, Democrats need to acknowledge that the neoliberal globalization project they and mainstream Republicans pursued in recent decades brought huge gains for those at the top but job loss and stagnant wages for most working people. The winners used their windfall to buy influence in high places. Government stopped trying to check concentrated economic power. The two parties joined forces to deregulate Wall Street. And when the financial crisis of 2008 pushed the system to the brink, they spent billions of dollars to bail out the banks but left ordinary homeowners mostly to fend for themselves.

By 2016, four decades of neoliberal governance had created inequalities of income and wealth not seen since the 1920s. Labor unions were in decline. Workers received a smaller and smaller share of the profits they produced. Finance claimed a growing share of the economy but flowed more into speculative assets (like risky derivatives) than into productive assets (factories, homes, roads, schools) in the real economy.

Rather than contend directly with the damage they had done, both political parties told workers to improve themselves by getting college degrees. The politicians said: What you earn will depend on what you learn; you can make it if you try. The elites who offered this advice missed the implicit insult it contained: If you're struggling in the new economy, it's your fault. This galling mix of economic injury and credentialist condescension helped propel Mr. Trump to the presidency.

Mr. Trump's economic policies did little for the working people who supported him. He tried (but failed) to abolish the health care plan on which many of them relied. And he enacted a tax cut that went mainly to corporations and the wealthy. But his animus against elites and their globalization project continued to resonate. In 2020, Joe Biden defeated him, but voters without a college degree stuck with Mr. Trump.

Mr. Biden, a mainstream Democrat of long standing, was no radical. As JD Vance observed in his speech at the Republican National Convention, Mr. Biden voted for NAFTA, China's admission to the World Trade Organization and the Iraq war. (Mr. Vance neglected to add that most Republicans did, too. More Republicans than Democrats voted for NAFTA and normalizing trade relations with China, and the Iraq war debacle was conceived and led by President George W. Bush, Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld.)

But as president, despite his centrist career, Mr. Biden turned away from the policies that had prompted populist backlash and empowered Mr. Trump.

Mr. Biden's ambitious public investments in infrastructure, manufacturing, jobs and clean energy recalled the muscular role of government during the New Deal. So did his support for collective bargaining and the revival of antitrust law. It made him one of the most consequential presidents of modern times.

Still, he remained unpopular. Mr. Biden and his team thought the problem was one of timing: Public investments take time to produce jobs and tangible benefits.

But the real problem was more fundamental. Mr. Biden never really offered a broad governing vision, never explained how the policies he enacted added up to a new democratic project. Franklin Roosevelt understood the need to highlight the big picture. He persuaded the public that the agencies he created and policies he enacted offered the American people a way to check the corporate power that threatened to deprive them of a meaningful say in how they were governed.

Mr. Biden offered no comparable story.

When he broke with the era of neoliberal globalization, reasserting government's role in regulating markets for the common good, he did so with little fanfare or explanation. He did not acknowledge that his own party had been complicit in the policies that had deepened the divide between winners and losers. Perhaps he was guided more by political instinct than thematic vision; perhaps he did not want to highlight his break with the market-friendly philosophy of the president he had served. His American Rescue Plan, Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act, CHIPS and Science Act and Inflation Reduction Act -- in the end, it all made for impressive policy but themeless politics. His presidency was a legislative triumph but an evocative failure.

This made him a weak match for Mr. Trump, a candidate with little policy success but whose MAGA movement spoke to the anger of the age.

So what does all of this mean for the Harris campaign?

Defeating Mr. Trump means taking seriously the divide between winners and losers that polarizes the country. It means acknowledging the resentment of working people who feel that the work they do is not respected, that elites look down on them, that they have little say in shaping the forces that govern their lives.

To do so, Ms. Harris should highlight a theme that has long been implicit but underdeveloped in Mr. Biden's presidency: the dignity of work. His public investments and labor reforms were designed to rebuild the communities hollowed out by globalization and to create an economy that lets everyone flourish. The Harris campaign should not only defend these achievements but also embark on something more ambitious: a project of democratic renewal that goes beyond merely saving democracy from Mr. Trump. Democracy, in its most minimal sense, means you leave office when you lose -- and it's this elemental aspect that Mr. Trump's behavior calls into question.

But democracy in its fullest sense is about citizens deliberating together about justice and the common good. The dignity of work is important to a healthy democracy because it enables everyone to contribute to the common good and to win honor and recognition for doing so.

For Ms. Harris, offering concrete proposals to honor work -- and to reward it fairly -- could force Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance to choose between the ***working-class*** party they hope to become and the corporate Republican Party they continue to be.

She should be asking questions that would invigorate progressive politics for the 21st century: If we really believe in the dignity of work, why do we tax income from labor at a higher rate than income from dividends and capital gains? Shouldn't the federal minimum hourly wage be higher than $7.25? Mr. Trump has proposed exempting tips from taxes. Well, here's a bolder suggestion: Why not reduce or eliminate the payroll taxes employees pay and make up the revenue with a tax on financial transactions?

Beyond tax measures: What about public investment in universal child care not only to support those who work outside the home but also to improve the pay and working conditions of caregivers? Democrats could promote sectoral bargaining so that fast food workers can negotiate wages and working conditions across their industry rather than company by company. Democrats could require companies to give employees seats on corporate boards and classify gig workers as employees. And what about automation? Should decisions about the direction of artificial intelligence and new technologies be left to Silicon Valley venture capitalists, or should citizens, backed by public investment, have a say in how tech unfolds, pushing for innovation that empowers workers rather than replaces them? On climate change, rather than imposing top-down, technocratic solutions, what if we tried listening to those who fear their livelihoods will be upended -- creating local forums that give workers in the fossil fuel industry and agriculture a chance to collaborate with community leaders, scientists and public officials in shaping the transition to a green economy?

This is what a more robust moral and political argument about our future might look like -- one that begins to address the discontent Mr. Trump has tapped into. Ms. Harris and her team may shrink from this ambition, hoping they can win the election by sticking with fear of Mr. Trump and abortion bans. The election season is too short, they might argue, and the stakes are too high; elevating the terms of public discourse is a project for another day.

But this would be a political mistake and a historic missed opportunity. Taunting Mr. Trump as a felon would rally the base but reinforce the divide. Offering Americans a more inspiring democratic project could change some minds, win over some voters and offer some hope for a less rancorous public life.

Michael J. Sandel is a professor at Harvard and the author, most recently, of ''Democracy's Discontent: A New Edition for Our Perilous Times.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/27/opinion/kamala-harris-strategy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/27/opinion/kamala-harris-strategy.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** July 28, 2024

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[***Bomb Threats and the F.B.I.: Springfield Disrupted by Trump’s False Migrants Claim***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYG-1YP1-JBG3-6282-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 13, 2024 Friday 22:24 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1527 words

**Byline:** Miriam Jordan and Peter Baker Miriam Jordan reports from a grass roots perspective on immigrants and their impact on the demographics, society and economy of the United States. Peter 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:** Springfield, Ohio, is caught in the middle of the nation’s political wars after former President Donald J. Trump made a debunked claim about Haitian immigrants and pets.

**Body**

Springfield, Ohio, is caught in the middle of the nation’s political wars after former President Donald J. Trump made a debunked claim about Haitian immigrants and pets.

The dogs and cats of Springfield, Ohio, appear to be perfectly safe, but many of its people are finding their lives upended this week by political rumormongering that has resulted in multiple bomb threats, school closures and a decision to dispatch the F.B.I.

Ever since former President Donald J. Trump claimed on national television that undocumented migrants were stealing and devouring the household pets of Springfield — “they’re eating the dogs,” he practically shouted, “they’re eating the cats” — the rhythms and routines in the city have not been the same.

Never mind that city authorities have refuted the story and that many residents called it ridiculous. The furor created by Mr. Trump during Tuesday night’s presidential debate has put Springfield in the cross-hairs of the nation’s political wars. For the past two days, bomb threats have proliferated, closing City Hall, schools and a motor vehicles office. F.B.I. agents have descended on the community to guard against danger not to animals but to humans.

The unexpected and unwanted attention generated by Mr. Trump’s false stories led to real-life confusion and anxiety for some residents. Schools have been evacuated, children sheltered at home and parents forced to make other plans during the workday. Gethro Jean, a Haitian pastor, said that he had been fielding questions from congregants who were concerned about attending church on Sunday.

“Our town was pinpointed in the debate,” said Cydney Mills, 41, who kept her three children out of school on Friday after the latest round of bomb threats. “After that, people are just showing their true colors and exhibiting hate.”

Jude Earlywine, 14, was in English class at Springfield High School on Friday morning when he heard that hundreds of young children were filing into the gymnasium after bomb threats had forced the evacuation of their elementary schools.

“Everyone was talking about it, and many people got scared because they thought that thousands of students could be killed if someone really wanted to bomb us,” he said, noting that his high school alone, the only one in the city, enrolls more than 1,500 students.

Mr. Trump’s fixation on Springfield drew an angry rebuke on Friday from President Biden, who denounced his predecessor for trafficking in false rumors that have demonized Haitian migrants and inflamed the presidential campaign.

At a brunch on the South Lawn of the White House billed as a “celebration of Black excellence,” Mr. Biden noted that Haitian immigrants were “under attack in our country right now,” a reference everyone in the audience appeared to understand even though he did not name Mr. Trump. “It’s simply wrong,” Mr. Biden said, his voice rising in indignation. “There’s no place in America. This has to stop, what he’s doing. It has to stop.”

Mr. Trump refused to back down on Friday and vowed to conduct a mass deportation from Springfield if he is elected, saying that Haitian immigrants there were “destroying their way of life.” Although he did not repeat the claim about the pets, neither did he retract it, even though his own Republican running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, who first aired the rumor, has since acknowledged that it may not be true.

“We’re going to get these people out,” Mr. Trump told reporters during a stop in California. “We’re going to have the largest deportation in the history of our country and we’re going to start with Springfield and Aurora,” referring to a city in Colorado where he has said Venezuelan gangs are “taking over buildings.”

The rumors about Springfield may be tied to right-wing agitators. The day after the debate, Christopher Pohlhaus, leader of the national neo-Nazi group Blood Tribe, took credit on his Telegram channel, [*according to NBC News*](https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/internet/trump-neo-nazis-pushed-false-claims-haitians-part-hate-campaign-rcna170796). Mr. Pohlhaus wrote that Blood Tribe had “pushed Springfield into the public consciousness.”

The majority of Haitians in Springfield and elsewhere in the United States are in the country legally, having received temporary protected status from the Biden administration under a program started by President George W. Bush for nationals of countries in turmoil.

Springfield, situated between Dayton and Columbus, has attracted Haitian immigrants in recent years after city leadership successfully marketed the city as an attractive place to do business. It is accessible to two interstates and home to several colleges.

It was also affordable. Auto-parts makers, food and clothing distributors and others set up shop there, especially from about 2017. But there were not enough workers.

Word traveled rapidly among Haitians in Florida, Haiti and even in other countries, that Springfield boasted well-paying jobs and a low cost of living. Since the pandemic, between 12,000 and 20,000 Haitians have arrived there, according to estimates by city officials.

The Haitians were particularly attractive to employers because many of them had or were eligible for work authorization through their temporary protected status or another Biden administration program.

Jean Prospere, a Haitian who lives in Springfield with his teenage son, Keith, said that he had been shaken by the attacks on Haitians.

“I’m not feeling good,” he said. “I saw that information in social media networks, and it’s not real,” he said, referring to Haitians stealing neighbors’ pets for consumption.

Mr. Prospere said he fled Haiti in 2019 after gangs extorted him and threatened to kill him. He has applied for asylum and has received authorization to work. Currently, he assembles car parts at a company outside Springfield. “I hope we can find a solution between Haitian people and American people in Springfield,” he said.

The frenzy has perhaps upset parents the most. Ms. Mills was dropping off two of her children at Snowhill Elementary a few minutes behind schedule on Friday morning when she noticed that students were being escorted to several buses lined up outside.

Ms. Mills suspected that, following Thursday’s threats that shuttered schools, “something crazy was going on,” she said. Soon her cellphone buzzed with a message from the district informing parents that the school had been evacuated and their children were being relocated to the city’s high school for pickup there. She drove off with her daughter, Trinity, 8, and son Gabriel, 10.

Ms. Mills decided not to drop off her youngest child, Jason, 4, at his preschool program. Fulton Elementary had reopened on Friday after a bomb threat led to its closure and evacuation on Thursday.

“Once I found out what going on at Snowhill, I emailed his teacher at Fulton and said we’d rather be safe than sorry,” said Ms. Mills. “She told me that very few kids were showing up.”

Ms. Mills, who lives in the ***working-class*** area of Springfield, referred to as the South Side, said she had many Haitian neighbors. They had helped spruce up the neighborhood, she said, because they were renting homes that had been boarded up or dilapidated.

“There are tons of houses that had boards over windows or big old red X signs,” she said. “There are Haitians moving in and they are fixing them.”

Local police officers and federal agents with bomb-sniffing dogs eventually combed Snowhill Elementary on Friday and declared the building safe. But the day was already lost, leaving many families unnerved.

Michelle Johnson, 51, a lifelong Springfield resident, sat on her front porch with three grandchildren, ages 7, 10 and 13. She has custody and had to go pick them up at school.

She thought the threats were just someone trying to get attention and she worried that the same thing was going to happen on Monday. “When will it stop?” she asked.

Jude, the teenager at Springfield High School, said parents had pulled fellow students out of class after receiving a notice from the superintendent about threats to schools. A sophomore, Jude told his mother that he wanted to stay in school to take an Advanced Placement history exam later in the day.

By lunch time, hundreds of students had left the high school, he said, and the marching band’s hall rally, planned ahead of the Friday night football game, had been canceled. Misinformation about Haitians on social media and bomb threats have become the main topic of conversation among his friends this week, he said.

“Everybody is completely on edge,” Jude said. “It’s really stressful.” He added, “I feel that something big is about to happen, but I don’t know what it is.”

“What I am really hoping is that something big just happens,” he said, meaning a big news event elsewhere, “and it all dissolves from there.” Then, he said, “we are not in the national spotlight anymore and nobody is accusing members of our immigrant community of eating our pets and spreading other lies.”

Kevin Williams contributed reporting from Springfield.

Kevin Williams contributed reporting from Springfield.

PHOTO: President Biden said his predecessor’s attacks on Haitian migrants are “simply wrong.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY ROD LAMKEY JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2024

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[***Disputes About Race and Party Strategy Shape N.Y. Democratic Primaries***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CB5-WW61-DXY4-X040-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2024 Sunday 23:06 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1553 words

**Byline:** Grace Ashford and Jeffery C. Mays Grace Ashford covers New York government and politics for The Times. Jeffery C. Mays is a Times reporter covering politics with a focus on New York City Hall.

**Highlight:** Several State Assembly contests have become contentious as the June 25 primary nears, with the party grappling between moderate and progressive forces.

**Body**

Several State Assembly contests have become contentious as the June 25 primary nears, with the party grappling between moderate and progressive forces.

In Brooklyn, a State Assembly race has attracted the involvement of marquee figures like Hakeem Jeffries, the House Democratic leader, and Letitia James, the New York State attorney general.

In East Harlem, race and ethnicity have cast shadows over another contest, with the question of whether the neighborhood should be represented by a Latino. And in Westchester County, a Democratic primary fight has included ugly accusations of lies, betrayal and purloined emails.

If there was any illusion that Democrats in New York would play nice until November’s all-important general election, these contests for the Assembly in Tuesday’s primaries suggest otherwise.

At the heart of many of these contests lies a long-simmering tension between institutional and progressive Democrats that has come to dominate many debates inside the State Legislature, including those involving housing and criminal justice.

“Democratic primaries are still a competition for the soul of the party. It’s not a formality,” said Trip Yang, a Democratic consultant and strategist. “There are public policy differences and differences in approach.”

Progressives argue that their mainstream Democratic colleagues have not done enough to improve the lives of ***working-class*** voters of color, leaving them frustrated and open to switching parties, as evidenced by the increasing numbers of Black and Latino men who have become Republicans. To stanch the bleeding, progressives argue, Democrats must reignite their base by addressing society’s inequalities with housing and health policies that shift power from the corporate class to working people.

“This is absolutely the right time for change,” said Claire Cousin, 31, a mother of three who is challenging Assemblywoman Didi Barrett in the Hudson Valley. She said her own struggle to pay rent while running for office captured the problems that ***working-class*** people faced.

“There are so many elected officials that are just not doing a good job at keeping their finger on the pulse,” she said.

But centrists remain skeptical that progressives can turn catchy slogans about transformative change into policies that can be implemented. This skepticism has only grown as progressive gains of years past — from state climate goals to a cannabis program that aimed to right the wrongs of racially biased drug enforcement — have stumbled and lost ground.

As Republicans continue to make inroads on issues like crime and immigration, centrist Democrats see progressives as a threat to the delicate moderation the party has struggled to achieve. At stake is the kind of political power that communities build over generations.

One of the most hotly contested elections along those fissures is in the Brooklyn neighborhood of Bedford-Stuyvesant, where Assemblywoman Stefani Zinerman is being challenged by Eon Huntley, a first-time candidate who is backed by the Democratic Socialists of America.

Although Mr. Huntley is Black, Ms. Zinerman sees the primary challenge as a direct attack on traditional Black political power; her candidacy is being supported by Mr. Jeffries and Ms. James.

“I think that the D.S.A. had decided a while ago that they wanted to take over this part of Brooklyn,” said Ms. Zinerman, a Black moderate.

Mr. Huntley, a married father of two who lived in public housing as a child, works in sales at Bergdorf Goodman. He said that too many moderate Democrats were siding with developers and not addressing housing affordability or calling for higher taxes on the wealthy to fund affordable child care.

“People are trying to protect the status quo,” Mr. Huntley said.

One issue that illustrates the divide is “good-cause eviction,” which is designed to protect tenants from being forced out of their homes under certain circumstances. Mr. Huntley supports the effort; Ms. Zinerman opposes it because she says it will hurt small landlords.

But Ms. James insisted that Ms. Zinerman cared most about “issues that she confronts every day: the conditions of public housing, child care expenses and education,” she said.

Ms. Zinerman said she supported tenant protections and aligning affordable housing costs more closely with the income of local residents. She said she was also focused on fighting the epidemic of deed theft, which she viewed as an effort to disenfranchise the “legacy” residents of Bed-Stuy.

The tension between more moderate Democrats and their left-leaning counterparts is clear across the state. In the Hudson Valley, Ms. Barrett, a six-term assemblywoman, stresses her experience fighting for mainstream Democratic issues like reproductive rights and green jobs.

But Ms. Cousin, who has the support of the Working Families Party, says that Ms. Barrett is not the environmental champion she claims to be, pointing to the assemblywoman’s support of a [*2023 push to change the way methane was calculated that scientists said would weaken*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/nyregion/hochul-climate-law.html) the state’s climate goals.

Ms. Barrett countered that she was “a lifelong environmentalist,” noting past achievements in expanding access to electric vehicles, making homes more efficient and modernizing the electric grid. She defended her record as practical, saying: “My priorities as energy chair have been how we reach our climate goals and how we are going to pay for it.”

Across the Hudson River, Assemblywoman Sarahana Shrestha, who is backed by the D.S.A., is seeking to fend off a challenge from Gabriella Madden, a staff member for former Assemblyman Kevin Cahill, whom Ms. Shrestha unseated in 2022.

Ms. Madden has accused Ms. Shrestha of being too absolutist to be effective. Ms. Shrestha has pointed to the passage of the Build Public Renewables Act, which she championed, as proof that transformative change is a process.

Other races have included more personal attacks.

In East Harlem, Assemblyman Eddie Gibbs is facing a challenge from Xavier Santiago, the head of the local community board in a race about representation that has turned nasty.

Mr. Santiago, who is Latino, is backed by Representative Adriano Espaillat and former City Council Speaker Melissa Mark-Viverito. Mr. Gibbs, who is Black, is backed by Mayor Eric Adams and Assembly Speaker Carl E. Heastie. Mr. Gibbs said he believed he was being challenged because some people wanted a Latino to represent the district, which is 41 percent Hispanic.

Mr. Santiago said that he wanted to “unite” the district and “represent everyone” because Mr. Gibbs had failed to work well with members of the community to address affordable housing and gun violence.

“There’s been a blatant, utter lack of leadership in the community,” he added.

Mr. Santiago’s campaign has also mailed fliers referencing the fact that Mr. Gibbs served three years for manslaughter, a crime he committed as a teenager.

Mr. Gibbs said he thought that Mr. Santiago was relying on divisive racial politics; his own background as a formerly incarcerated person was one of the reasons he was elected, Mr. Gibbs said. He has since used his [*platform to help incarcerated and formerly incarcerated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/nyregion/hochul-climate-law.html) people and has had five pieces of legislation signed into law.

“I’m an activist and a fighter,” he said. “I answer to the community.”

And in Westchester County, rancor has filled another primary rematch, this one between a former assemblyman, Thomas J. Abinanti, and the current officeholder, MaryJane Shimsky, a former county legislator.

Mr. Abinanti has accused Ms. Shimsky of selling out the district to wealthy neighbors by supporting a state law that would allow Edgemont, a well-to-do community in the district, to become its own village — leaving the town of Greenburgh and depriving it of significant tax revenue.

The law actually adds additional hurdles for areas looking to incorporate, such as an evaluation of the financial effects on the broader locality. But the final version of the law [*contains an exemption for Edgemont until 2040*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/nyregion/hochul-climate-law.html).

Ms. Shimsky maintains that she was blindsided by the exemption, which [*New York Focus reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/nyregion/hochul-climate-law.html) was negotiated by a more senior member of the Assembly and by Andrea Stewart-Cousins, the State Senate majority leader, as a last-minute amendment.

Mr. Abinanti and Ms. Shimsky both oppose Edgemont’s incorporation.

Mr. Abinanti also accused Ms. Shimsky of using his office’s email list without authorization. He has highlighted those accusations and others in emails and mailers that say “Shimsky lies again” and “purloined emails.”

Ms. Shimsky said she did not steal Mr. Abinanti’s email list, and that his accusations show why she was the best person to represent the district.

“In solving the big problems that the state is facing, you need someone in Albany who is capable of working well with all others and building coalitions,” she said.

PHOTOS: One of the most hotly contested elections is in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, where Assemblywoman Stefani Zinerman, left, is being challenged by Eon Huntley, a first-time candidate. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAILA STEVENS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Ms. Cousin disputes Ms. Barrett’s claim of being an environmental champion, pointing to her actions on methane. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAUREN LANCASTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; MICHAEL M. SANTIAGO/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

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[***How Gender Became the Election’s Crucial Fault Line***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D43-WKW1-JBG3-64F5-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 2226 words

**Highlight:** Harris could be the first female president. But it’s Trump and Vance who are playing the gender card.

**Body**

In an alternate universe, Nikki Haley is running for president against Kamala Harris in the true Year of the Woman. In our world, Haley is on the sidelines wishing Republicans would stop alienating a large swath of voters. “Donald Trump and JD Vance need to change the way they speak about women,” Haley [*said on “Fox &amp; Friends”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) in September, when she was asked why Trump and Vance were trailing by 14 points among female voters. “When you call even a Democrat woman dumb, Republican women get their backs up, too.”

Trump didn’t take her advice, if he heard it. The next day, while debating Vice President Harris on national television, Trump said Harris’s actions were “stupid” as he falsely accused her of failing to negotiate peace between Russia and Ukraine. (In fact, Harris [*did not negotiate*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) with these countries.) Trump also gave muddled answers on abortion — [*Republicans’ biggest weakness*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ), especially among women — twice resorting to the false claim that Democrats have said it’s acceptable to execute babies.

In the moments after the debate, Taylor Swift made Trump’s bad night with women worse. She [*endorsed Harris*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) in an Instagram post that she signed “Childless Cat Lady,” taking ownership of a phrase Vance had used as an insult and aligning herself with the many women who had posted photos of themselves with their cats as a retort.

The night was one indication among many that gender is the deepest fault line in this year’s presidential campaign. But this isn’t because Harris is running on her claim to becoming the country’s first female president. She has largely avoided declarations about breaking barriers. It’s Trump and Vance who have made the election all about gender.

Rather than taking what seems like the safe path — treating Harris with respect, affirming some basic support for equality, and steering toward a clear middle path on abortion — they’ve produced some of the campaign’s most memorable moments by firing the kinds of insults at Harris that many women will recognize. Trump stooped to the oldest attack in the book when he [*shared a crude social media post*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) in August that claimed Harris had used sex to advance her career. At the end of September, he took to calling her “mentally impaired.”

Trump and Vance have also [*embraced hyper-masculinity*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ). The retired wrestler Hulk Hogan appeared at the Republican National Convention, ripping his shirt in half. The former president has given interviews to bro-y social media stars like Dave Portnoy of Barstool Sports and the Nelk Boys, YouTubers who made a video of themselves watching Harris speak at the Democratic National Convention in which one guy in the group smashes her face on the TV with a sledgehammer.

Harris, backed by her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, embodies female power. It’s challenging for women to show strength without coming across as dominating. Harris has tried to [*find a balance*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) by channeling her experience as a prosecutor into calmly and even pleasantly holding her ground. Trump and Vance treat this female power as a threat.

In presidential contests, [*the gender gap grew*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) from seven percentage points in 2004 and 2008 to 10 points in 2012, 11 points in 2016, and 12 points in 2020, according to exit polls. This year, it [*has*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) [*widened*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) further since Harris replaced President Biden as the Democratic nominee. In a [*New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) last month of likely voters in Pennsylvania, women favored Harris 55 percent to 41 percent and men favored Trump 52 percent to 39 percent.

This year, as in the last few elections, one crucial group of voters in battleground states are women, mainly Republicans and Independents who have a college education and live in the suburbs in swing states. “The gender gap can ultimately sway the election,” said Jennifer Lawless, a politics professor at the University of Virginia. “When Democrats exploit it, they win, and when Republicans mitigate it, they win.”

Doubling Down on MAGA’s Male Side

The Trump campaign spelled out its thinking on the gender gap last summer. When Trump was running against Biden, and coasting in the polls, he [*showed unusual strength*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) for a Republican among Black and Latino voters, especially young men. Susie Wiles and Chris LaCivita, Trump’s top campaign advisers, expressed confidence about prioritizing young men of color over suburban women for targeting and turnout, according to a July 10 [*article in The Atlantic*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ).

Less than a week later, Trump picked Senator JD Vance of Ohio as his running mate. Vance injected overt anti-feminism into the campaign. He had [*said earlier this year*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) that he was “plugged into a lot of weird, right-wing subcultures.” These subcultures valorize “[*trad wives*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ),” stay-at-home mothers with a 19th-century aesthetic, and treat women without children as an alarming force on the left who are “trying to brainwash the minds of our children,” [*as Vance put it*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) to a Christian group in 2021. His dig at “childless cat ladies” in the same year, which he has since defended, named Harris as one of the Democrats who are miserable “at their own lives and the choices that they’ve made, and so they want to make the rest of the country miserable, too.”

On this part of the right, men [*get to embrace raunch*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) and celebrate women’s sexual availability as (somehow) a rebuke to feminism. And yet the possible consequences for women are unforgiving: Vance opposes abortion [*even in cases*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) of rape and incest and [*has supported a national ban*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) on abortions after 15 weeks with some exceptions.

When Harris became the Democratic candidate, Trump’s decision to double down on the male side of MAGA looked riskier. With passion and skill Biden didn’t have on this issue, Harris began highlighting the loss of abortion rights caused by Trump’s nomination of three conservative Supreme Court justices. On the defensive, Trump [*veered between*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) praising his own courage and refusing to say whether he would veto a national abortion ban.

Harris’s supporters, meanwhile, made her a TikTok star, spreading joyous — and decidedly feminine — memes of her dance steps, laughter and cooking. And Harris identifies herself as “Wife, Momala, Auntie” in [*her bio on X*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ). “In the ’90s and even 2000s, female candidates wouldn’t showcase their families because of the perception that women couldn’t be both successful politicians and successful parents and wives,” Lawless said. “Sarah Palin helped change that by saying no to the stereotype as a conservative Republican.”

Trump tried a few lines of attack based on Harris’s identity. In July, [*he called her*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) “dumb as a rock” and “crazy” and “Laughing Kamala” and [*said at a gathering*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) of the National Association of Black Journalists that “she happened to turn Black.” Harris refused to respond. “It is delightful that she is not in a defensive posture,” said Loretta Ross, a professor of women and gender studies at Smith College and a founder of the reproductive justice group SisterSong. “Trump is so used to irritating people with his racism and misogyny. She has caught him off guard. He doesn’t know where to go.”

Walz has also helped foil Trump, in Ross’s view, by demonstrating that a man can be entirely comfortable as a woman’s No. 2. “He’s showing us tonic as opposed to toxic masculinity,” Ross said. He’s in a position that hasn’t been seen much on the national stage, and he’s putting his distinct brand of masculinity — a National Guard veteran and high school football coach who helped start a gay-straight alliance — behind supporting Harris with apparent gratitude and cheer.

Harris and Walz have a [*giant polling lead*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) among young women, significantly higher than Trump and Vance’s lead with young men. That signals that the deepening divide on gender between the parties could last well into the future. And the Democratic ticket’s record-breaking fund-raising could put an end to the perception — false, [*according to Lawless’s research*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) — that voters or donors are reluctant to support female candidates.

Still, the gender dynamics of the campaign work for Trump with his base. He is polling [*between 27*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) and [*44 points ahead*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) of Harris among all white voters without a college education in swing states. Not surprisingly, Trump’s numbers are highest with ***working-class*** men. Asked whether women’s gains have come at men’s expense, 40 percent of men ages 18 to 49 who support Trump said yes, compared with 17 percent of respondents overall, [*in a Pew Research Center survey*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) published in June.

Men in this group often say they feel [*undervalued and left behind*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ). Men are [*losing ground*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ), in absolute terms and relative to women. Over the last three decades, white people without a bachelor’s degree have suffered a decline in health and income relative to white people with a bachelor’s degree and relative to Black people, according to Arlie Hochschild, a sociologist whose new book, [*“Stolen Pride,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) focuses on the sources of Trump’s attraction.

“His appeal to people who feel like they are going downhill works on women, too,” Hochschild said. “Harris has done so many things right, but I do find missing from her enough recognition of the fear of blue-collar white people who have faced loss. I want that in her rap, to appeal to men and the women who are attached to those men.” A majority of women without a college education support access to abortion and trust Harris more than Trump on that issue, [*according to the polling firm Blueprint*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ). They also view her more favorably than they viewed Biden. “Overall, non-college women across the seven swing states are moderate,” Blueprint said in September, “and express disdain for Donald Trump and a need to know more about Kamala Harris.”

Nonetheless, these women may wind up breaking for Trump because of economic issues — their top concern — and their class identity, as they have before. In that year’s campaign, Trump crudely attacked Hillary Clinton and faced a series of accusations of sexual assault, not to mention the “Access Hollywood” tape. And yet, while Clinton won the popular vote, a vast majority of Republican women across class lines, along with a sizable share of Independents, voted for Trump — enough for him to win.

Male Chaos, Female Order

It’s impossible, in the end, to prove that gender matters more than any other cultural issue in this year’s election. The race and class gaps among voters in the polls are even larger than the gender gap. Trump and Vance have especially focused on the issue of immigration and received enormous attention for their attacks on Haitian immigrants in Springfield, Ohio — a way to divide people by race and class. Economic issues rank higher as a priority for voters than abortion does.

But Harris’s success in stepping into a losing race and turning it into an even contest, combined with the seeming ineffectiveness of the sexist attacks directed at her, could fundamentally shift the country’s view of what’s possible, no matter who wins. “We’ve reached an important change in the political environment,” Lawless said. “We’re not having a lot of pained conversation this time about whether the U.S. is ready to elect a woman or a Black woman. That has reared its head, but it’s not the central narrative.”

At the vice-presidential debate on Tuesday, Vance tried to soften his image, talking about making “it easier for moms to afford to have babies.” He gave no specifics but did acknowledge the trust deficit Republicans have on reproductive rights, making it clear that Republicans know they have ground to make up with women.

The response to the Republican rhetoric on gender suggests that what’s normal has changed. When Trump tried to reassure women about abortion rights [*at a September rally in Pennsylvania*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ) by saying “I am your protector” and decreeing that once he’s elected, “you will no longer be thinking about abortion,” he was mocked for it. When [*Sarah Huckabee Sanders*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NfiBLIaZpQ), the governor of Arkansas, ran down Harris at a Trump event for not having children, a Trump campaign adviser came forward to say he was offended — and blessed to have a stepmother who helped raise him.

Susan Faludi, a prominent author who has tracked gender issues in America for more than 30 years, sees gains for feminism that are greater for being understated. “I think Harris is doing something much more important than playing the woman card,” Faludi said. “If you look at the central planks of her platform, they are all what we used to call women’s issues — reproductive health care, medical care, child care, elder care. It’s an achievement that these are now regarded as foundational to Americans’ social and economic lives. That was the goal of the women’s movement — to change society by figuring out what the world would look like if women were treated as full citizens.”

Faludi sees something else happening beneath the surface of the contest between a man and a woman whose personas could not be more different. Harris is the candidate of order and Trump is the candidate of “Dionysian chaos,” she said. “In this particular race, stability seems to be coded as female and the desire to tear everything down is coded as male.” It’s a striking inversion of the usual dichotomy of conservative and liberal. But this is an election that has flipped so many things around.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Photo illustration by Alex Merto FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***To Understand Trump vs. Harris, You Must Know These American Myths; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D44-6XB1-JBG3-64G3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Richard Slotkin

**Highlight:** It’s as if we are living in two different countries, each with a different understanding of who counts as American.

**Body**

Kamala Harris and Donald Trump are making their appeals to the American electorate on the basis of personality, character and policy. But they are also framing themselves as actors in the American story — the events of the recent past and the deeper narrative of U.S. history carried by the symbol-rich stories of our national mythology.

There has been very little common ground expressed between the parties in this election, except the belief that a victory by the opposition would be apocalyptic. Even when they invoke the same historical references, they present them in radically different ways. To Democrats, Jan. 6 was a shameful assault on democracy. To many Republicans, it was a patriotic protest of a rigged election.

It’s as if we are living in two different countries, each with a different understanding of who counts as American.

Each candidate is trying to pitch the contest to voters as a heroic episode in the unfolding of American history and invites them to imagine themselves as players in the narrative.

In the “story wars,” Mr. Trump has an advantage over Ms. Harris: Conservatives have devised over decades a store of established mythological American “scripts,” something liberals have failed to do.

Among the big issues at stake in the 2024 election, for both the campaigns and the country, is no less than shaping what it means to be an American and who gets to have power.

The Core Myths of America

No modern nation is more dependent on its myths than the United States, because the ethnic origins of our people are among the most diverse of any place on earth. We must learn to think of ourselves as spiritual descendants of ancestors who are not related to us by blood but made kindred by our shared and continuing history. In a crisis, a cultural reflex is to scan our historical memory for analogies that will help us interpret the crisis and precedents on which to model a response.

The myth of the frontier traces our national origin to the colonial settlements and the westward expansion that followed. It enshrines a distinctively American concept of capitalist development: Our extraordinary growth as a democracy arose from the discovery and exploitation of abundant natural resources beyond the zone of established order. Winning the frontier also resulted in dispossessing the nonwhite Indigenous peoples, which made racial exclusion part of our original concept of nationality. The myth of the frontier explains the origin of America’s exceptional character and unparalleled prosperity. It was the myth of choice for Gilded Age imperialists and for John F. Kennedy’s “New Frontier.”

The myth of the founding is the story of the creation of our nation-state by an intelligent and virtuous (though flawed) set of white men, the founding fathers. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution embody the contradictions at the heart of our ideal of free government. From generation to generation, Americans have invoked these documents, and the principles they symbolize, to address the fundamental issue of our national organization: whether it is possible — and desirable — to form a single nationality and a just republican government out of diverse racial and ethnic elements.

The Civil War put the myth of the founding to its sternest test and generated two conflicting mythic traditions. The liberation myth, identified with Abraham Lincoln, sees the Civil War as an ordeal that not only preserved “government of the people, by the people, for the people” but also produced a “[*new birth of freedom*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm)” that included Black people formerly held as slaves. Lincoln was a mythic touchstone for the New Deal and the civil rights movement.

The myth of the Lost Cause celebrates the Old South and its culture and justifies violence, sometimes extreme, first to defend and then to restore its traditional structures of patriarchy and white supremacy. The Lost Cause myth sustained the South’s Jim Crow order for 100 years.

At its origin, the Lost Cause myth framed the conflict over Reconstruction (1865 to 1875) as a struggle between the racial and patriarchal hierarchies of the Old South and the liberalism of Northern radicals. The myth justified extraordinary violence and political repression to save white Christian civilization from its racial and ideological enemies. It authorized the Jim Crow regime of segregation, disenfranchisement and lynch law to keep Black people in a state of abjection. The Lost Cause also justified the establishment of quasi-authoritarian state governments, as Southern states, from 1890 to 1915, revised their Constitutions to deprive Black people of the right to vote, using devices like the literacy test and the poll tax that also disenfranchised large numbers of poor whites.

In all of these myths, the default American nationality is white. That ethnonationalist presumption would be challenged by the crises of the 20th century: World War I, the Depression and World War II. These compelled the nation’s political and cultural elites to start seeing as equals the racial and ethnic minorities that had been marginalized or excluded from the body politic.

One result was the creation of the myth of the good war, which used the war-movie convention of the multiethnic and multiracial platoon to link the diversity of our country to our success as “leader of the free world.” It was this myth that informed our role in the Cold War and helped justify the interventions in Vietnam and Iraq.

How Myths Shape the 2024 Election

Mr. Trump’s 2024 campaign language follows the Lost Cause playbook. He invokes fear of racial pollution by characterizing liberal policies on immigration as the “[*poisoning*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm)” of the American bloodstream. He identifies himself as the agent of his people’s retribution. He promises to redeem American greatness by [*rooting out*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm) “communists, Marxists, fascists and the radical left thugs that live like vermin within the confines of our country” and [*declares*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm) that that retribution “allows for the termination of all rules, regulations and articles, even those found in the Constitution.”

MAGA’s account of recent history follows a similar script. It holds that America became great when its political and economic institutions were run by white men and its cultural standards set by native-born white Christians. That social order was disrupted by the political and cultural upheavals of the 1960s, especially the political integration of racial minorities and the acceptance of liberated attitudes toward race, sexuality and gender. Liberal intellectuals challenged traditional ideological presumptions and understandings of American history. Immigration and the growth of the nonwhite population suggested that white people could be permanently displaced as America’s majority. The election of Barack Obama as the first Black president suggested that liberals and their coalition partners could control the centers of power.

This helps explain why Mr. Trump has framed these elections as a fight to save American civilization — and why he cast himself as the hero of that story and continues to tell it in 2024.

At a campaign rally in March, he [*told supporters*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm), “I don’t think you’re going to have another election in this country if we don’t win this election.” At a recent rally in Las Vegas, he [*told*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm) supporters that if he loses, “you won’t have a country anymore.”

This new Lost Cause also holds that to save civilization, extraordinary methods, up to and including violence, are justified. On Jan. 6, 2021, Mr. Trump [*told*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm) a mass of demonstrators, “If you don’t fight like hell, you’re not going to have a country anymore.”

This week, he said that to check the problem of property crime across America, it would [*take*](https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm) just “one really violent day” to fix it.

As in the Reconstruction-Jim Crow era, vigilante violence and threats of violence are being used to intimidate local election and school board officials. Like the Lost Cause politicians of the 19th century, Mr. Trump and his supporters have plans to create a quasi-authoritarian state by using the Justice Department to prosecute political opponents, to politicize the civil service and to exploit their domination of state legislatures to restrict voting rights.

Even in his economic ideology, Mr. Trump invokes a myth, this time of the frontier: American prosperity depends on the unregulated discovery, exploitation and use of fossil fuels.

Mr. Trump and his MAGA movement can invoke narratives already sanctified in traditional mythology.

By contrast, since the 1970s, the left has struggled with this. Although the New Deal was the most transformative political movement since the Civil War, it did not generate a comparable mythology. Until Joe Biden, the last president to so fully invoke it as a major policy model was Lyndon Johnson in the 1960s. Popular culture has rarely exploited the New Deal’s stories of relief and recovery, of enormous public works projects or union struggles that reshaped the relations between workers and executives. There is no genre of movies akin to those that memorialize the frontier or the Civil War. Rather, the New Deal’s social justice values and patriotic appeal were abstracted and subsumed in the good-war myth.

The civil rights movement invoked both the liberation myth of the Civil War and the good-war myth but did not itself become a national myth. The New Deal and the civil rights movement symbolize the ideological split that has divided liberal politics. Bill Clinton and the New Democrats embraced the neoliberalism of Ronald Reagan, implicitly rejecting the New Deal, and focused on developing a high-tech economy, while progressives embraced identity politics. Neither faction addressed the great failing of American politics: the fact that since 1980, our political choices and tax policies, coupled with a changing global economy, have vastly increased economic inequality, constraining the prospects of the ***working class*** and the poor while granting extravagant wealth and political privilege to the wealthy and corporations.

Still, the elements of a new blue story are already in play. In his campaign, Mr. Biden invoked the New Deal and the civil rights movement as precedents, in speeches as well as in policies like the administration’s stimulus and infrastructure programs.

Ms. Harris has continued that focus on union jobs and middle-class economics and has rooted her personal story in the civil rights movement. At the Democratic convention, her acceptance speech emphasized labor rights, patriotism and public service as the basis of the Democratic agenda — but without specifically invoking the New Deal.

Democrats could benefit by framing their programs with a story that has the narrative coherence and emotional resonance of myth. The party’s reform agenda is justified by its critique of America’s history of capitalist exploitation of land and labor, racial discrimination, Indigenous dispossession and imperialism.

But nearly every major modern nation-state’s history is rife with social injustice and the violence of unjust wars. What is admirable about America is not its supposed exception to these patterns of history but the persistence with which its people have struggled to amend injustice and realize an extraordinarily broad and inclusive concept of nationality.

There is an opportunity here for Ms. Harris, who has invoked this persistence and wrapped it in a stirring call for patriotism. A myth can be made of such struggles, tracing a path from Lincoln’s “new birth of freedom” to the New Deal’s grand but imperfect project of economic and social reform to the triumphs of the good war, the Great Society and the civil rights movement. Such a myth — the myth of the land of opportunity? — would enable the left and the center-left to fight the story wars more effectively.

Still, given the deep divisions in the nation, it is not likely that the 2024 election will resolve the cultural conflict. In the absence of a unifying national myth, the states are dividing along ideological lines, as they did before the Civil War and again in the Jim Crow era, with radically different laws on voting, on abortion and public health, on racial discrimination, on gun rights, on fossil fuels and green alternatives and on the teaching of history.

If that process continues, national myth will continue to provide symbols for partisan battle flags rather than a unifying version of the American story. Americans’ ability to imagine anything like the common good or to unite in response to the crises of climate, public health and international conflict that are sure to arise, will have to wait for a new chapter in the American story.

Richard Slotkin, a historian of American culture and its mythology of violence, is the author of, most recently, “A Great Disorder: National Myth and the Struggle for America.”

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Joshua Dudley Greer for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***This Anti-D.E.I. Agitator Strikes Fear Into Big Companies***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB9-R021-JBG3-60KG-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By David Segal

**Body**

From his home in Tennessee, the social media rabble-rouser Robby Starbuck is waging war on ''woke'' policies at places like Lowe's and Ford. His timing is impeccable.

In early June, Robby Starbuck sat on the screened-in patio of his home in suburban Tennessee and recorded an eight-minute monologue on his mobile phone -- a no-frills, TikTok-style video entitled ''Exposed: Tractor Supply Went Woke.''

''All right y'all,'' he began, ''you're going to want to see this.''

Speaking in tones that swung between urgent, amused and appalled, Mr. Starbuck listed an inventory of what he considered to be outrages committed by Tractor Supply, which sells feed and farm equipment.

The company hung Pride flags at a distribution center, he said. It offered equal health care for transgender people. It sponsored a Pride event near its headquarters in Brentwood, Tenn. It provided unconscious bias training for 40,000 employees. It paid $50 to employees who got the Covid vaccine.

Mr. Starbuck, a 35-year-old former music video producer, wrapped up with a call to boycott the company until it changed course and dropped its policies aimed at diversity, equity and inclusion.

''So now everybody, remind Tractor Supply who their customers actually are,'' he said.

With 674,000 followers on X and 353,000 followers on Instagram, Mr. Starbuck has a not-exactly-gigantic fan base when measured against other influencers'. But his posts about Tractor Supply -- roughly 30 in total, over the course of a few weeks -- were forwarded and posted so often that the name of the company started trending on X.

The company, which has nearly $15 billion in annual revenue, took notice. On June 27, it announced in a statement that it would retire its D.E.I. goals. It would stop sponsoring pride festivals. And it would no longer submit data to the Human Rights Campaign, the Washington, D.C., nonprofit that grades companies on their policies when it comes to L.G.B.T.Q. workers.

''We have heard from customers that we have disappointed them,'' the company wrote. ''We have taken this feedback to heart.''

The reversal made national headlines and ushered a clamorous new voice into a highly divisive issue. In the months that followed, Mr. Starbuck kept prodding one of the more jangled nerves of the body politic, posting a series of similar videos about John Deere, Harley-Davidson, Caterpillar, Stanley Black & Decker, Jack Daniel's, Lowe's, Ford Motor, Molson Coors and, most recently, Toyota. All have since announced retreats from their D.E.I. policies, though almost none would discuss their reasons for this article.

His playbook is to exhort his audience to pressure companies and threaten them with economic pain. For corporations, the worst-case fate is what happened to Bud Light in 2023, after it formed a partnership with the social media influencer and trans activist Dylan Mulvaney. Detractors howled -- Kid Rock posted a video of himself machine gunning Bud Light cases -- and sales plummeted.

Mr. Starbuck says his posts and videos on X have been viewed hundreds of million of times per month, and claims they have occasionally slashed billions of dollars from the market cap of companies, all of which are publicly traded.

His videos ''have a material effect that's not lost on us,'' Mr. Starbuck said during a recent interview at his home about 20 miles south of Nashville. ''But what's interesting is, when they've turned around'' -- when the companies change their D.E.I. policies, which he announces in a triumphant follow-up video -- ''stock's fine. It goes up. Everything's good.''

Wall Street analysts doubt that Mr. Starbuck has had such puppeteer-like control over share prices, which they say have risen and fallen for unrelated reasons. And in some cases, the changes that mollified Mr. Starbuck, and caused him to declare victory, seemed far from momentous.

Still, his campaign is nothing if not well timed. More than 30 states have introduced or enacted laws curtailing or eliminating D.E.I. initiatives in higher education. The topic has surfaced in the presidential race, with former President Donald J. Trump vowing that, if re-elected, he would review and reverse any actions taken by federal agencies under what he called President Biden's ''equity agenda.'' A Bloomberg headline put it bluntly: ''Corporate America Braces for D.E.I.'s Death if Trump Wins.''

It's part of an atmospheric change hastened by the Supreme Court ruling last year that rejected affirmative action at universities and colleges. That decision prompted corporations to worry that their D.E.I. programs could be challenged next, a fear that grew after a number of law firms were sued for diversity fellowship programs by the lawyer Edward Blum, who prevailed in the university affirmative action case.

Google and Meta pulled back from their D.E.I. programs last year. Others have renamed them. The Society for Human Resource Management, an organization for H.R. professionals, announced in July that it was dropping the ''equity'' part of its D.E.I. program because it had become a ''distraction.''

Which is not to say that diversity drives have been canceled. The Human Rights Campaign says that the number of companies participating in its scorecard, the Corporate Equality Index, will reach a record high next year: 1,400. Despite Tractor Supply and other companies dropping out, that's a five percent increase over this year's numbers.

''I think it's a steady progression forward at a time when we're experiencing backlash,'' said Kelley Robinson, the president of the H.R.C. And the loudest proponents of that backlash are having a moment. Robby Starbuck, she said, is one of a handful of ''extremist conservative activists that are doing all they can to pull back the progress that we've made.''

He's one of the flashier lights in a constellation of anti-D.E.I. media personalities. Together, they are complicating the choices of chief executives who are trying to build and nurture a diverse work force while also searching for a middle path that will infuriate the smallest number of employees and consumers.

The problem is that the line they are carefully treading has moved. Momentum around the topic has shifted and, in ways, so has the law. After the murder of George Floyd in 2020, said Julie Levinson Werner, an employment lawyer, ''I got a lot of calls from companies saying, 'What is our D.E.I.? What are we doing? How are we investing? Can we hire a special intern?'''

She doesn't get those calls anymore.

''Now it's: 'Should we revisit this? Should we call it something different? Will this pass muster?'''

A Sinister Plot

Mr. Starbuck pulls his dark, shoulder-length hair into a man bun; when we met, he wore an untucked navy shirt, bluejeans and black cowboy boots, looking like a guy ready to line dance in a honky-tonk. As a self-professed homebody, that's a place you are unlikely to find him. He speaks much as he does in his videos, in an even and nearly nonstop torrent of words. He is friendly, intense and expansive.

''I'm guilty of being a rambler, which my wife will tell you,'' he said.

He had just ended a quick tour of what he calls his farm, which consists of chickens, a cow, a bull and some rabbits. His black Tesla sits in the driveway. The interior of his house looks like a smartly furnished and very spacious model home. His wife, Landon, is a singer and songwriter who is ''passionate about faith, family, freedom, truth and justice for the vulnerable,'' as it says on her website. The couple have four children.

Mr. Starbuck sat on the same patio where he recorded many of his videos, using nothing but his mobile phone. Two employees work in a small studio on the second floor of a building attached to the house, gathering information and helping with production. A ''liberty or death'' flag hangs on the wall. More videos are in the works, including attacks on the D.E.I. policies of companies with a customer base he describes as ''50-50,'' which is to say that they are appealing to customers on both sides of the political divide, rather than ones that presumably rely primarily on conservative buyers, like Tractor Supply.

Born Robby Starbuck Newsom, he grew up in Temecula, Calif., a city between San Diego and Los Angeles. His mother is an immigrant from Cuba; he had a troubled relationship with his American father, now deceased.

Mr. Starbuck graduated from high school at 16, and dropped out of community college to work for a video production company. Through that job and others, he earned enough to buy video recording equipment and start a production company of his own in Los Angeles. He made music videos for Snoop Dogg, Smashing Pumpkins and other acts. For a time, he and his family lived in the same gated community as the Kardashians.

He came to loathe his work. He had married Landon when he was 18 years old, and they started having children. As a new father, he felt that the entertainment industry was pumping cultural bile intended for teens into the American bloodstream. He saw a malign force at work, and behind that force, the Democratic Party.

''Entertainment was being used as a weapon to engineer specific political beliefs and to openly sexualize kids,'' he wrote in a text, ''because ultimately, overly sexualized kids will eventually vote for the party that promotes the most hedonistic behavior.''

His role in the entertainment industry started to feel like a form of cowardice. All the more so after he gave his life to Jesus, as he put it. He had always been a Republican, but by the time Mr. Trump came along for his first presidential run, Mr. Starbuck concluded that he was in the wrong place and the wrong business. On his social media channels, Mr. Starbuck embraced the candidate, fully understanding that it would have a self-immolating impact on his career in a liberal bastion. He says that 85 percent of his clients, which included major labels, dropped him.

''He pretty much got canceled out of the industry,'' said Matthew Stevenson, a cinematographer who worked with Mr. Starbuck.

Mr. Starbuck and his family relocated to Tennessee in 2018, a place he barely knew, but where he felt he would find people with values more aligned with his own. He says he supports his campaigns with investments of money from his video production company, now defunct; an undisclosed number of $5-a-month subscribers to his X channel; and from proceeds from his 2024 documentary, ''The War on Children.''

The film, his most ambitious foray into activist media, covers a litany of familiar problems: The rise of gender dysphoria; alarming rates of depression among children; easy access to pornography. The film also captures his antipathy toward transgender rights activism, a frequent target of his current anti-D.E.I. campaign.

As director, reporter and narrator, Mr. Starbuck argues that American children now live in a terrifying hellscape of predators -- greedy corporations, left-leaning politicians, witless school boards, all of them in the thrall of a woke agenda. Their efforts, he says through interviews and over a stirring score, will result in nothing less than a Marxist government.

The film captures what is so tricky about Mr. Starbuck's work. He starts with an ember of reality -- teenage depression rates are really rising, for instance -- and fans it into an unrecognizable political apocalypse.

His objections to D.E.I. are similarly alarmist. He doesn't see the initiatives as merely misguided, dumb or wasteful. To him, they are part of a sinister plot by the Democratic Party to shove the country toward communism.

''We have a bunch of left-wing authoritarian-like figures now who understand that it's a major optics hit to come out and say, 'I'm a communist,''' he said. ''What you need is to be able to control the ideology, the minds of the people who are in control of the means of production and corporations.''

In his videos, Mr. Starbuck rarely emphasizes the idea of a communist takeover. Instead, critics say, he cherry picks well-intentioned elements of D.E.I. and recasts them as wokeness run amok.

''Part of the danger of Starbuck's rhetoric is that it focuses on one divisive dimension of D.E.I.'' -- like Pride flags at Tractor Supply's distribution center -- ''and misrepresents it as the wholeness of it, without understanding that these policies have implications for pay equity for women, for stamping out antisemitism, for creating inclusive workplace environments for veterans and so on,'' said Shaun Harper, a professor of business, education and public policy at the University of Southern California. ''It's a misrepresentation of the facts as opposed to straight up lies.''

Mr. Starbuck's worldview was shaped by his maternal great-grandfather, who lived through the rise of Fidel Castro in Cuba, and told his great-grandson that nobody saw the perils of the regime until it was too late. Before the dictatorship, there had been lots of uplifting talk about free health care and racial justice, which sounds, to Mr. Starbuck's ears, a lot like the rhetoric of purportedly well-meaning Democrats.

The more you talk to Mr. Starbuck, the more you grasp that he sees danger, invisible to most, everywhere. During our visit, he mused about an experiment, conducted by a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, in which frogs were exposed to a common herbicide called Atrazine.

''The end result,'' he said, ''is that the majority of the frogs turned gay.''

Actually, the experiment found that many of the frogs became hermaphrodites. But the idea that a chemical turns frogs into homosexuals, and that it could do the same to humans, lives on. Its most vocal proponent is the conspiracy theorist and disinformation profiteer Alex Jones.

By contrast, Mr. Starbuck appears utterly sincere -- about gay frogs, a Communist plot, everything. He's on the attack because he is certain that he, and every lucid American, is locked in a battle, whether they know it or not.

''The question we face now,'' he says at the end of ''The War on Children,'' ''is whether good or evil will win this war.''

Backlash to the Backlash

Mr. Starbuck's social media following has its roots in his days as a music video director, when he was posting on social media about current events and stars like Akon. His numbers increased after his pivot to politics, and today, the relatively modest size of his audience is multiplied by a cadre of X accounts, YouTube channels and TikTokers, some of them well known (''The Dennis Prager Show,'' NewsMax), some part of an ecosystem of conservative bro social media sites and podcasts (The Quartering, Benny Johnson).

These sites amplify an idea that seems to be gaining traction: That many D.E.I. programs have features that annoy as many people as they edify.

''I do think a lot of white, middle-class Americans, ***working-class*** Americans, are pretty fed up with diversity programs as they experienced them at work,'' said Frank Dobbin, a professor of sociology at Harvard University and the author of ''Inventing Equal Opportunity,'' a book about workplace discrimination. ''In part, it's because they've been having the same poorly designed diversity training for the last 20 years, where they've been called racist, sexist bigots.''

The programs haven't always helped employers diversify the work force, he added. This frustrates employees, including those who want more diversity, and may explain why support for D.E.I. is a mixed picture. A Pew Research Center survey last year found that 56 percent of employed adults thought focusing on increasing D.E.I. in the workplace was a good idea; 16 percent said it was a bad idea. Twenty-eight percent of Black employees felt their companies weren't doing enough.

Along with D.E.I. fatigue, what's unfolding now is arguably the latest example of a pattern in this country that is as fixed as a rule of physics: Any force applied to elevate minorities will eventually be met with a counterforce. As Professor Dobbin noted, the success of the civil rights movement of the 1960s led to the rise of George Wallace, an Alabama segregationist who stoked racial resentments when he ran for president in 1972. Corporations reacted to the Black Lives Matter protests by expanding D.E.I.; a counterreaction is now underway.

Mr. Starbuck nearly always interprets corporate responses to his campaigns as complete surrender and often overstates his financial effect on corporate profits. On Aug. 15, he implied on X that a $1.2 billion drop in John Deere's third-quarter sales was his doing. (He had posted his first video about the company five weeks earlier.) ''Wokeness destroys businesses,'' he wrote.

Wall Street analysts had a different take. Some large farmers were giving ''serious consideration'' to switching brands as a result of Mr. Starbuck's video, a research note written by Greg Badishkanian of Wolfe Research said. But analysts blamed the drop on interest rate changes and weak crop prices. (These analysts work for ''woke'' institutions, Mr. Starbuck countered.)

A spokesman for Ford, the only company targeted by Mr. Starbuck that would speak for this article, said it made the decision not to participate in H.R.C.'s Corporate Equality Index scoring system before Mr. Starbuck was in touch.

''We decided to look at what kind of workplace we want to foster as opposed to meeting the guidelines of other people's surveys,'' said Richard Binhammer, the spokesman.

Whether Mr. Starbuck caused the changes or merely caught the shifting direction of the wind, some companies are hiring public relations specialists and law firms to gird against his attacks. Corporations tend to change course, to varying degrees, once they are in his sights. Molson Coors, Lowe's, Harley-Davidson and others have said they will sponsor only events core to the company's business. (In Molson's case, that means ''Hometown communities'' and goals like alcohol responsibility.) Harley also ended ''socially motivated content'' in employee training programs.

At the same time, many companies announced their changes while restating a broad commitment to a diverse workplace. More than anything, the chief executives appear eager to minimize static and appease everybody, which is perhaps what they've always wanted. It's just become harder to achieve.

In fact, the backlash to D.E.I. may already be producing a backlash of its own. After Tractor Supply and John Deere announced their post-Starbuck D.E.I. policies, the National Black Farmers Association declared that both would be boycotted.

''I see it as going backward,'' said John Boyd, the founder of the N.B.F.A. ''When they say they are doing away with their diversity programs, that sends the wrong signal.''

Mr. Starbuck says he's heard from 5,000 people who want to spill about their companies and that he will contact many in the coming months. What he wants more than anything is a future in which everyone looks at this complicated topic -- one that ropes in thorny and nuanced questions about race, history and fairness -- and adopts his very uncomplicated solution.

One fine day, executives all over the country will wake up and say, ''You know what? We're going to stop being crazy,'' and just return to what he calls American values.

Could it be any simpler?

Audio produced by Jack D'IsidoroAudio produced by Jack D'Isidoro

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/business/dei-robby-starbuck.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/business/dei-robby-starbuck.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Robby Starbuck, a former music video producer, in his home studio outside Nashville. Below, Mr. Starbuck moved to Tennessee from Los Angeles in 2018, expecting to live among like-minded conservatives. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC RYAN ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU6) This article appeared in print on page BU1, BU6, BU7.

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[***What a Harris Economy Could Bring to the Table***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJ9-NKT1-JBG3-62G3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Alan Rappeport

**Body**

As a presidential candidate in the past, the former California senator pushed for higher taxes and bigger housing investments.

At the first Democratic presidential debate in 2019, Kamala Harris, then a senator from California, unleashed a scathing critique of the Trump economy.

The future vice president billed President Donald J. Trump's tax cuts as a giveaway to the rich, argued that the booming stock market was leaving the middle class behind and warned that his reckless trade agenda was hurting farmers in the heartland.

''Frankly, this economy is not working for working people,'' Ms. Harris said. ''For too long the rules have been written in the favor of the people who have the most and not in favor of the people who work the most.''

As Ms. Harris prepares to potentially replace President Biden atop the Democratic ticket, she now faces the challenge of articulating her own vision for steering a U.S. economy that is still grappling with inflation while drawing sharp distinctions with Mr. Trump, who has promised more tax cuts and tariffs.

Ms. Harris has been an ardent defender for the White House's economic agenda during the Biden administration, promoting the benefits of legislation such as the American Rescue Plan of 2021 and the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022. But as an attorney general and a senator, she was at times more progressive than the president, pushing for universal health care while calling for more generous tax benefits for ***working-class*** Americans and paying for them with bigger tax increases on companies.

In recent weeks, Ms. Harris has embarked on an economic ''opportunity tour,'' making the case that wage increases have been outpacing inflation, that manufacturing jobs are growing and that Democrats have been fighting to forgive student loan debt. Those arguments now foreshadow the case she will be making to voters as she runs against Mr. Trump.

''Sometimes we get a bum rap as Democrats,'' Ms. Harris said at an event in San Francisco this month, adding, ''But we have also addressed longstanding issues that are obstacles to the creation of wealth.''

Here's a look at positions Ms. Harris has taken on the economy.

Taxes

As a presidential candidate, Ms. Harris proposed replacing Mr. Trump's 2017 tax cuts with a monthly refundable tax credit worth up to $500 for people earning less than $100,000. The policy, known as the LIFT the Middle Class Act, was unveiled in 2018 and aimed to address the rising cost of living by providing middle-class and working families with money to help pay for everyday expenses. She framed it as a way to close the wealth gap in the United States.

In 2019, Ms. Harris proposed increasing estate taxes on the wealthy to pay for a $300 billion plan to raise teacher salaries. In what was billed as the ''largest federal investment in teacher pay in U.S. history,'' the plan would have given the average teacher in America a $13,500 pay increase.

Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris did have some differences when vying for the Democratic nomination. Notably, Ms. Harris wanted to raise the corporate tax rate from 21 percent to 35 percent, which is higher than the 28 percent that Mr. Biden had proposed.

Housing

Last week, the Biden administration proposed a plan to compel corporate landlords to cap rent increases at 5 percent and called on Congress to back investments in more affordable housing units.

Ms. Harris made affordable housing a priority during her tenure in the Senate and her presidential campaign, but took a different approach. She proposed the Rent Relief Act, which would have provided refundable tax credits allowing renters who earn less than $100,000 to recoup housing costs in excess of 30 percent of their incomes.

To help the poorest, Ms. Harris also called for providing emergency relief funding for the homeless and for spending $100 billion in communities where people have traditionally been unable to get home loans because of discrimination.

Trade

During a Democratic primary debate in late 2019, Ms. Harris called Mr. Trump ''erratic'' on trade policy and said his tariff wars had hurt soybean farmers in Iowa, who faced foreign retaliation. Ms. Harris said she would be focused on bolstering American exports and declared, ''I am not a protectionist Democrat.''

When it came to China, Ms. Harris said Beijing needed to be held accountable for stealing intellectual property and dumping heavily subsidized exports into foreign markets.

Last week, Ms. Harris echoed her earlier criticism of Mr. Trump when discussing his plan to impose 10 percent tariffs on all imports into the United States. She said such a policy would inflate the cost of gas, groceries and clothing.

''His tariffs would increase the cost of everyday expenses for families,'' Ms. Harris said at an event in North Carolina.

Regulation

Ms. Harris, who served as California's attorney general from 2011 to 2017, has also focused heavily on consumer protection. In 2016, she threatened Uber with legal action if the company did not remove driverless cars from the state's roads.

After the 2008 financial crisis, she pulled California out of a national settlement with big banks, leveraging her power to wrest more money from major mortgage lenders. She later announced that California homeowners would receive $12 billion in mortgage relief under the settlement.

However, Ms. Harris has faced criticism for failing to prosecute OneWest Bank or its chief executive at the time, Steven T. Mnuchin, after California's Justice Department found that it had committed ''widespread misconduct'' in its foreclosure practices. Mr. Mnuchin went on to become Mr. Trump's Treasury secretary.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/kamala-harris-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/kamala-harris-economy.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A13.

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[***J.D. Vance Says He’ll Be Disappointed if Trump Doesn’t Pick Him for V.P.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBK-JTY1-DXY4-X0PV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**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:** Donald J. Trump’s increasingly theatrical selection process is entering its final phase, with his leading candidates participating in a series of Fox News interviews to make their case.

**Body**

Donald J. Trump’s increasingly theatrical selection process is entering its final phase, with his leading candidates participating in a series of Fox News interviews to make their case.

Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio has long been considered one of Donald J. Trump’s top running mate choices and worked as hard as anyone to win the job — raising money for the campaign, speaking with a seemingly endless stream of cable news reporters and even sitting in the Manhattan courtroom with the former president to demonstrate his support.

Now, as Mr. Trump’s increasingly theatrical selection process enters its final phase, Mr. Vance acknowledged Wednesday that he would feel a tinge of dejection if he were not the pick.

“I’m human, right?” Mr. Vance said when asked about that scenario in an interview on Fox News. “So when you know this thing is a possibility, if it doesn’t happen, there is certainly going to be a little bit of disappointment.”

Asked earlier in the interview if he was on a short-list of candidates, Mr. Vance said he was probably one of several contenders and conveyed nonchalance at the ultimate outcome. “They’ll ask me if they ask me, and if they don’t that’s fine,” he said.

Mr. Trump has said he would announce his pick closer to the Republican National Convention next month, but his campaign has fed speculation that an announcement could happen as soon as this week.

Mr. Vance and other top contenders for the job, including Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota and Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, have been invited to join Mr. Trump in Atlanta on Thursday for the former president’s first debate this year with President Biden, campaign aides said. Mr. Vance’s interview is the first of a series announced by Fox News on Tuesday that will feature a handful of the leading prospects. Mr. Burgum and Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina will also appear in the coming days to essentially pitch themselves to viewers on their qualifications to be vice president, alongside their significant others.

Mr. Vance and his wife, Usha, sat for an interview at their home in Ohio. When asked about what issue she may focus on if she became “second lady,” Ms. Vance laughed off the question, saying it was “getting a little ahead of ourselves there.”

She described the experience of her husband’s first campaign less than two years ago as a shock.

“It was so different than anything we had ever done before,” Ms. Vance said. “But it was an adventure, and so I guess the way that I’d put it is I’m not raring to change anything about our lives right now. But I believe in J.D. and I love him. So we’ll just sort of see what happens with our lives. We’re open.”

Asked about the possibility of debating Vice President Kamala Harris, a former prosecutor, Mr. Vance joked that he would be well prepared after being married to Ms. Vance, a former clerk for Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts.

“I have to debate this litigator all the time, so I think I’d do OK there,” he said.

Mr. Vance said he would push for more manufacturing jobs, more school choice and immigration policy that focused on deportations and building a wall along the southern border.

He said Democrats often attacked Republicans as insensitive to Black voters and the poor, but that “they really can’t pull that with me, right, because I grew up in a poor family, and I was raised in a ***working-class*** community.”

“I do think there is something just about my biography that makes it a little bit harder for these guys to attack me,” he said.

Michael M. Grynbaum contributed reporting.

Michael M. Grynbaum contributed reporting.

This article appeared in print on page A20.

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[***The New Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CK0-6CJ1-JBG3-617R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2024 Friday 06:33 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 2015 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:** We explain three key points about the coming election.

**Body**

We explain three key points about the coming election.

With 101 days until Election Day, I want to use today’s newsletter to frame the coming campaign. No doubt, more surprises lie ahead. But there is now enough stability — and enough polling since President Biden’s exit — to make three points about the race.

1. Trump’s lead

Donald Trump has led the 2024 race all year, and he leads Kamala Harris today.

In [*The Times’s national polling average*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), Trump is ahead of Harris by one point, 47 percent to 46 percent. That’s narrower than Trump’s recent lead over Biden, but similar to Trump’s lead over Biden before last month’s debate, [*as my colleague Nate Cohn points out*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). The race has in some ways reset to where it was.

There are also a couple of important differences. Harris is a far stronger campaigner than Biden. She’s a fiery, skilled speaker who can describe her own agenda and make the case against Trump in ways that Biden could not. She has more potential to make gains than Biden did.

That said, polls point to a potential weakness, too: Harris appears to be a worse fit with the Electoral College than Biden. She is stronger among younger voters and voters of color but weaker with older voters and white ***working-class*** voters. Because swing states are disproportionately old, white and ***working class***, Harris is likelier to win the popular vote and lose the election than Biden was.

Think of it this way: It’s a bad trade for a Democrat to win more votes in California and fewer in Pennsylvania. As a result, Trump’s narrow national lead is probably a bit stronger than it looks.

2. Trump’s focus

Trump doesn’t seem to be focused on swing voters.

His speech at the Republican convention started effectively, political analysts thought. He told the story of having almost been murdered five days earlier. He thanked Secret Service agents and honored Corey Comperatore, the former fire chief killed that day. It was a version of Trump that he rarely projects.

Then he returned to the more familiar version — the one that Trump’s fans adore and that most Americans don’t. He focused on himself. He lashed out. He lied. He rambled through the longest convention acceptance speech on record.

“You read a lot of stuff about what this guy says, but to actually sit down and hear it and sit through it, it was just insane to me,” Arnel Ramos, 21, a food service worker in Milwaukee who is an undecided voter, [*told The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). “It made me uncomfortable,” she said. In the days since the convention, Trump has kept it up.

Republicans are nervous he is squandering a chance to win over Americans who are open to supporting him. These voters liked the pre-Covid Trump economy, and they don’t like that inflation and immigration surged under Biden. “The 2024 election is Donald Trump’s to lose, and he may yet manage it,” The Wall Street Journal editorial board [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

3. Harris’s focus

So far, Harris doesn’t seem focused on swing voters, either.

Like Biden before her, Harris has organized her initial campaign message around Trump. She emphasizes that she was a prosecutor, and that he is a convict. At a Wisconsin rally this week, she offered a contrast between “freedom, compassion and rule of law” and “chaos, fear and hate.” In an ad released yesterday, called “We Choose Freedom,” she shows Trump’s mug shot and headlines about his conviction. She is echoing Biden’s argument that the future of democracy is at stake.

But polls have repeatedly shown that this message resonates more with committed Democrats than swing voters. Swing voters care more about pocketbook issues.

Blueprint, a Democratic polling group, [*tested 15 potential Harris messages*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). The one that voters liked best began, “Vice President Harris understands the struggles of working families.” It went on to say that she would be tough on corporate price gouging and that she supported an “all of the above” energy policy to lower gas prices. The worst-performing message began, “Vice President Harris is a champion of American democracy.”

A Times/Siena College poll found a similar pattern. Look at the differences between the issues that matter most to Democrats and to undecided voters:

Abortion’s low rank in the poll is also notable. Harris has signaled that she will try to increase the issue’s salience, and that approach could win over some swing voters. But it may not be as easy as Democrats hope. In the 2022 midterms, after Roe fell, not a single incumbent Republican governor or senator lost re-election.

Other evidence also points to the primacy of economic issues. There are seven battleground Senate races this year — in Arizona, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and elsewhere — where the Democratic candidates have been running ahead of Biden. All seven are offering populist messages focused on pocketbook issues. None talk much about democracy. To see the difference yourself, [*you can watch their ads here*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Harris talks about economic issues, to be sure. (Speaking to a teachers’ union yesterday, she accused Trump of favoring trickle-down economics and union busting.) But these issues remain secondary. I’ll be curious to see whether she can make the freedom-versus-chaos argument more effectively than Biden did — or whether she starts sounding more like those Senate candidates.

She will have an opportunity that Trump does not. Her convention, and the attention that comes with it, is still ahead. It starts Aug. 19.

A programming note: I won’t be writing this newsletter frequently between now and the convention. You’ll be in good hands with my colleagues.

More on the election

* Barack Obama [*endorsed Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

1. Harris narrowed the gap against Trump to one point in a head-to-head matchup, the latest Times/Siena College poll found. Earlier this month, Biden trailed by six points. [*Read more poll analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. Now facing Harris, Trump [*changed his commitment*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) to a debate in September.
3. Americans may not agree on much, but they agree Biden made the right decision to withdraw. [*There is high consensus in polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
4. Usha Vance, JD Vance’s wife, is an accomplished, Yale-educated lawyer who has left her job to become a high-profile political spouse. [*Read more about her*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
5. The next president is poised to inherit [*a strong economy, low inflation and lower interest rates*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). G.D.P. grew [*faster than expected*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) this spring.

THE LATEST NEWS

Trump Shooting

* [*A Times analysis suggests it was a bullet*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)that hit Trump during his attempted assassination, not debris.

1. People have speculated about what hit him because his campaign has not released official medical reports, and his current physician has not weighed in.

Drug Cartels

* The U.S. arrested two of the world’s [*most wanted drug traffickers*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) and accused them of being responsible for the growing presence of fentanyl in the country.

1. They were leaders of the Sinaloa Cartel, one of the dominant criminal organizations in Mexico. One was the son of El Chapo. [*Read more about the cartel*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Arson in France

* [*Arson disrupted service*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)on three of France’s four main high-speed train lines, the national railway company said.

1. The attacks caused travel chaos on the day of the Olympics’ opening ceremony. Many trains were canceled, and delays are expected into the weekend.

Politics

* Gov. Gavin Newsom ordered California officials to [*dismantle homeless encampments*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). The Supreme Court recently gave governments greater authority to do so.

1. The Senate [*advanced bipartisan legislation*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) to strengthen privacy protections for minors online.
2. Justice Elena Kagan called for a way to enforce the Supreme Court’s ethics code, [*The Washington Post reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
3. Jennifer Wexton, a House Democrat who has a neurological disorder, spoke about disability rights [*using an A.I. device that mimics her voice*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Israel-Hamas War

* Biden welcomed Benjamin Netanyahu to the White House and met with relatives of Hamas-held hostages.

1. Harris, [*after meeting with Netanyahu*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), expressed support for Israel but said she would “not be silent” about Palestinians’ plight. “We cannot allow ourselves to become numb to the suffering,” she said.
2. Earlier yesterday, Harris criticized pro-Palestinian protesters who burned flags and committed vandalism during Netanyahu’s speech to Congress, calling their actions [*unpatriotic, pro-Hamas and abhorrent*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
3. Trump said Israel [*must end the war quickly*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), saying it was “getting decimated” by negative publicity. He’s set to meet with Netanyahu today.
4. The Israeli military said it had [*retrieved the bodies of five Israelis*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) held in Gaza from a tunnel in an area it previously designated as a humanitarian zone for Palestinian civilians.
5. Martin Indyk, who served as Bill Clinton’s ambassador to Israel and worked with the Biden administration to try to normalize relations between Israel and Saudi Arabia, [*died at 73*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

International

* Sudan [*is at risk of famine*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), but the military has refused to let U.N. aid convoys through a border crossing.

1. The Russian defense minister called the U.S. defense secretary to [*claim that Ukraine was plotting an attack on Russia*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) with America’s blessing. The U.S. denied it.
2. A U.S. grand jury [*charged a North Korean man*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) with hacking into American military computers to steal data.

Other Big Stories

* The Park fire in Northern California [*became the state’s largest*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) so far this year. [*Wildfire smoke*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) from the West reached the Northeast, lowering air quality.

1. New York City is cracking down on landlords who are behind on water bills. One family with medical conditions [*got a bill for $58,000*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. Southwest Airlines will end its 50-year policy of letting passengers [*choose their seats when they board*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Opinions

Venezuela’s president needs to accept the people’s will and negotiate [*a peaceful transition of power*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), María Corina Machado, the opposition leader, writes.

Armando Iannucci, who created the political satire “Veep,” is worried — not about Harris, but about [*politics coming to resemble entertainment*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Here’s a column by Michelle Goldberg on [*Vance’s father figures*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

MORNING READS

0.006 m.p.h.: While Olympians gather in Paris, an English village played host to its own competitors: [*dozens of garden snails*](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. (We apologize that yesterday’s link to this story didn’t work.)

Modern Love: A letter from the past (“I’m reckless for you”) made her [*regret things hadn’t worked*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Lives Lived: Sylvain Saudan, known as the “skier of the impossible,” inspired a generation of extreme skiers with his audacious, life-threatening descents of the world’s steepest and least accessible slopes. He [*died at 87*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

SPORTS

Soccer: Mallory Swanson and Trinity Rodman helped [*the U.S. women’s team beat Zambia 3-0*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) to open the Olympics.

Spying scandal: Canada removed the head coach of its women’s soccer team from the Olympics over accusations about [*using drones to watch rivals’ practice sessions*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

M.L.B.: The San Diego Padres’ right-hander Dylan Cease threw the [*second no-hitter in the franchise’s history*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), beating the Washington Nationals 3-0.

ARTS AND IDEAS

After years of trends encouraging people to buy things, some TikTok users are telling followers to embrace minimalism. They’re calling it “[*underconsumption core*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing),” the latest move away from influencer culture. Instead of pristine fridge shelves, makeup bags with the latest products and fashion fads, users are sharing their simplified closets and minimal makeup collections.

More on culture

* Mattel [*unveiled Blind Barbie*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), part of the toymaker’s effort to be more inclusive.

1. Stephen Colbert mocked Trump for [*recycling insults*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Eat trifle, [*the dessert of the summer*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Roast [*paprika chicken with potatoes*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Pick the best drugstore [*makeup and skin care products*](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 delight, delighted, highlighted and lighted.

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: Donald Trump in Michigan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2024

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[***What Ever Happened to the Lady Jaguars?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGR-S8G1-DXY4-X2SS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 24, 2024 Sunday 14:27 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 5574 words

**Byline:** John Branch and Ruth Fremson, John Branch writes feature stories on a wide swath of topics, including sports, climate and politics. He is based in California.

**Highlight:** When we met them a dozen years ago, they were teenagers in trouble, playing for a basketball team that always lost. Did they find a way to win at life?

**Body**

Her name is Hannah. When I met her more than a decade ago, she was a wide-eyed and curious seventh grader with church-pew manners. She was chatty and clingy, a dreamer with a trusting heart. She played with dolls and sang in a choir. She wanted to be a veterinarian and live in a mansion.

Hannah came from a home broken by poverty and addiction. She found comfort at Carroll Academy, a court-run day school in West Tennessee for teens in trouble. The Lady Jaguars basketball team that Hannah played on was in the middle of a [*312-game losing streak*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/01/sports/basketball/carroll-academy.html), stretching over 12 years, which is why I first went to Carroll Academy. She was the youngest player that season.

Now it was early 2023. The evening sky darkened over Carroll County Jail. I was in the parking lot. A familiar voice was on the phone from the other side of the thick walls.

It was Hannah, now 24, addicted to meth, caught in a sting operation a few weeks earlier.

Oh, Hannah. Is that you?

“Hi, Mr. John,” Hannah said. I recognized her honeyed, lilting voice instantly. It might have been the only thing that hadn’t changed since she was a girl. I rubbed one hand on my forehead. The other held the phone.

“You OK?” I asked.

Hannah was one of nine girls The New York Times had featured in a five-part series in 2012, and then in a follow-up series a year later. The stories were less about basketball than about growing up in a part of America often hidden in the shadows, culturally and economically.

I could still rattle off all their names: Hannah. Summer. Miranda. Alleyah. Leslee. Kiana. Constance. Jenna. Destiny.

Most of them had been birthed into tough luck and raised in the quicksand of rural poverty. Few had a two-parent household or a reliable address. Most had firsthand views of joblessness and drug addiction. Some had parents in jail.

As teens, they were fragile, awkward, wounded, resilient, optimistic. They were young enough to have dreams, modest ones, mostly of attaining something marginally better than what they were living.

The last lines of my final article in the 2012 series had left their future open, untold.

“A cold, late-winter wind blew, and the girls rushed to get into the warmth of awaiting cars, back into a life without a basketball team,” I wrote. “In a moment, it seemed, they were scattered like leaves, and it was impossible to know just where they would be blown.”

Was it?

No stories in my career have sloshed around my head as persistently as those about the Lady Jaguars. I have tried to keep tabs of their lives, mostly through the thin strands and curated footprints of social media.

I have thought of the persistent myth that people in the United States can rise above their inherited lot through dedication and hard work. The more clinical truth is that most of us are echoes of our parents, winners and losers of a genetic, economic and even geographic lottery system.

For a decade, I wondered about the Lady Jaguars. I worried for them. I wanted to know how the wind had scattered them. Over the past two years, the photographer Ruth Fremson and I reconnected with all nine of them. Seven agreed to open their current lives to us.

Mostly, we wanted to ask them all the same question I had asked Hannah: Are you OK?

Through the weak phone connection from inside the jail, Hannah’s voice was tinged with optimism and no-excuses frankness. Much as she had felt safer at Carroll Academy than at home as a girl, she felt safer in jail than she did on the streets. She had been locked up for weeks but had not heard from friends or family. I was the first to visit her, she said.

“I want to grow up,” she told me. “I want to own my own car, buy my own house, go to college. I want to have a normal life.”

I sighed. I promised to stay in touch. I hung up and went searching for more.

HANNAH: ‘I wanted to feel like somebody cared’

Voices are time capsules. So many years can pass, so many things can change — faces, places, personalities — but somehow people sound the same.

Hannah’s sugared voice through the jailhouse phone. Summer’s easygoing cadence in her chaotic living room. Alleyah’s Southern accent, laced with sass and confidence. Kiana’s fast-talking determination, Destiny’s I-gotta-do-better sheepishness. Even Miranda’s memorable laugh, through the screen door, saying to come on in.

The y’alls and dropped g’s, the heavy sighs and the girlish giggles were still there. The words had harder edges. Some of the sentences were weighted with fatigue. But I recognized the voices.

“Welcome to McDonald’s. How may I help you today?”

There she was again. Hannah, through the drive-through speaker, a few months removed from jail. I ordered a shake and pulled up to the window.

Hannah smiled. Her light-brown hair, long and flowing as a teen, had been shaved in jail because of a lice outbreak; now it had grown back to a short bob. Her arms were decorated with amateur tattoos, some unfinished, some she had done herself.

She had been released straight into a supervised recovery program. Her support system included a probation officer, a drug counselor and a women’s shelter in a town two hours from where she grew up. “Every storm runs out of rain,” a note on the house’s bulletin board read.

“I always just wanted to feel like somebody cared,” Hannah said. “That they know about me and cared that I existed.”

Hannah was 12 when she arrived at Carroll Academy after she had admitted stealing her mother’s prescription pain pills and taking them to school. It was a lie, authorities later learned, conceived by Hannah’s father, so that he could take the pills and avoid the wrath of his wife. Soon, the family dissolved and Hannah was bouncing from home to home, one relative to another. That’s when our stories published. I soon lost track of her.

I now know that she began using crystal meth at 18. She has three felonies on her record — two for meth and one for stealing a truck — and a litany of probation violations. They’re long stories. The last time she saw her father, a few years ago, she sold him drugs, she said.

“Ain’t nobody’s fault but mine,” she said.

Hannah felt lucky. She was no longer angry at the young man who set her up during the meth sting. He had probably saved her life. No more hiding from arrest warrants and probation violations. No more dodging dealers who wanted to kill her for not repaying debts. No more running from abusive men. No more sleeping under the bridge near downtown.

Hannah’s treatment required her to attend at least five substance-abuse meetings a week — Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous and the like. The women’s shelter had strict rules, household chores and routine drug tests. She graduated to another house, to a bit more freedom. Eventually she could get a phone. With her first paycheck, she and I went to Walmart and picked one out. Within a week, the house mother had taken it away from her for misusing it.

At McDonald’s this spring, Hannah got a raise, to $12 per hour, and felt rich. She paid $124 a month in rent at the women’s shelter, and tried to set aside $100 a paycheck to pay off the $18,000 in court fees and fines she owed. Hannah studied for high school equivalency exams, knowing a diploma could unlock other job opportunities. She applied to work as a receptionist and was told that she was a great fit, except for the felonies.

In early November, she got a new job, cleaning rooms at a nursing home. “LOL I love it,” she texted.

More than anything, she was pleased to have friends and mentors, a tight community of women in recovery.

“I love you,” the women said to one another when they said goodbye each day.

Hannah turned and smiled after one such exchange. “That’s nice to hear,” she whispered to me.

Her belongings fit into three small boxes. Hannah spent long periods noticing things she had taken for granted: The sky. Trees. People shuffling through everyday lives.

“I like how normal I feel,” she said.

There were dark moments when Hannah came close to throwing it away again for one more high. But then she thought of jail. Of the house. Of the job. Of the meetings. Of the people she would disappoint — her housemates, her counselor, even the people at Carroll Academy who had embraced her as a teen. And she still didn’t want to let down her parents.

People around town soon knew Hannah from the meetings and from McDonald’s. Sometimes the cars stacked up as people made small talk with her at the drive-through window. People were happy to see her. She made their day.

When a man pulled up and realized that he didn’t have enough change for a cup of coffee, Hannah paid for him. Later, at Walmart, she bought $30 worth of clothes — not for her, but for a homeless man who hangs around McDonald’s.

She had nothing. She had everything.

ALLEYAH: ‘Everything’s going to be OK’

Alleyah sat in her bedroom, in a bland, suburban house in Florida, a few miles from the Atlantic coast. The bedroom looked a lot like the one that she had as a teenager in Tennessee — twin bed, colored lights, frilly accents. She felt lucky to have gotten from there to here.

“I’m really proud of myself,” she said.

The Florida house was a recovery residence similar to Hannah’s, but Alleyah seemed to be a year or so farther on the arc to recovery. She had been promoted to house mom, and her duties included administering drug and breathalyzer tests to housemates.

When we reconnected in person, Alleyah had just finished an eight-hour shift as a customer service representative for a moving company. Her Mazda sedan was parked in the driveway. The car’s starter was connected to a breathalyzer, the consequence of a D.U.I. in 2019. An app on her phone said she had been sober for 464 days. She wore her sobriety date on a beaded bracelet.

Alleyah had been sent to Carroll Academy at 13. I thought she was hilarious, a wisp of a girl with streetwise attitude and a broad smile. In 2013, I called her “a tiny dynamo of head-shaking self-destruction.” She could barely hoist a basketball to the rim her first year, but was point guard the second. She wanted to be a cosmetologist.

I remembered her single father telling me how worried he was about bad influences — boys, booze, drugs — that lingered outside their door. He wanted Alleyah to grow up and leave their town. “There’s better stuff out there if she can just get away,” he said.

Weeks later, at 15, Alleyah failed a drug test and was ordered to a rehab center in Memphis, two hours from home. She ran away and kept running, fueled by booze and Xanax. Scared to fly, she took a bus to Florida, where she heard she could do rehab in places that let people smoke pot.

She bounced from one place to another, most of them happy to accept her and her insurance money. People in the know call it the “Florida shuffle.”

She survived a sexual assault that she would rather not discuss. Exhausted and desperate, she got connected to Karlyn McAleer, a woman in her 30s recovering from addiction, who owns and operates Courage Houses, including three recovery residences for women.

“I kind of got a head’s up about her, a girl who has been bouncing through the ‘Florida shuffle,’” Karlyn said. She sat next to Alleyah on the porch. “Then I meet her, and she’s this sweet little Southern thing. I could see I was going to need to kick her in the butt. She was lazy. She needed motivation.”

“I did,” Alleyah said, nodding.

“She’s been through a lot of personalities here, but she’s always been kind,” Karlyn said. “She doesn’t like confrontation. Now she’s able to speak up for herself.”

There was no timeline for re-entering the world without the guardrails of a recovery residence. That’s the thing with all of the Lady Jaguars. In childhood, despite the problems they faced, they had scaffolding and safety nets, like Carroll Academy. As adults, on their own, they have to find support in unfamiliar places — through jobs or hobbies, at halfway houses or rehab meetings, maybe with a reliable significant other. Failing is more real now, in ways they didn’t fathom as teens.

“The thought of leaving here scares the hell out of me,” Alleyah said.

“When it comes time to leave, it’ll feel right,” Karlyn told her.

“Yeah,” Alleyah said, mostly to herself. She looked to the distance. “It’ll feel right.”

Alleyah returned to Tennessee for a few days to attend her grandmother’s funeral. She went back to the housing project where her father still lives, where she still has a bedroom, where the faces in the neighborhood look familiar, but older.

She felt anxious. Too many memories. Too many temptations. Too many ways to upend her simple dreams: a car, a job, a place to live, a family, someday. It can all feel so hard.

Alleyah pondered what she would tell her 15-year-old self. She cried.

“I would tell her that everything’s going to be OK,” she said.

She recently began hunting for her own apartment. This winter, she thinks, she’ll be ready to live on her own.

CARROLL ACADEMY: ‘They can’t see past the tree line’

For 30 years, Carroll Academy has snared teens before they slip into society’s cracks. A juvenile court judge assigns them there, mostly for bad behavior or chronic truancy, until they earn their way back to what the kids call “regular” school. That might take a few months, even a year or two. Three of the nine former Lady Jaguars graduated from Carroll Academy.

The idea is to nurture them with tough love and nudge them to adulthood — then release them, like fish in a river.

“We can’t be there to hold their hands forever,” Randy Hatch, Carroll Academy’s founding director and longtime basketball coach, now retired, told me this year.

Most girls at Carroll Academy are placed on the basketball team “to give their worlds a bit of structure and to teach them about teamwork and trusting others,” as I wrote in 2012. Many of them have no experience playing basketball, and they lose most games in a rout. The 2012 team extended the program’s losing streak to 184.

Carroll Academy serves five rural counties, dotted by small towns strung together by quiet roads that cut over rolling hills of cotton fields and forests. Midway between Nashville and Memphis, the region’s demographics skew older, whiter, poorer and less educated than the state’s averages.

In the 1990s especially, the area was hollowed out by the shuttering of manufacturing plants. Most residents were ***working class*** and deeply rooted, without the wherewithal to chase jobs elsewhere. Most of the 2012 Lady Jaguars were born into these families.

Back then, Hatch said that the children of Carroll Academy were hampered, in part, by a lack of imagination for a better life. “They can’t see past the tree line,” was how he put it to me.

It’s 2024. Plants have opened again and employers are desperate for workers. But not enough applicants can pass the drug screening, and many won’t be hired because of felony records.

And there is not a culture of work. Some of the Lady Jags had never seen parents with a steady job. “They’ve never seen someone who had to set an alarm clock,” Hatch said.

Drugs are a through line. Waves of them have crashed into communities like these in recent decades — crack, heroin, opioids, now fentanyl, taking shifts filling worlds of tedium and anxiety.

But methamphetamine is the constant, hiding in the hollers and bridging generations. “Hillbilly cocaine,” a Carroll Academy counselor called it, as inextricable from the landscape as summer humidity. Several of the Lady Jaguars from 2012 have fought meth addictions as young adults, just as their parents did — or continue to do.

KIANA, CONSTANCE, MIRANDA: Better lives for their children

Most of the former Lady Jaguars live day to day, month to month. Few have secure jobs or anything like a career. They don’t own houses. They don’t have saving accounts, retirement plans or big inheritances. Few have traveled far, and several have never seen the ocean. I remember how surprised I was in 2012 when I learned during a field trip to Memphis that some of the girls had never been on an escalator. Today, most haven’t been on an airplane. I don’t know that any of them voted in the recent elections; Hannah, as a felon, could not, by Tennessee law.

But none of them complained, at least to me. They did not blame others for their troubles. Every one of them felt that she was in a better place now than ever.

I marveled at Kiana’s optimistic resilience. Raised by a single father struggling with addiction, she found relative stability over two years at Carroll Academy before she got pregnant and dropped out of high school. As a jobless mother, she began using meth and opioids, along with a boyfriend named Matthew. They broke into houses to feed their addictions. They had more children.

An overdose episode — Kiana bolted barefoot from their rural home and went missing overnight in the woods — brought police attention and led to charges for child endangerment. Kiana and Matthew went to jail, then rehabilitation, separately. The four children, two girls and two boys, were sent to foster care.

Kiana told me their story last year as she pulled from a vape pen, kiwi-strawberry flavor. The family was back together, and Kiana and Matthew said that they had been sober for several years. Matthew had a job at a Walmart, working in the meat and produce departments. He set an alarm and reported at 4 a.m.

“I would have died without my kids,” Kiana said. “They’re what keeps me going.”

Kiana is one of the five former Lady Jaguars with children. Adding kids to their lives could have been disastrous for young women living in rudderless malaise. But some found motherhood to be an unexpected motivator — if not immediately — to strive for something more than what they had.

Kiana’s biggest worry was losing custody of her children again. The family’s house was clean. There was food in the refrigerator and children’s artwork on the walls. Kiana and Matthew had purchased a used truck to replace the dead one out front. Kiana studied for high-school equivalency tests and worked as a clerk at an AutoZone.

“We made it,” Kiana said. “At least this far.”

Then she and Matthew broke up. The pup-tent structure of a shared life collapsed. Kiana moved out. She often posts about her struggles on Facebook — her determination to stay sober, to fight for her kids, to never go backward.

At Halloween, she dressed her kids in costumes and took them to the town square to trick-or-treat. “The kids had a blast!” she wrote on Facebook.

You can’t choose your parents, I thought to myself, but you can choose how to parent.

I was curious to find Miranda, now living in Kentucky. The last time I saw her, she was newly graduated with a newborn daughter. Akyia was now 11, a bright sixth grader, sitting politely on the same sofa Miranda had as a child. Akyia listened carefully as Miranda detailed her life since Carroll Academy.

“Once you get out on your own, it’s not rainbows and ice cream,” Miranda said.

On an end table next to a Bible was a painted sign that read, “Grow through what you go through.” Miranda wanted Akyia to hear everything.

Miranda, 30, is a recovering alcoholic. She makes money cleaning houses, but Jesus is her calling. She has the same giggle from childhood, but speaks in the cadence of a preacher, spinning stories of being saved and saving strangers — at Food Giant, Walmart, the gas station, wherever she feels a person needs her intervention. She speaks openly about her alcohol and drug use, her D.U.I. and arrests for drug possession, her suicide attempts, her bouts of loneliness and feelings of abandonment.

“I’ve never felt so loved,” she said. “I’ve never felt so worthy.”

She looked at Akyia. Eleven years earlier, a crib had been set up in Miranda’s bedroom in her single mother’s house, under a poster of Justin Bieber. Now Miranda was the single mother, and that baby was headed to middle school. Time marches and echoes.

But Miranda believes that Akyia will not repeat her mistakes and experience because she will learn from them. Miranda will see to it, she said, by staying close. She smiled at her daughter.

“She’s a better version of me,” Miranda said.

Two years ago, they returned home from a Christmas play to find a neighbor on the porch, urging Miranda to drag a mattress into the utility closet and get underneath it.

Moments later, a massive tornado tore through the roof of the house. It ripped through a candle factory next door and killed more than 50 people and injured hundreds of others across several counties.

In the closet, everything went deafening and black. Then it went still and quiet. A neighbor banged on the door. “The hardest thing I ever did was let go of my daughter’s hand,” Miranda said.

I thought of Constance, whose three young children were regular parts of her Facebook posts. Over burgers, her family in tow, Constance cheerfully described her life — the familiar act of pinching pennies while juggling jobs and day care and a son with autism.

As a teen, Constance’s issue was unruly behavior, not drugs or alcohol, and she was a steady presence on the Lady Jaguars. She spent a few post-school years in the party orbit of some of her former teammates, but pulled herself away. She had support from extended family, bounced from job to job, and got into a serious relationship.

Now she and her husband, Elijah, who was working to become a licensed barber, were building a family. The two dreamed of buying a house in the next few years, but it still felt improbable. Constance volunteered at her kids’ school and entered their toddler-aged girls in beauty pageants. Elijah coached their soccer and basketball teams.

This summer, Constance learned that she was pregnant with her fourth child, due by year’s end. The gender-reveal party culminated in an explosion of blue powder. Elijah did a cartwheel and backflip in celebration.

DESTINY: ‘I am not my past’

The hardest Lady Jaguar to find was Destiny. She was the best player on the team in 2012, a rough-edged senior with a quick dribble and a good 3-point shot. On a mural at Carroll Academy, based on one of Ruth’s photographs from the 2012 series, Destiny is frozen in time, shooting a jumper with one person in the bleachers behind her — her grandmother, sometimes the only person, among all the families of the Lady Jaguars, who came to watch the games.

Destiny was living on the fringes when I last saw her in 2013. Then I lost track of her.

On a crisp afternoon this past January, Ruth and I found her at Carroll County Jail, the same place where I had reunited with Hannah. Destiny stood before us, wearing jail clothes. She smiled sheepishly. She seemed happy to see us.

Destiny had lost count of how many times she had been jailed over the years, mostly for minor drug offenses and probation violations. This time, she had been arrested on an assault charge and would spend 56 days in jail.

For years, Destiny hid in the shadows, on the streets, trying to live undetected. Alleyah and Hannah had done the same. Once they had rap sheets, they avoided public places and police officers, job applications and rental agreements — anyone or anything that might attract the authorities.

What struck me most was realizing that no one was looking that hard for them. As children, they were worth rescuing. As adults, they were considered barely worth finding.

Weeks later, out of jail and wearing donated clothes, Destiny sat across from me in a restaurant booth. She laughed at memories of playing for the Lady Jaguars. She hated Carroll Academy at the time but appreciated it now — a common sentiment. “They cared,” she said. She vowed to start applying the lessons, a delayed effect like a slow-release pill. She spoke as if she had been reading inspirational posters.

“I’m not going to let my mistakes dictate what my future holds,” she said. “I am not my past.”

She thought for a moment. “I’m not going to be what people think I am,” she said.

She wanted to move to Florida, away from bad influences and familiar cops and judges. She needed a fresh start in a new place. I thought of Alleyah, who happened to be in that same mural at Carroll Academy, frozen in time, watching Destiny take a shot.

“I want to go somewhere different, where nobody knows me,” Destiny said. A few months later, she moved into a rented house a few miles from where she grew up.

SUMMER: ‘You’ve got to break the cycle’

Her name is Summer, which fits her, carefree as a songbird. In 2012, she was a senior at Carroll Academy, a sweet-souled girl behind a sharp tongue and a tough exterior, admired by her younger teammates. She had a baby boy and a history of drug use, fighting and truancy. Behind closed doors, she cried as she told me the story of her young life.

She grew up playing soccer and softball, taking ballet lessons and competing in beauty pageants. She dreamed of joining the Air Force and going to college. Then she found trouble.

“Bad decisions, good intentions,” she told me when she was 17. That became a headline on one of the stories. But something else she said had stayed with me, too.

“I never blame anyone else for the choices I make,” Summer said in 2012. “But I do think if I was in a better environment, I’d be a better person.”

Now Summer was 30. She sat on a sofa in a three-bedroom rental house she shared with her longtime boyfriend, Junior, raising seven children. The living room was a swirl of kids and bleating screens.

“I’m in a much better spot than I’ve ever been,” Summer said. Her singsong lilt has not changed through it all.

Summer grew up fast, and it might have saved her. She bowed out of the toxic party scene after having a couple of kids and with Junior’s steadying influence. He is the father of the last six children, with a job at a factory that makes motor parts for cars.

He and Summer lived on the same street where Junior grew up, across from where Summer’s mother was raised. They paid $450 a month in rent. There was a trampoline in the yard, weeds in the rain gutter and, inexplicably, a pair of socks on the roof. Toys cluttered the porch, but inside was neat. School artwork and photos hung on the walls. The large TV was usually on, with at least one child staring at it.

I thought of all the homes where I had sat with Summer and DeMarion, her first baby — the trailer not far from here, the house outside town, her grandmother’s cabin that burned down.

Now she had something for her kids that she never had as a girl: stability and a steady address.

“You’ve got to break the cycle,” Summer said. “You’ve got to be parents who think ‘I don’t want the same thing for my kids.’”

Summer has always had a natural calm, on the basketball court at Carroll Academy and now in the madness of a crowded house. On a Friday in May, a birthday party for two of the kids was starting in an hour. She had things to cook and party favors to make. She sat and chatted.

I had told her about Hannah, about how when I went looking for her, I found her in jail.

“Really?” Summer said. She sounded surprised, but just a little. “She was so sweet and innocent.”

The front door swung open. Kids ran in, others ran out, like hockey players trading shifts. Summer noticed Junior outside holding a hose.

“Why is he giving the dog a bath? It’s going to rain,” she said, mostly to herself.

Junior walked in. “Your daughter’s literally playing in the mud,” he said. KaMyra, 4, had been inside a moment earlier.

“You’re literally out there with her,” Summer said. She shrugged. “She’s got to change, anyway.”

Summer talked about her everyday life — getting kids to schools and sports, KaMyra’s upcoming beauty pageant, building a float for the town’s annual fish fry, staying up at night taking online college courses. Summer hoped to be a counselor, helping kids like she used to be.

She wanted to find a bigger house, maybe through Habitat for Humanity. (This fall, the family moved into a four-bedroom, two-bath house. “Finally!” she texted me.) She had recently turned 30. The family celebrated at Texas Roadhouse, and Junior gave Summer a necklace with pink rhinestones.

They took family vacations, a slice of life I didn’t hear from other Lady Jaguars. They had just been in Gatlinburg, Tenn., and they had vacationed on Florida’s Gulf Coast the year before. Summer showed me photos.

Her children, pining for attention, kept interrupting. “Get out of grown people’s conversations,” Summer said. The baby, crawling on the floor, got Summer’s attention with a giggle. “You’re over here having a ball, ain’t you?”

Soon everyone was off to the recreation center. Summer and Junior had rented the gym for $15 an hour. Banners were hung. Cupcakes, chips and homemade sandwiches were laid out on folding tables. Family and friends arrived.

Adults sat in clusters, talking, as children chased each other and played games. Nyl King, celebrating his birthday, rode his new bicycle. It had a helium-filled No. 8 tethered to the seat.

I didn’t want to overstay my welcome. I thanked Summer for inviting me to the party and for letting us back into her life. I thought of the end of the last story in 2012. Scattered like leaves. Impossible to know where they would be blown. I headed for the door, toward home.

Summer held her baby and smiled. She liked her life. She was proud of it.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

In 2012 and 2013, John Branch and Ruth Fremson reported on the girls of Carroll Academy in West Tennessee. To provide this update, they made multiple trips to Tennessee, and also traveled to Florida and Kentucky. Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

PHOTOS: Top photograph: Destiny, Summer and other Lady Jaguars teammates leaving the Carroll Academy gym in 2012. Bottom: Summer and some of her children outside their home in 2024. (F1); 2013: Hannah came from a home broken by poverty and addiction. She found comfort in Carroll Academy and the Lady Jaguars basketball team. (F2); 2024: After years on the streets and following a meth bust, Hannah was released into a supervised recovery program and got a job. She feels lucky.; 2012 &amp; 2013 From left: Destiny was the team’s high scorer and best player, with a good 3-point shot; Summer had been a senior, a 17-year-old mom and the team’s queen bee; Alleyah, at right, was the sassy sprite of a girl from the projects.; 2024: From left: Destiny has spent time living on the streets and in jail, and was looking for a fresh start; Summer has seven children now, six of them with her partner, Junior; Alleyah found serenity at a recovery residence in Florida. (F2-F3); 2024 From left: Destiny has spent time living on the streets and in jail, and was looking for a fresh start; 2012: Hannah was the youngest of the Lady Jaguars. She liked being on the team and cried when the season ended.; 2024: At a women’s shelter, after being released from jail. Hannah has three felonies on her record; they are long stories. (F4); 2024: Hannah bought clothing for a homeless man who hangs out near the McDonald’s where she worked. At left, celebrating Hannah at a court check-in.; 2024: Hannah shared a room with other women at the recovery home where she was living. (F4-F5); 2024: Hannah missed the sky during her time in jail, when she was not allowed outdoors. (F5); 2013: Alleyah during a home loss. That year, she failed a drug test and was ordered to a Memphis rehab; she ran away instead.; 2024: Alleyah is required to use a breathalyzer before her Mazda sedan will start, the consequence of a 2019 D.U.I.; 2024: Alleyah got a job at a moving company. “She’s always been kind,” said Karlyn McAleer, who runs the recovery home.; 2024: Above, a bracelet with the date Alleyah began her sobriety; top, sharing at a meeting in her recovery home, where she’s become a house mom. (F6); 2024: Alleyah loves shopping at the mall. She recently began apartment hunting; she thinks by winter she’ll be ready to live on her own.; 2024: Alleyah outside her recovery residence. She was a year or so further than Hannah on the arc to recovery. (F6-F7); 2012: Kiana, center, fooling around with the team, and, far right, at her home a year later. She was raised by a single father struggling with addiction.; 2024: Kiana’s desire to be a good parent to her four children motivates her sobriety: “They’re what keeps me going.”; 2012: Above left, on a field trip with the Lady Jaguars, Constance marveled at seeing tall buildings for the first time.; 2024: Constance pulled herself away from the party scene. She and her husband, Elijah, are expecting a fourth baby. (F8); 2013: Miranda with Akyia as an infant and keeping house at her single mother’s home, a year after graduating.; 2024: Miranda lives in Kentucky with Akyia, now a bright 11-year-old. “She’s a better version of me.”; 2012: Destiny awaiting drug test results. She graduated high school but struggled for stability and soon had a rap sheet.; 2024: At the Carroll County Jail, where The Times tracked Destiny down. She served 56 days on an assault charge. (F9); 2024: Summer’s youngest, Kayra, born in 2023. Six of her seven kids are with Junior. (F10); 2024: Summer encouraging Masii, 7, on the soccer sidelines. She bowed out of the toxic party scene after she became a mother. (F10-F11); 2012: Summer was a sweet-souled girl with a history of drug use and truancy. “Bad decisions, good intentions,” she said then.; 2024: Summer treated the children to Happy Meals after a soccer practice. She gives them stability she never had.; 2024: Summer and Junior have been together over 10 years. Children’s art adorns their home. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RUTH FREMSON) (F11) This article appeared in print on page F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, F6, F7, F8, F9, F10. F11.

**Load-Date:** February 13, 2025

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[***City Council Approves Rezoning Near Bronx Rail Stations***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRF-18D1-JBG3-649C-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Matthew Haag

**Body**

The New York City Council approved a rezoning plan that will produce nearly 7,000 housing units, some of which will be offered at below-market rents, near four new commuter rail stations.

The New York City Council unanimously approved a plan that would radically transform a section of the Bronx, replacing low-slung industrial buildings with thousands of new apartments as the city contends with its worst housing shortage since the late 1960s.

The rezoning plan will remake a 46-block corridor around the Morris Park, Van Nest and Parkchester areas, adding about 7,000 housing units near four new commuter rail stations, which are scheduled to be completed by 2027. In the years that follow a new neighborhood would emerge, made up primarily of mid- and high-rise residential towers.

The plan is the latest rezoning to take place in the Bronx, the poorest borough in the city, whose southern neighborhoods have been transformed in recent years by the march of new construction and high-rise rentals. This effort targets a slice of the East Bronx that now has very few residents -- just 637 -- and aligns with the Adams administration's blueprint of encouraging new housing in pockets of New York City, including in areas currently filled with manufacturing sites.

Compared with the rest of the city, the Bronx has avoided the expansion of large-scale development that has overhauled Brooklyn, Manhattan and Queens. Yet developers have been eager to push into what is considered the city's last frontier.

''The Bronx is saying 'yes' to more housing in our backyards, communities and neighborhoods, and serving as a model to the rest of our city on how to lead from the front,'' Mayor Eric Adams, a Democrat, said in a statement. ''I am calling on our partners in the City Council to join us in this fight and deliver on the promise that ***working-class*** families are asking us to do: build more and make this city more affordable.''

The plan is the first neighborhood rezoning under Mayor Adams and is part of a broader rezoning plan that started in 2018 under Mayor Bill de Blasio but took shape under Mr. Adams.

The new units, though, will make only a small dent in Mayor Adams's goal of building a half-million new residences citywide within the next decade. Around 100,000 housing units have been built in the city since 2020, but rent prices have continued to climb and are among the highest in the country.

The years it took to formulate the rezoning as well as everything it had to overcome -- fights over the lack of parking, neighborhood opposition, concerns about infrastructure upgrades and the size of new buildings -- illustrate the opportunities and challenges in a city desperate for new housing.

City officials are working on four other neighborhood rezoning plans, all of which are expected to go before the Council for approval before the end of 2025.

This rezoning will pave the way for developers to reshape roughly two miles alongside the Metro-North Railroad and coincides with the opening of four new stations at Hunts Point, Parkchester/Van Nest, Morris Park and Co-Op City. The stations and rail upgrades could reduce travel times by about 50 minutes between there and Midtown Manhattan, as well as offer train access to Connecticut.

Some developers bought properties near the proposed transit stations in the years before city officials started working on the rezoning plan. The developers include the real estate company Pinnacle Group, which bought several adjacent lots in the Parkchester neighborhood for $14.7 million in 2015. That site has been proposed as a 500-unit apartment building.

Of the new Bronx apartments, about 1,700 would be permanently offered at below-market rates. Some residents have voiced concerns that developers would not be required to build more affordable units and that the apartments would be too costly for local residents.

Annemarie Gray, the executive director of Open New York, a nonprofit that supports more development, said she was heartened that the rezoning plan evolved to include more housing than what was initially proposed; the final version has about 1,000 more units.

''We need to be creating homes of all kinds across the region and next to transit stops,'' Ms. Gray said. ''We are facing a dire housing situation that is decades in the making.''

Like other rezoning efforts, the plan faced some opposition from residents and local elected officials, in this case Councilwoman Kristy Marmorato. The main sticking point was that earlier proposals did not require developers to build parking, which is part of the Adams administration's broader effort to eliminate minimum parking mandates in new construction.

Such mandates drive up construction costs and rental prices, studies show, and discourage the use of public transit. More than 60 percent of Bronx residents do not have a car, according to the census.

''Our costly parking mandates come in direct conflict with our desire to create more housing units,'' said Dan Garodnick, the director of the Department of City Planning.

After that pushback, the rezoning plan now requires some parking spaces at residential sites and also provides $2 million for a parking lot to be built near one of the transit stations. Ms. Marmorato said that many of her constituents had cars and needed more parking options.

''Whether it's taking our kids to school, running errands, going to the grocery store, going to our jobs that are local, we still are kind of dependent on our motor vehicles,'' Ms. Marmorato, a Republican, said in an interview before the City Council meeting on Thursday.

Ms. Marmorato voted in favor of the rezoning, as did 43 other members. No one voted against it. The new commuter stations, which are still on schedule despite the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's budget challenges, are expected to open years before the construction from the rezoning is finished.

The Parkchester Watch Group, which is made up of residents who live at the 129-acre planned community near where the Parkchester rail station will open, has also voiced concern about the size of the new buildings and the levels of affordable housing.

Peter Hamilton, a member of the group, said the area could not support thousands of new residents without infrastructure upgrades and new retail, especially supermarkets. He said that some of the proposed towers, which could reach 25 stories tall, would overshadow the neighborhood's shorter properties.

In response, city officials modified the height of some buildings that could be built in the East Bronx, lowering their overall heights and the total number of units in them. That change reduced the number of new units from about 7,500 to 7,000.

''Our concerns,'' Mr. Hamilton said, ''are about the stresses this will have on the community that's there right now.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/15/nyregion/bronx-rezoning-housing-apartments.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/15/nyregion/bronx-rezoning-housing-apartments.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A rezoning plan will transform parts of the East Bronx, where four new commuter rail stations are to be completed by 2027. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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[***Has the City Bounced Back? For Some, but Not for All.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BHJ-GR61-DXY4-X021-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

The city has rebounded from the worst of the coronavirus pandemic in meaningful ways. But the recovery is incomplete and uneven.

Nearly four years after the coronavirus pandemic hit, New York City is back in many ways.

As of September, New York City had the most jobs ever recorded. Tourism has mostly rebounded, with 62 million visitors last year. Subway ridership is still short of prepandemic levels, but has risen to nearly four million on weekdays. The number of murders fell under 400 last year for the first time since 2019.

Tax revenue projections were $1.3 billion higher than expected for the current fiscal year, allowing Mayor Eric Adams to rescind midyear budget cuts that would have affected nearly every city agency. This year's Wall Street bonuses are expected to be slightly higher than last year's, according to the state comptroller's office, which would funnel more tax revenue to the city than expected.

''We're not surviving -- we are thriving in this city,'' Mr. Adams said at a recent news conference celebrating the city's strong bond rating.

The recovery of New York City, the nation's financial capital, is critical to the American economy and to the eight million people who call the city home.

But the recovery is incomplete and uneven. Multibillion-dollar budget deficits loom in each of the next few years, in part because of the migrant influx that city officials say will cost $10 billion over three years. Office building vacancies are still plentiful in a new era of hybrid work.

And in many parts of New York, especially among the ***working class***, it does not feel like the city is back on its feet. The poverty rate has soared to 23 percent, up from 18 percent in 2021. Demand for food stamps and cash assistance has surged. The housing crunch is the worst it has been in more than 50 years, with a rental vacancy rate of only 1.4 percent. Even life expectancy remained below prepandemic levels, according to the Health Department.

Roughly 41 percent of voters were ''very dissatisfied'' with the way things were going in New York City, according to a Quinnipiac University poll in December -- the highest level since the poll began asking voters that question in 1997.

The next year will reveal the durability of the recovery and shed more light on Mr. Adams's priorities as he confronts the city's many pressing challenges, including managing the arrival of more than 180,000 migrants and the end of generous federal pandemic aid.

Many business leaders have been pleased by the city's economic rebound, and the mayor's focus on public safety and stimulating the city's economy, even as concerns over the commercial real estate industry persist. They share Mr. Adams's view that helping businesses thrive is essential to the city's comeback.

''The only way we're going to be able to support the increase in people on public assistance and the costs of the migrant crisis is if we continue to see economic growth in the city,'' said Kathryn Wylde, president of the Partnership for New York City, a business group. ''The mayor has to be a reassuring champion of the city's future.''

On this front, the mayor has given mixed messages. Mr. Adams, a Democrat, was elected partly by accentuating everything that was wrong with New York City, including a surge in crime during the pandemic. Even as mayor, he has been known for gloomy assessments like his warning that the migrant crisis would ''destroy New York City.''

In recent months, Mr. Adams has begun to strongly emphasize the positive. ''I can say with confidence, New York City isn't coming back -- New York City is back,'' he said at a news conference last week.

But some of the city's economic achievements tell a more nuanced story.

The median rent for an apartment in Manhattan has steadily increased, to $4,150 in January, up 1.3 percent from the year before -- a trend that conveys confidence in the city's future, but also underscores the affordability crisis.

Even with more people physically returning to work, the office occupancy rate is still roughly 50 percent of prepandemic levels by one measure, raising alarm in the commercial real estate industry. The city's hotel occupancy rate rose by 6.6 percentage points last year, the largest gain in the nation among major markets, according to an industry study. But some of that increase comes from the city's use of hotels for migrants, accounting for roughly 16,000 rooms.

And while the city gained 54,900 private sector jobs last year, much of the growth has been in low-wage sectors, like home health aides, and most wage gains have been for the highest earners, said James Parrott, the director of economic and fiscal policy at the Center for New York City Affairs at the New School.

''The economic rebound we've had hasn't been one that's lifted all boats,'' Mr. Parrott said.

Mr. Adams, who is running for re-election next year and facing a federal investigation into his campaign fund-raising, has insisted that he is focused on ***working class*** New Yorkers. He has highlighted an expansion of earned-income tax credits and child care vouchers, among other policies.

Charles Lutvak, a spokesman for the mayor, said in a statement that Mr. Adams was setting the foundation for a strong and equitable recovery.

''We have always been clear that there is more work to do, and our administration is continuing to deliver progress so that hard-working New Yorkers feel the benefits of a safer, more prosperous, and more livable city,'' he said.

Difficult decisions loom. Thomas P. DiNapoli, the state comptroller, said in a new report on Thursday that while the city's economic outlook had improved, its budget gaps were higher than the city's forecasts at $11.3 billion in 2026.

''New York City's finances were boosted by better-than-projected revenues and planned savings, but out-year budget gaps are still large and tough choices remain ahead to fund essential education programs and social services,'' he said.

Some New Yorkers fear that Mr. Adams will continue to cut funds for essential city services, especially those most relied on by lower-income families like free preschool and libraries. He had called for severe midyear budget reductions to the police, fire, education, parks and sanitation departments, but rescinded some of those cuts in January when the city's tax revenue came in higher than projected.

Andrew Rein, the president of the Citizens Budget Commission, an independent fiscal watchdog, said that the city still needed to ''rein in spending,'' and called for Mr. Adams to have an ''honest and transparent discussion'' with New Yorkers about what services must be curtailed or ended.

More than 50 percent of working families in New York City cannot afford to pay for their basic needs, according to a recent report by the Fund for the City of New York and United Way. Evictions are rising again.

City agencies are short staffed, leading to troubling delays. Only 14 percent of applications for cash assistance were processed within the legally mandated 30-day window during a four-month period last year, according to the Mayor's Management Report. The timeliness rate was more than 95 percent in 2019. The mayor's office announced on Monday that it had significantly reduced the delays after hiring 1,000 staffers since January 2023 to process applications.

There is also the question of whether New Yorkers feel safe. The city has seen a drop in murders that is part of a national trend, though some crime categories are still high, including car thefts.

In the West Bronx, a predominantly Black and Latino neighborhood that Mr. Adams won in the 2021 Democratic primary, residents liked the mayor's message and ''see themselves'' in his ***working-class*** upbringing, said Pierina Sanchez, a city councilwoman.

But they are also worried about violence and quality of life. A man was killed recently in the subway in Ms. Sanchez's district. A 1-year-old died in September after being exposed to fentanyl at a home day care. There are also concerns over school budget cuts and the mayor's refusal to expand a housing voucher program intended to reduce homelessness.

''It's counterintuitive,'' Ms. Sanchez said of the mayor's stance on housing vouchers. ''We voted for you en masse. You say you represent us. We need this, and you're not supportive of it.''

At Montefiore Square, a park in West Harlem, neighbors are frustrated about open-air drug dealing and the grounds littered with used hypodermic needles and trash.

At a recent community meeting about the conditions at the park, several residents said they were fearful of the area. Cary Rose, the captain of the 30th Precinct, said officers had been present at the park almost 700 times from January to late February in an effort to address the problems there.

Local businesses are forming a merchants association because they are worried about violence, said Quenia Abreu, president of the New York Women's Chamber of Commerce. She said she was nearly hit in the head with a bat recently when two men began fighting near a Dunkin' across from the park.

Shaun Abreu, a local councilman who campaigned with Mr. Adams at the park, said the mayor's upbeat message of ''crime is down and jobs are up'' did not reflect reality.

''In West Harlem,'' Mr. Abreu said, ''I don't think that message would resonate.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/05/nyregion/nyc-economy-comeback.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/05/nyregion/nyc-economy-comeback.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The view of how New York is doing varies by any number of measures. For example, Wall Street bonuses are expected to be higher this year than last, but rent is too expensive for many families. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB1)

Mayor Eric Adams, top, has stated that the ***working class*** has benefited from expanded earned-income tax credits and child care vouchers. Residents in West Harlem are frustrated over the visibility of crime, including at Montefiore Square, an area park, above. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ELIAS WILLIAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB6) This article appeared in print on page MB1, M6.

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Maybe I’ve Gotten Worse’: Trump Makes Clear That Unity Is Over***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKC-2V21-DXY4-X3JB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 28, 2024 Sunday 06:00 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 907 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold Michael Gold is a political correspondent for The Times covering the campaigns of Donald J. Trump and other candidates in the 2024 presidential elections.

**Highlight:** At a rally in Minnesota on Saturday, former President Donald J. Trump once more escalated his attacks against Vice President Kamala Harris, painting her as extreme and mocking her demeanor.

**Body**

At a rally in Minnesota on Saturday, former President Donald J. Trump once more escalated his attacks against Vice President Kamala Harris, painting her as extreme and mocking her demeanor.

Early in his speech in Minnesota on Saturday night, former President Donald J. Trump made clear just how quickly he has jettisoned the appeal for national unity that he made after he survived an assassination attempt in Pennsylvania two weeks ago.

“I want to be nice,” Mr. Trump said. “They all say, ‘I think he’s changed. I think he’s changed since two weeks ago. Something affected him.’”

But to a cheering crowd of thousands, Mr. Trump quickly conceded the point. “No, I haven’t changed,” he said. “Maybe I’ve gotten worse. Because I get angry at the incompetence that I witness every single day.”

Propelled by the upheaval in the presidential race caused by President Biden’s decision to end his campaign six days ago, Mr. Trump on Saturday once more escalated his attacks against Vice President Kamala Harris, now the presumptive Democratic nominee.

During a speech lasting roughly 90 minutes, Mr. Trump called Ms. Harris “evil,” “unhinged” and “sick.” He lied about her views on abortion in an effort to paint her as extreme, and he mocked her laugh and her demeanor.

“We have a brand-new victim,” Mr. Trump told thousands of people inside the Herb Brooks National Hockey Center in St. Cloud, Minn. “And, honestly, she’s a radical left lunatic.”

Mr. Trump spent considerable time attacking Ms. Harris’s views on public safety, taking aim at her efforts to portray herself as a “rule of law” prosecutor who contrasts starkly with Mr. Trump’s two impeachments, four criminal indictments and 34 felony convictions.

As he rallied some 60 miles from Minneapolis, where the killing of George Floyd in 2020 prompted a movement for criminal justice reform, Mr. Trump accused Ms. Harris of backing soft-on-crime policies, including a push to defund the police.

Ms. Harris [*told The New York Times in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/10/us/politics/kamala-harris-racism-police.html) that she supported the “defund the police” movement’s idea of rethinking “what public safety looks like” and the size of police budgets. “But, no, we’re not going to get rid of the police,” she said. “We all have to be practical.”

But Mr. Trump, who throughout his third campaign for president has cloaked himself in support for law enforcement even as he grapples with criminal cases, used Ms. Harris’s past support of criminal justice reform to insist that he was “going to over-fund” the police.

Mr. Trump’s focus on public safety and his accusations that Democrats have allowed crime to run rampant in cities have been at the heart of his three political campaigns. His return to that message in Minnesota demonstrated how central his plea to law and order will most likely be to his effort to win over moderate and independent voters.

Mr. Trump and his team are eager to flip Minnesota, which last voted for a Republican president in 1972, but which also has a large population of ***working-class*** voters and union workers, groups that Mr. Trump drew support from in his previous elections. He lost the state by just 1.5 percentage points in 2016, only to lose it by a wider margin four years later.

Even as the race has changed dramatically, in St. Cloud, Mr. Trump drew on the same themes that have been animating his campaign all year: protectionist trade policies, an enormous crackdown on immigration and his relentless repetition of his false claims of widespread voter fraud in the 2020 election.

“Anybody that can cheat on elections like they cheat on elections, these are not stupid people,” Mr. Trump said of Democrats, even though there is no evidence to support his claims.

Still, Mr. Trump’s speech highlighted his struggle to adapt to a new opponent after years of preparing to face Mr. Biden. Though Mr. Biden is no longer on the Democratic ticket, Mr. Trump revived his derisive impressions of the president, caricaturing his gait and speech to suggest that Mr. Biden is not fit for office.

At one point in his speech, Mr. Trump appeared about to imitate Mr. Biden but then stopped himself. “I don’t want to waste a lot of time on it,” he said, “because it’s over now, right? He’s gone.” But he gloated: “I told you that he would be. I told you that he wasn’t going to make it.”

Sarafina Chitika, a spokeswoman for the Harris campaign, criticized Mr. Trump’s focus on Mr. Biden. “Tonight in Minnesota, a bitter, unhinged, 78-year-old convicted felon kept clinging to his lies about the 2020 election he lost being ‘rigged,’ rambled about his former opponent and golfing, and made excuses for why he’s afraid to debate Vice President Harris,” she said in a statement.

Saturday’s rally was Mr. Trump’s second joint rally with Senator JD Vance of Ohio since he chose Mr. Vance to be his running mate. Mr. Vance largely echoed Mr. Trump’s attacks, calling Ms. Harris overly liberal and a “card-carrying member of the San Francisco lunatic fringe.”

And Mr. Vance, whose rollout as the Republican vice-presidential nominee [*has not been wholly smooth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/10/us/politics/kamala-harris-racism-police.html), attacked the press for not being sufficiently critical of Ms. Harris.

“The media told us that Joe Biden was Abraham Lincoln,” Mr. Vance said. “And now the media tells us that Kamala Harris is Martin Luther King Jr.”

PHOTO: “No, I haven’t changed,” former President Donald J. Trump said at a campaign rally in  St. Cloud, Minn., on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Laura Donnelly, ‘Hills of California’ Star, Is Not Some Delicate Flower***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2M-FHY1-JBG3-61PF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 28, 2024 Saturday 23:36 EST

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**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 1779 words

**Byline:** Laura Collins-Hughes

**Highlight:** But she did “burst into tears” reading Jez Butterworth’s rewrite of his new Broadway play, which left her with 10 days “to create an entirely new character.”

**Body**

But she did “burst into tears” reading Jez Butterworth’s rewrite of his new Broadway play, which left her with 10 days “to create an entirely new character.”

Most plays that transfer to New York from London arrive in close to their original form. There might be small changes to the text, to make particular lines comprehensible to American ears, but usually not much more than that.

Laura Donnelly, the star of Jez Butterworth’s new play, “[*The Hills of California*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/),” knew that the playwright had been planning rewrites since early in [*the London run*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/), which stretched from January to June this year. The current Broadway engagement at the Broadhurst Theater would give Butterworth the chance.

“He was really excited about that,” Donnelly, 42, said over coffee on a recent morning in Manhattan, her dark hair lightened, permed and cut in a ’70s style for the play. “He kept referring to it as like, ‘little bits here and there,’ and I was like, ‘OK, cool. Yep, no problem.’ I think this is also what he told Sam [Mendes], our director, and told our producers. So they scheduled in two weeks of rehearsals.”

What Butterworth, Donnelly’s partner of nearly a dozen years, had actually ended up doing was a major rewrite of the third act — an overhaul that alters the substance, plot and even meaning of the play.

From the start, Donnelly has portrayed two characters in “The Hills of California”: Veronica Webb, a guesthouse owner in Blackpool, England, in 1955, who is rigorously training her four adolescent daughters to become an American-style girl group; and Joan, her estranged and longed-for favorite child, who returns home at last in 1976, in Act III. But the Joan of the West End script was significantly different from the Joan of the Broadway script.

“I read it, and I burst into tears,” Donnelly said. “Because I was like, I have 10 days. I have 10 days, and I need to create an entirely new character. And that’s very different from creating a character from scratch. It’s more like trying to laser off a tattoo at the same time as you’re trying to put a new one on over the top.”

Do not mistake this for preciousness on Donnelly’s part. For one thing, Leanne Best, who plays Gloria, another of the Webb sisters, cheerfully corroborated the cast’s initial reaction. “I’m not going to lie and say there wasn’t blind panic,” she said.

For another, Donnelly is not some delicate flower. That much is suggested by her résumé of steel-spined roles — like the combative Amalia True in the short-lived HBO series “[*The Nevers*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/),” the tenacious Jenny Fraser in the Starz series “[*Outlander*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/)” and the stalwart Caitlin Carney in Butterworth’s Tony Award-winning play “[*The Ferryman*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/),” for which Donnelly [*won an Olivier Award*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/) and got a Tony nomination.

There was, in any case, an unmistakably warm blend of personal affection and professional admiration in Donnelly’s words about Butterworth. While both she and “The Hills of California” were [*nominated for Oliviers this year*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/), she believes his rewrites have made it “unquestionably better.”

“There is an exhale at the end of this that didn’t exist before,” she said.

Donnelly grew up in Belfast, Northern Ireland, and graduated in 2004 from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. She made her Broadway debut a decade ago, opposite Hugh Jackman, in Butterworth’s “[*The River*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/).”

She was the sole cast member from Ian Rickson’s original 2012 London production to move with the play to New York.

By email, Jackman noted “a timelessness” about Donnelly, but a humor and cheekiness, too; the word that recurred to him was “power.”

“Laura is like a force onstage,” he added. “It’s like her feet go 300 feet into the ground.”

He remembers her as “quietly present” during rehearsals and “patient as an artist.”

“She allowed the character to speak to her, to evolve,” he wrote.

In a video recording of the performance at the New York Public Library, it is impressive to watch her swiftly win over an audience that it is safe to guess had come to see Jackman.

When I mentioned the recording to Donnelly, she lit up instantly. “The River” was the play on which she met Butterworth. They now have two children, ages 6 and 8, who were expected to join their parents in New York just before Sunday’s opening of “The Hills of California.”

Yet serendipity and romance are not the only reasons it still gives Donnelly “mild goose bumps” to think back on “The River” and what she recalls as “an incredibly magical time.”

“It was like the beginning of something,” she said, “the beginning of me really taking my work and my art seriously and giving myself permission to do that and stopping kind of the little voice that came from Belfast in the ’80s, thinking that acting is frivolous or that theater is, you know, in some way just for fun, and that you can’t take yourself too seriously in life or in work.

“I kind of let go of all of that in that time,” she continued. “And that was a lot to do with seeing how seriously Jez took his work and how seriously Ian Rickson took his work. It was like they kind of granted me permission. And in fact, it was kind of the price of entry.”

That, she said, was when she “started feeling like a grown-up in the business.”

Mendes, who previously directed Donnelly in “The Ferryman,” described her by telephone as someone who, unusually, “doesn’t seek to ingratiate herself with the audience.”

“Almost every actor I’ve ever met is giving a performance to two people at the same time,” he said. “One, the actor that they’re acting opposite, and two, the audience. But with Laura, you feel like the audience is eavesdropping, somehow observing this character. And there’s a kind of purity that comes from that.”

OFFSTAGE, DONNELLY IS thoughtful, funny, surprising. When I told her I was furious to be able to locate only the first six of the dozen episodes of “The Nevers,” she said dryly: “I’ll tip you off. Don’t bother with the second six episodes.”

Not what you would usually hear from a show’s star about a job she said she loved: “I was springing out of bed at 5 a.m. every day.” But then “The Nevers” did lose Joss Whedon, its creator, halfway through, at a cliffhanger point in the supernatural, steampunk plot.

The series’ sixth episode, which can still be viewed, had demanded an extraordinary hat trick. In it, Donnelly played a ***working-class*** Victorian Londoner named Amalia True, a Canadian soldier from a dystopian future who finds herself inhabiting Amalia’s body, and the Victorian gentlewoman the soldier sets out to remake Amalia into.

“I guess what I came to understand doing that was that I had a range that I had never got to necessarily test out before,” Donnelly said.

So when Butterworth suggested that she play both Veronica and Joan in “The Hills of California,” it seemed to her like something she would have fun investigating.

For his part, Butterworth said by phone that Donnelly’s riffling through those three “Nevers” variations probably had something to do with his wanting to cast her, though of course he was already well aware of her chameleonic prowess.

“When Laura is doing, let’s say, an impersonation of another actor,” he said, “which she does all the time — she’s very good at it, and she’d hate me to tell you that — she does the facial expressions and kind of the bone structure of the people as well. Like, she changes how she looks as well as the voice. It’s a little bit of a party trick, and it’s kind of scary.”

Joan, in “The Hills of California,” is an impeccable mimic, too, having been brought up by Veronica to imitate the voices, movements and styles of the Andrews Sisters.

Donnelly suspects that her own talent at mimicry may stem from having been a child in Belfast during the Troubles, ever alert for a shift of energy in the air.

“I think if you grow up in any sense feeling like you have to be somewhat hypervigilant in order to be safe, then you tap into that ability and you’re watching the micro-expressions of the people around you,” she said.

The legacy of the Troubles inspired “The Ferryman,” in which Donnelly played a woman whose husband has long been disappeared. During the show’s Broadway run, determined to keep the sensations of her role fresh, she read Patrick Radden Keefe’s topically related nonfiction book “[*Say Nothing*](https://thehillsofcalifornia.com/).”

Now the book has been adapted into an FX mini-series of the same name, with a Nov. 14 premiere on Hulu. In it Donnelly plays a grown daughter of Jean McConville, a Belfast mother of 10 who was abducted by the Irish Republican Army in 1972, and whose murdered body was not found for more than 30 years.

Donnelly leaped at that role, but a lot of other screen work she is offered seems “very thin in quality,” she said, compared to what she gets to do onstage.

She is wary of accepting a job for the wrong reasons: because it’s flattering to be asked or feels better than not doing anything, or out of anxiety about “being seen to be acting regularly,” she said.

So, as unmoored as she said she feels when she is not working, she has chosen to work less. But lately she has also been trying to figure out who she is outside of work and motherhood, and find ways to use her brain and curiosity when she can’t use them on a role.

The law has long been a fascination of hers; if she hadn’t gotten into drama school when she applied, her plan was to do a year of law school and try again. Riveted these days by live trials on Court TV and YouTube, Donnelly is considering pursuing a law degree — in the kind of at-your-own-pace course that wouldn’t get in the way of her acting.

She says she has no intention of practicing, ever. Or of giving up acting. She just doesn’t want to settle for poor quality, and why would she?

“I’m not thinking in terms of future career,” she said. “This is my career.”

And for the next few months, that means immersing herself in “The Hills of California.” Relearning the play during those two weeks of London rehearsals was “very, very scary,” she said. The danger was that her Broadway performance would be too much in her head, not in her viscera.

Yet in transforming that final act, she said, Butterworth has brought a completeness to a story that before had felt unresolved, and consequently been, for her, “quite difficult to live in.”

“It feels very different doing it on this occasion,” Donnelly said, persuasively. “And I do just think it is the most beautiful rewrite that he could have done.”

PHOTOS: Laura Donnelly, center, star of “The Hills of California,” on the High Line path in Manhattan. Below from left, Nicola Turner, Nancy Allsop, Sophia Ally and McDonnell in the play at the Broadhurst Theater. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SCOTT ROSSI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR4.

**Load-Date:** October 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In Chicago, the Democrats Redefined Themselves***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTC-KP11-DXY4-X2G2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1307 words

**Body**

T IMES OPINION writers, columnists and contributors followed the Democratic National Convention over four nights in Chicago last week and shared their favorite speakers, notable moments and a few things they could have done without. Harris's Speech Megan K. Stack, contributing Opinion writer The first five minutes or so of Kamala Harris's speech accepting the Democratic nomination were genuinely affecting, and a pleasure to watch. Her personal story is complex and compelling, and she has a charisma and an audience connection that we haven't seen for quite some years in a major presidential candidate. Josh Barro, author of the newsletter Very Serious In past campaigns, Harris has sometimes seemed like an empty vessel. Now she's reintroducing herself in a way that is specific, warm and uniquely American, and that provides a framework to explain the broadly popular values of freedom and justice she's espousing.

Jamelle Bouie, Opinion columnist The first three nights of the convention were easily the most successful since 2008, but they would have been for naught had Harris missed the landing with an awkward or underwhelming acceptance speech. She succeeded. But other than a moving introduction, where she told the story of her life and family to the viewing public, this wasn't a speech about the meaning of her candidacy. It was something closer to a State of the Union -- a statement of policies and priorities and an indictment of her opponents. It was as if the campaign had offloaded talk of symbolism to other speakers so that Harris could present herself as ready to be president on Day 1. Jane Coaston, contributing Opinion writer They landed the dismount. Harris's speech was well delivered and rhetorically effective, and aimed at a defined audience: the middle of the electorate. Matt Labash, author of the newsletter Slack Tide Harris did very well Thursday night -- arguably her best performance. Democrats threw a largely seamless convention. Confidence is good. But overconfidence leads to reality denial. Here's the truth: Harris is still behind in five out of seven swing states. So Democrats shouldn't unlace those hiking boots until they've actually summited Mount Comeback. Standout Speakers and Moments Frank Bruni, contributing Opinion writer The orgy of applause for Hillary Clinton. I'm a sap. I can't imagine what that meant to her, someone put through the political grinder like few leaders in my lifetime, someone forever haunted by (and blamed for) losing to Donald Trump. She needed that. So did Democrats. It affirmed their unity, elevated graciousness and turned the page. Michelle Cottle, political writer for Opinion The three women (and one man) who shared their heart-wrenching abortion stories. In the midst of all the good vibes, it was a sharp reminder of the concrete stakes of this election. Labash God bless Adam Kinzinger for telling the truth about his (and my) party, now corrupted to its core. MAGA snowflakes get triggered by him, suggesting he's a RINO Judas. But the actual reason they hate him is that he reminds them of something they abandoned years ago: their integrity. Charles M. Blow, Opinion columnist Michelle Obama taking direct swipes at Trump. She still hasn't gotten over -- and may never get over -- the way Trump harassed her family. It is a grudge worth holding. Kristen Soltis Anderson, contributing Opinion writer Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. On a night that showcased the party's elders, Ocasio-Cortez demonstrated that she is their future. Republicans underestimate her at their peril. Bouie People are not exaggerating when they describe Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan as a presidential-level talent. Tressie McMillan Cottom, Opinion columnist Everyone will be talking about Gov. Wes Moore of Maryland after this convention. They should be. I will be talking about Alabama's Shomari Figures, who has a dynamic political biography and displayed a stunningly confident speaking style for a young elected official. The Democratic Party is taking ***working-class*** voters seriously. Liam Donovan, Republican strategist In a parade of speakers peddling predictable anti-Trump talking points, the second gentleman, Doug Emhoff, gave us the first speech making the pitch for Kamala Harris, the person. Disarming, self-deprecating, humanizing, it was the most effective speech yet for normies at home. Labash Emhoff was a genuine surprise: warm, funny, natural, human, clearly smitten with his spouse. Just like Melania! Michelle Goldberg, Opinion columnist Michelle Obama's speech was therapy for traumatized Democrats still mourning the ''dimming'' of hope under Trump and struggling to manage their anxiety over his possible return. Donovan Just put the franchise tag on Governor Moore right now. One way or another, the man will be on the next open Democratic ticket. Coaston Thousands of people chanting ''Bring them home'' as the parents of one of the hostages in Gaza stood before them. Low Points McMillan Cottom The omission of a Palestinian speaker. An easy political win that should have been logistically possible. Stack The petty refusal, after much convoluted negotiation, to grant a Palestinian speaker even a few minutes onstage discounted the many Democrats who have long called for a cease-fire. More important, with more than 40,000 dead in Gaza, this omission was callous and simply wrong. Anderson President Biden being pushed out of prime time. It is understandable to want to make a break from the incumbent, but intentionally or not, it is just a brutal way to treat the incumbent president in your party. And I applaud Tim Walz for speaking about his family's infertility journey, and I am even willing to grant some latitude about being imprecise on the specifics of your own treatment. But since Walz did not use I.V.F. but a different fertility treatment, I.U.I., it hits a sour note with me to falsely imply many Republicans want to ban something they very much do not want to ban. Goldberg My mom texted me sleepy emojis and the words, ''Clinton needs to get off the stage.'' But he kept going. And no Beyoncé?!?! Labash It's fun to see people having fun in politics again, and Democrats are obviously exuberant. But watching Chuck Schumer getting jiggy with it as he danced his way out to the lectern was a bridge too far. A bridge I want to burn, after bathing my eyes in hydrochloric acid. Cottle Crabby Uncle Bernie Sanders and his laundry list of policy must-dos. I know. I know. He has a following. But his shoutygrumpy-old-man thing felt out of sync with the week's vibes. Maybe if he'd worn the mittens. . . . Coaston Never in my life did I think that the Democratic convention would attempt to claim ''freedom, faith and football.'' Nor did I think it would actually be fairly successful. Takeaways Goldberg Republicans keep trying to weaponize bad-faith accusations of antisemitism against Democrats, but between Schumer, Sanders, J.B. Pritzker and uber-mensch Emhoff, Tuesday showed which party really welcomes Jews. Donovan Walz was on brand and Oprah Winfrey brought the star power, but the methodical buildup of Harris's record as a tough border-state prosecutor is a reminder of what this race will boil down to when the speeches fade. Blow The threat of Trump as a primary motivator has re-entered the chat. There was a parade of people victimized by Republican policies, obstruction or intransigence or victimized by Trump's own rhetoric. Even Harris's speech was dominated by the threat of Trump. Yes, there was dancing, but it shared space with damnation. Labash If, as many people fear, Trump is re-elected and tries to throw over the 22nd Amendment, which forbids presidents from running for a third term, then Barack Obama might want to enter the ring again. Love him or hate him, the man still has a wicked left hook.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/pageoneplus/25opinion-rex.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/pageoneplus/25opinion-rex.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE LEE TAETE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

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[***Plan to Build Thousands of Apartments Will Transform the East Bronx***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CR9-92P1-JBG3-6423-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1168 words

**Byline:** Matthew Haag Matthew Haag writes about the intersection of real estate and politics in the New York region. He has been a journalist for two decades.

**Highlight:** The New York City Council approved a rezoning plan that will produce nearly 7,000 housing units, some of which will be offered at below-market rents, near four new commuter rail stations.

**Body**

The New York City Council approved a rezoning plan that will produce nearly 7,000 housing units, some of which will be offered at below-market rents, near four new commuter rail stations.

The New York City Council unanimously approved a plan that would radically transform a section of the Bronx, replacing low-slung industrial buildings with thousands of new apartments as the city contends with its [*worst housing shortage since the late 1960s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/08/nyregion/apartment-vacancy-rate-housing-crisis.html).

The rezoning plan will remake a 46-block corridor around the Morris Park, Van Nest and Parkchester areas, adding about 7,000 housing units near four new commuter rail stations, which are scheduled to be completed by 2027. In the years that follow a new neighborhood would emerge, made up primarily of mid- and high-rise residential towers.

The plan is the latest rezoning to take place in the Bronx, the poorest borough in the city, whose southern neighborhoods have been transformed in recent years by the march of new construction and high-rise rentals. This effort targets a slice of the East Bronx that now has very few residents — just 637 — and [*aligns with the Adams administration’s blueprint*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/08/nyregion/apartment-vacancy-rate-housing-crisis.html) of encouraging new housing in pockets of New York City, including in areas currently filled with manufacturing sites.

Compared with the rest of the city, the Bronx has avoided the expansion of large-scale development that has overhauled Brooklyn, Manhattan and Queens. Yet developers have been eager to push into what is considered the city’s last frontier.

“The Bronx is saying ‘yes’ to more housing in our backyards, communities and neighborhoods, and serving as a model to the rest of our city on how to lead from the front,” Mayor Eric Adams, a Democrat, said in a statement. “I am calling on our partners in the City Council to join us in this fight and deliver on the promise that ***working-class*** families are asking us to do: build more and make this city more affordable.”

The plan is the first neighborhood rezoning under Mayor Adams and is part of a broader rezoning plan that started in 2018 under Mayor Bill de Blasio but took shape under Mr. Adams.

The new units, though, will make only a small dent in Mayor Adams’s goal of [*building a half-million new residences*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/08/nyregion/apartment-vacancy-rate-housing-crisis.html) citywide within the next decade. Around 100,000 housing units have been built in the city since 2020, but rent prices have continued to climb and are among the highest in the country.

The years it took to formulate the rezoning as well as everything it had to overcome — fights over the lack of parking, neighborhood opposition, concerns about infrastructure upgrades and the size of new buildings — illustrate the opportunities and challenges in a city desperate for new housing.

City officials are working on four other neighborhood rezoning plans, all of which are expected to go before the Council for approval before the end of 2025.

This rezoning will pave the way for developers to reshape roughly two miles alongside the Metro-North Railroad and coincides with the [*opening of four new stations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/08/nyregion/apartment-vacancy-rate-housing-crisis.html) at Hunts Point, Parkchester/Van Nest, Morris Park and Co-Op City. The stations and rail upgrades could reduce travel times by about 50 minutes between there and Midtown Manhattan, as well as offer train access to Connecticut.

Some developers bought properties near the proposed transit stations in the years before city officials started working on the rezoning plan. The developers include the real estate company Pinnacle Group, which bought several adjacent lots in the Parkchester neighborhood for $14.7 million in 2015. That site has been proposed as a 500-unit apartment building.

Of the new Bronx apartments, about 1,700 would be permanently offered at below-market rates. Some residents have voiced concerns that developers would not be required to build more affordable units and that the apartments would be too costly for local residents.

Annemarie Gray, the executive director of Open New York, a nonprofit that supports more development, said she was heartened that the rezoning plan evolved to include more housing than what was initially proposed; the final version has about 1,000 more units.

“We need to be creating homes of all kinds across the region and next to transit stops,” Ms. Gray said. “We are facing a dire housing situation that is decades in the making.”

Like other rezoning efforts, the plan faced some opposition from residents and local elected officials, in this case Councilwoman Kristy Marmorato. The main sticking point was that earlier proposals did not require developers to build parking, which is part of the Adams administration’s [*broader effort to eliminate minimum parking mandates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/08/nyregion/apartment-vacancy-rate-housing-crisis.html) in new construction.

Such mandates drive up construction costs and rental prices, [*studies show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/08/nyregion/apartment-vacancy-rate-housing-crisis.html), and discourage the use of public transit. More than 60 percent of Bronx residents do not have a car, [*according to the census*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/08/nyregion/apartment-vacancy-rate-housing-crisis.html).

“Our costly parking mandates come in direct conflict with our desire to create more housing units,” said Dan Garodnick, the director of the Department of City Planning.

After that pushback, the rezoning plan now requires some parking spaces at residential sites and also provides $2 million for a parking lot to be built near one of the transit stations. Ms. Marmorato said that many of her constituents had cars and needed more parking options.

“Whether it’s taking our kids to school, running errands, going to the grocery store, going to our jobs that are local, we still are kind of dependent on our motor vehicles,” Ms. Marmorato, a Republican, said in an interview before the City Council meeting on Thursday.

Ms. Marmorato voted in favor of the rezoning, as did 43 other members. No one voted against it. The new commuter stations, which are still on schedule despite the Metropolitan Transportation Authority’s budget challenges, are expected to open years before the construction from the rezoning is finished.

The Parkchester Watch Group, which is made up of residents who live at the 129-acre planned community near where the Parkchester rail station will open, has also voiced concern about the size of the new buildings and the levels of affordable housing.

Peter Hamilton, a member of the group, said the area could not support thousands of new residents without infrastructure upgrades and new retail, especially supermarkets. He said that some of the proposed towers, which could reach 25 stories tall, would overshadow the neighborhood’s shorter properties.

In response, city officials modified the height of some buildings that could be built in the East Bronx, lowering their overall heights and the total number of units in them. That change reduced the number of new units from about 7,500 to 7,000.

“Our concerns,” Mr. Hamilton said, “are about the stresses this will have on the community that’s there right now.”

PHOTO: A rezoning plan will transform parts of the East Bronx, where four new commuter rail stations are to be completed by 2027. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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[***The Anti-D.E.I. Agitator That Big Companies Fear Most***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9W-3FR1-JBG3-64CH-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BUSINESS

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**Byline:** David Segal, David Segal is a business reporter for The Times, based in New York.

**Highlight:** From his home in Tennessee, the social media rabble-rouser Robby Starbuck is waging war on “woke” policies at places like Lowe’s and Ford. His timing is impeccable.

**Body**

From his home in Tennessee, the social media rabble-rouser Robby Starbuck is waging war on “woke” policies at places like Lowe’s and Ford. His timing is impeccable.

In early June, Robby Starbuck sat on the screened-in patio of his home in suburban Tennessee and recorded an eight-minute monologue on his mobile phone — a no-frills, TikTok-style video entitled “Exposed: Tractor Supply Went Woke.”

“All right y’all,” he began, “you’re going to want to see this.”

Speaking in tones that swung between urgent, amused and appalled, Mr. Starbuck listed an inventory of what he considered to be outrages committed by Tractor Supply, which sells feed and farm equipment.

The company hung Pride flags at a distribution center, he said. It offered equal health care for transgender people. It sponsored a Pride event near its headquarters in Brentwood, Tenn. It provided unconscious bias training for 40,000 employees. It paid $50 to employees who got the Covid vaccine.

Mr. Starbuck, a 35-year-old former music video producer, wrapped up with a call to boycott the company until it changed course and dropped its policies aimed at diversity, equity and inclusion.

“So now everybody, remind Tractor Supply who their customers actually are,” he said.

With 674,000 followers on X and 353,000 followers on Instagram, Mr. Starbuck has a not-exactly-gigantic fan base when measured against other influencers’. But his posts about Tractor Supply — roughly 30 in total, over the course of a few weeks — were forwarded and posted so often that the name of the company started trending on X.

The company, which has nearly $15 billion in annual revenue, took notice. On June 27, it [*announced in a statement*](https://corporate.tractorsupply.com/newsroom/news-releases/news-releases-details/2024/Tractor-Supply-Company-Statement/default.aspx) that it would retire its D.E.I. goals. It would stop sponsoring pride festivals. And it would no longer submit data to the Human Rights Campaign, the Washington, D.C., nonprofit that grades companies on their policies when it comes to L.G.B.T.Q. workers.

“We have heard from customers that we have disappointed them,” the company wrote. “We have taken this feedback to heart.”

The reversal made national headlines and ushered a clamorous new voice into a highly divisive issue. In the months that followed, Mr. Starbuck kept prodding one of the more jangled nerves of the body politic, posting a series of similar videos about John Deere, Harley-Davidson, Caterpillar, Stanley Black &amp; Decker, Jack Daniel’s, Lowe’s, Ford Motor, Molson Coors and, most recently, Toyota. All have since announced retreats from their D.E.I. policies, though almost none would discuss their reasons for this article.

His playbook is to exhort his audience to pressure companies and threaten them with economic pain. For corporations, the worst-case fate is what happened to Bud Light in 2023, after it formed a partnership with the social media influencer and trans activist Dylan Mulvaney. Detractors howled — Kid Rock posted a video of himself machine gunning Bud Light cases — and sales plummeted.

Mr. Starbuck says his posts and videos on X have been viewed hundreds of million of times per month, and claims they have occasionally slashed billions of dollars from the market cap of companies, all of which are publicly traded.

His videos “have a material effect that’s not lost on us,” Mr. Starbuck said during a recent interview at his home about 20 miles south of Nashville. “But what’s interesting is, when they’ve turned around” — when the companies change their D.E.I. policies, which he announces in a triumphant follow-up video — “stock’s fine. It goes up. Everything’s good.”

Wall Street analysts doubt that Mr. Starbuck has had such puppeteer-like control over share prices, which they say have risen and fallen for unrelated reasons. And in some cases, the changes that mollified Mr. Starbuck, and caused him to declare victory, seemed far from momentous.

Still, his campaign is nothing if not well timed. More than 30 states have introduced or enacted laws curtailing or eliminating D.E.I. initiatives in higher education. The topic has surfaced in the presidential race, with former President Donald J. Trump vowing that, if re-elected, he would review and reverse any actions taken by federal agencies under what he called President Biden’s “equity agenda.” A Bloomberg headline put it bluntly: [*“Corporate America Braces for D.E.I.’s Death if Trump Wins.”*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-07-31/corporate-america-braces-for-dei-s-death-if-trump-wins-election?embedded-checkout=true)

It’s part of an atmospheric change hastened by the Supreme Court ruling last year that rejected affirmative action at universities and colleges. That decision prompted corporations to worry that their D.E.I. programs could be challenged next, a fear that grew after a number of law firms were sued for diversity fellowship programs by the lawyer Edward Blum, who prevailed in the university affirmative action case.

Google and Meta pulled back from their D.E.I. programs last year. Others have renamed them. The Society for Human Resource Management, an organization for H.R. professionals, announced in July that it was dropping the “equity” part of its D.E.I. program because it had become a “distraction.”

Which is not to say that diversity drives have been canceled. The Human Rights Campaign says that the number of companies participating in its scorecard, the Corporate Equality Index, will reach a record high next year: 1,400. Despite Tractor Supply and other companies dropping out, that’s a five percent increase over this year’s numbers.

“I think it’s a steady progression forward at a time when we’re experiencing backlash,” said Kelley Robinson, the president of the H.R.C. And the loudest proponents of that backlash are having a moment. Robby Starbuck, she said, is one of a handful of “extremist conservative activists that are doing all they can to pull back the progress that we’ve made.”

He’s one of the flashier lights in a constellation of anti-D.E.I. media personalities. Together, they are complicating the choices of chief executives who are trying to build and nurture a diverse work force while also searching for a middle path that will infuriate the smallest number of employees and consumers.

The problem is that the line they are carefully treading has moved. Momentum around the topic has shifted and, in ways, so has the law. After the murder of George Floyd in 2020, said Julie Levinson Werner, an employment lawyer, “I got a lot of calls from companies saying, ‘What is our D.E.I.? What are we doing? How are we investing? Can we hire a special intern?’”

She doesn’t get those calls anymore.

“Now it’s: ‘Should we revisit this? Should we call it something different? Will this pass muster?’”

A Sinister Plot

Mr. Starbuck pulls his dark, shoulder-length hair into a man bun; when we met, he wore an untucked navy shirt, bluejeans and black cowboy boots, looking like a guy ready to line dance in a honky-tonk. As a self-professed homebody, that’s a place you are unlikely to find him. He speaks much as he does in his videos, in an even and nearly nonstop torrent of words. He is friendly, intense and expansive.

“I’m guilty of being a rambler, which my wife will tell you,” he said.

He had just ended a quick tour of what he calls his farm, which consists of chickens, a cow, a bull and some rabbits. His black Tesla sits in the driveway. The interior of his house looks like a smartly furnished and very spacious model home. His wife, Landon, is a singer and songwriter who is “passionate about faith, family, freedom, truth and justice for the vulnerable,” as it says on her website. The couple have four children.

Mr. Starbuck sat on the same patio where he recorded many of his videos, using nothing but his mobile phone. Two employees work in a small studio on the second floor of a building attached to the house, gathering information and helping with production. A “liberty or death” flag hangs on the wall. More videos are in the works, including attacks on the D.E.I. policies of companies with a customer base he describes as “50-50,” which is to say that they are appealing to customers on both sides of the political divide, rather than ones that presumably rely primarily on conservative buyers, like Tractor Supply.

Born Robby Starbuck Newsom, he grew up in Temecula, Calif., a city between San Diego and Los Angeles. His mother is an immigrant from Cuba; he had a troubled relationship with his American father, now deceased.

Mr. Starbuck graduated from high school at 16, and dropped out of community college to work for a video production company. Through that job and others, he earned enough to buy video recording equipment and start a production company of his own in Los Angeles. He made music videos for Snoop Dogg, Smashing Pumpkins and other acts. For a time, he and his family lived in the same gated community as the Kardashians.

He came to loathe his work. He had married Landon when he was 18 years old, and they started having children. As a new father, he felt that the entertainment industry was pumping cultural bile intended for teens into the American bloodstream. He saw a malign force at work, and behind that force, the Democratic Party.

“Entertainment was being used as a weapon to engineer specific political beliefs and to openly sexualize kids,” he wrote in a text, “because ultimately, overly sexualized kids will eventually vote for the party that promotes the most hedonistic behavior.”

His role in the entertainment industry started to feel like a form of cowardice. All the more so after he gave his life to Jesus, as he put it. He had always been a Republican, but by the time Mr. Trump came along for his first presidential run, Mr. Starbuck concluded that he was in the wrong place and the wrong business. On his social media channels, Mr. Starbuck embraced the candidate, fully understanding that it would have a self-immolating impact on his career in a liberal bastion. He says that 85 percent of his clients, which included major labels, dropped him.

“He pretty much got canceled out of the industry,” said Matthew Stevenson, a cinematographer who worked with Mr. Starbuck.

Mr. Starbuck and his family relocated to Tennessee in 2018, a place he barely knew, but where he felt he would find people with values more aligned with his own. He says he supports his campaigns with investments of money from his video production company, now defunct; an undisclosed number of $5-a-month subscribers to his X channel; and from proceeds from his 2024 documentary, “The War on Children.”

The film, his most ambitious foray into activist media, covers a litany of familiar problems: The rise of gender dysphoria; alarming rates of depression among children; easy access to pornography. The film also captures his antipathy toward transgender rights activism, a frequent target of his current anti-D.E.I. campaign.

As director, reporter and narrator, Mr. Starbuck argues that American children now live in a terrifying hellscape of predators — greedy corporations, left-leaning politicians, witless school boards, all of them in the thrall of a woke agenda. Their efforts, he says through interviews and over a stirring score, will result in nothing less than a Marxist government.

The film captures what is so tricky about Mr. Starbuck’s work. He starts with an ember of reality — teenage depression rates are really rising, for instance — and fans it into an unrecognizable political apocalypse.

His objections to D.E.I. are similarly alarmist. He doesn’t see the initiatives as merely misguided, dumb or wasteful. To him, they are part of a sinister plot by the Democratic Party to shove the country toward communism.

“We have a bunch of left-wing authoritarian-like figures now who understand that it’s a major optics hit to come out and say, ‘I’m a communist,’” he said. “What you need is to be able to control the ideology, the minds of the people who are in control of the means of production and corporations.”

In his videos, Mr. Starbuck rarely emphasizes the idea of a communist takeover. Instead, critics say, he cherry picks well-intentioned elements of D.E.I. and recasts them as wokeness run amok.

“Part of the danger of Starbuck’s rhetoric is that it focuses on one divisive dimension of D.E.I.” — like Pride flags at Tractor Supply’s distribution center — “and misrepresents it as the wholeness of it, without understanding that these policies have implications for pay equity for women, for stamping out antisemitism, for creating inclusive workplace environments for veterans and so on,” said Shaun Harper, a professor of business, education and public policy at the University of Southern California. “It’s a misrepresentation of the facts as opposed to straight up lies.”

Mr. Starbuck’s worldview was shaped by his maternal great-grandfather, who lived through the rise of Fidel Castro in Cuba, and told his great-grandson that nobody saw the perils of the regime until it was too late. Before the dictatorship, there had been lots of uplifting talk about free health care and racial justice, which sounds, to Mr. Starbuck’s ears, a lot like the rhetoric of purportedly well-meaning Democrats.

The more you talk to Mr. Starbuck, the more you grasp that he sees danger, invisible to most, everywhere. During our visit, he mused about an experiment, conducted by a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, in which frogs were exposed to a common herbicide called Atrazine.

“The end result,” he said, “is that the majority of the frogs turned gay.”

Actually, the experiment found that many of the frogs became hermaphrodites. But the idea that a chemical turns frogs into homosexuals, and that it could do the same to humans, lives on. Its most vocal proponent is the conspiracy theorist and [*disinformation profiteer Alex Jones*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/05/us/alex-jones-finances.html).

By contrast, Mr. Starbuck appears utterly sincere — about gay frogs, a Communist plot, everything. He’s on the attack because he is certain that he, and every lucid American, is locked in a battle, whether they know it or not.

“The question we face now,” he says at the end of “The War on Children,” “is whether good or evil will win this war.”

Backlash to the Backlash

Mr. Starbuck’s social media following has its roots in his days as a music video director, when he was posting on social media about current events and stars like Akon. His numbers increased after his pivot to politics, and today, the relatively modest size of his audience is multiplied by a cadre of X accounts, YouTube channels and TikTokers, some of them well known (“The Dennis Prager Show,” NewsMax), some part of an ecosystem of conservative bro social media sites and podcasts (The Quartering, Benny Johnson).

These sites amplify an idea that seems to be gaining traction: That many D.E.I. programs have features that annoy as many people as they edify.

“I do think a lot of white, middle-class Americans, ***working-class*** Americans, are pretty fed up with diversity programs as they experienced them at work,” said Frank Dobbin, a professor of sociology at Harvard University and the author of “Inventing Equal Opportunity,” a book about workplace discrimination. “In part, it’s because they’ve been having the same poorly designed diversity training for the last 20 years, where they’ve been called racist, sexist bigots.”

[*The programs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/16/magazine/dei-university-michigan.html) haven’t always helped employers diversify the work force, he added. This frustrates employees, including those who want more diversity, and may explain why support for D.E.I. is a mixed picture. [*A Pew Research Center survey*](https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2023/05/17/diversity-equity-and-inclusion-in-the-workplace/) last year found that 56 percent of employed adults thought focusing on increasing D.E.I. in the workplace was a good idea; 16 percent said it was a bad idea. Twenty-eight percent of Black employees felt their companies weren’t doing enough.

Along with D.E.I. fatigue, what’s unfolding now is arguably the latest example of a pattern in this country that is as fixed as a rule of physics: Any force applied to elevate minorities will eventually be met with a counterforce. As Professor Dobbin noted, the success of the civil rights movement of the 1960s led to the rise of George Wallace, an Alabama segregationist who stoked racial resentments when he ran for president in 1972. Corporations reacted to the Black Lives Matter protests by expanding D.E.I.; a counterreaction is now underway.

Mr. Starbuck nearly always interprets corporate responses to his campaigns as complete surrender and often overstates his financial effect on corporate profits. On Aug. 15, he implied on X that a $1.2 billion drop in John Deere’s third-quarter sales was his doing. (He had posted his first video about the company five weeks earlier.) [*“Wokeness destroys businesses,” he wrote*](https://x.com/robbystarbuck/status/1824096952004264231?t=k0g1RZnzk8gdWLe6ucM1rg&amp;s=19).

Wall Street analysts had a different take. Some large farmers were giving “serious consideration” to switching brands as a result of Mr. Starbuck’s video, a research note written by Greg Badishkanian of Wolfe Research said. But analysts blamed the drop on interest rate changes and weak crop prices. (These analysts work for “woke” institutions, Mr. Starbuck countered.)

A spokesman for Ford, the only company targeted by Mr. Starbuck that would speak for this article, said it made the decision not to participate in H.R.C.’s Corporate Equality Index scoring system before Mr. Starbuck was in touch.

“We decided to look at what kind of workplace we want to foster as opposed to meeting the guidelines of other people’s surveys,” said Richard Binhammer, the spokesman.

Whether Mr. Starbuck caused the changes or merely caught the shifting direction of the wind, some companies are hiring public relations specialists and law firms to [*gird against his attacks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/business/dealbook/dei-backlash-advisers.html). Corporations tend to change course, to varying degrees, once they are in his sights. Molson Coors, Lowe’s, Harley-Davidson and others have said they will sponsor only events core to the company’s business. (In Molson’s case, that means “Hometown communities” and goals like alcohol responsibility.) Harley also ended “socially motivated content” in employee training programs.

At the same time, many companies announced their changes while restating a broad commitment to a diverse workplace. More than anything, the chief executives appear eager to minimize static and appease everybody, which is perhaps what they’ve always wanted. It’s just become harder to achieve.

In fact, the backlash to D.E.I. may already be producing a backlash of its own. After Tractor Supply and John Deere announced their post-Starbuck D.E.I. policies, the National Black Farmers Association declared that both would be boycotted.

“I see it as going backward,” said John Boyd, the founder of the N.B.F.A. “When they say they are doing away with their diversity programs, that sends the wrong signal.”

Mr. Starbuck says he’s heard from 5,000 people who want to spill about their companies and that he will contact many in the coming months. What he wants more than anything is a future in which everyone looks at this complicated topic — one that ropes in thorny and nuanced questions about race, history and fairness — and adopts his very uncomplicated solution.

One fine day, executives all over the country will wake up and say, “You know what? We’re going to stop being crazy,” and just return to what he calls American values.

Could it be any simpler?

Audio produced by Jack D’Isidoro

Audio produced by Jack D’Isidoro

PHOTOS: Above, Robby Starbuck, a former music video producer, in his home studio outside Nashville. Below, Mr. Starbuck moved to Tennessee from Los Angeles in 2018, expecting to live among like-minded conservatives. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC RYAN ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU6) This article appeared in print on page BU1, BU6, BU7.

**Load-Date:** February 13, 2025

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[***Montauk Fisherman Who Took Too Much Fluke Receives 30 Months***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CG0-13G1-DXY4-X2N7-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Chris Winkler went to trial after the government accused him of conspiring to sell illicit fish. Prosecutors said they were trying to preserve the bounty of the sea.

A Montauk, N.Y., fisherman was sentenced to 30 months in prison on Thursday for his role in a conspiracy to harvest and sell thousands of pounds more fluke and black sea bass than limits allowed.

The man, Chris Winkler, 64, who helms a 45-foot trawler called the New Age, was convicted by a Long Island jury in October on federal charges of hauling too many fish from the sea. The jury also found him guilty of falsifying records and selling his illegal catch to partners at Gosman's Dock, a waterfront mall and restaurant complex in Montauk, and to dealers at the Fulton Fish Market in the Bronx.

Mr. Winkler was unanimously convicted on the five counts he faced, which included criminal conspiracy, mail fraud and obstruction of justice. He was sentenced on Thursday by Judge Joan M. Azrack of the Eastern District of New York and will surrender in December.

''I consider this a serious crime,'' said Judge Azrack, who called the trial ''illuminating, educational and disturbing.'' Mr. Winkler, she said, ''undermined the integrity of the whole fisheries management program.''

Mr. Winkler sat in the courtroom in Central Islip's glassy federal court complex flanked by his lawyers. Mr. Winkler, who wore a blazer and had his shoulder-length hair tucked in a ponytail, appeared serious and occasionally emotional. He was joined by a smattering of friends and fellow Montauk residents, some of whom wore flip-flops and flannel shirts.

A lawyer for Mr. Winkler, Richard W. Levitt, declined to comment.

The sentencing came roughly nine months after Mr. Winkler's federal trial, which included testimony by dock workers and fishermen as well as officials from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, which sets quotas for each state.

The trial exposed long-simmering tension between Long Island's fishermen -- many of whom believe the quotas are outdated and unfair -- and the federal agency that regulates them.

The federal government has increasingly used criminal prosecution to enforce fishing regulations, and Mr. Winkler's case was among several similar cases brought by the Justice Department's Environment and Natural Resources Division in the past decade. Two such cases, against other Long Island fishermen charged with overfishing fluke, ended in prison sentences.

Some 73 miles from the courthouse are the glistening waters of Montauk, a village at the easternmost tip of Long Island. The former fishing village is a playground for some of New York City's wealthiest residents, slightly more remote than the glittering Hamptons towns. But the town retains a working port and a touch of its original rugged charm even as the area has gentrified.

Gosman's Dock, which began as a chowder stand in 1943 and grew into a miniature empire, has been one of Long Island's largest suppliers of fresh fish for decades.

Mr. Winkler was first charged in a 2021 indictment alongside Bryan Gosman and Asa Gosman, who are cousins, and a wholesale company they managed. The Gosmans pleaded guilty and later testified against Mr. Winkler, with one saying that he had occasionally served as a lookout to help Mr. Winkler evade law enforcement.

Mr. Winker's case concerns fishing trips between 2014 and 2017 during which he harvested at least 200,000 pounds of fluke and 20,000 pounds of black sea bass beyond the limit, prosecutors said. Mr. Winkler then fudged records to conceal the excess catch, they said.

Prosecutors also accused Mr. Winkler of cutting lucrative deals with the Gosmans, including offloading his catch at their dock for a fee and selling it to them and two other dealers in the Bronx. Prosecutors said the over-quota fish was worth nearly $900,000 on the wholesale market.

During Mr. Winkler's trial, prosecutors said that regulators were trying to ''preserve fishery resources for fish today, tomorrow and for generations to come.''

Mr. Winkler's lawyers argued that the case was built around outdated quotas. ''There is nothing at all rational about this system,'' Mr. Levitt said during the trial.

Mr. Winkler's lawyers continued that argument in a memo to the court requesting leniency. Mr. Winkler, they said, is a lifelong seaman from a ***working-class*** background who ''respected his craft, his crew and even the fish he netted.''

In letters submitted on Mr. Winkler's behalf, 22 friends and family members described him as pillar of the community who had provided those around him with guidance -- and sometimes, fish dinners -- during tumultuous times.

On Thursday, Mr. Levitt said that the Gosmans -- whom he referred to as ''scions of a wealthy Montauk family'' -- and other witnesses had received sweetheart deals. ''The government wants to throw the book at him,'' Mr. Levitt said of Mr. Winkler.

Mr. Winkler, who leaned back in his chair with a furrowed brow for much of Thursday's proceedings, acknowledged his crimes and said he felt deep remorse. But he added that the fluke stock had been robust.

''I'm deeply regretful that my choices and actions went against the rules of the very fishing industry that gave me everything,'' he said.

**Graphic**

Prosecutors accused Chris Winkler of conspiring to sell illicit fish. He faced five counts. ULI SEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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[***A Graphic Novel Finds a Relatable Hero in a Modern African Woman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6B9C-0DB1-JBG3-6006-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1378 words

**Byline:** Elian Peltier Elian Peltier is The Times&amp;#8217; West Africa correspondent, based in Dakar, Senegal.

**Highlight:** The “Aya” series explores the pains and pleasures of everyday life in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in West Africa.

**Body**

The “Aya” series explores the pains and pleasures of everyday life in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in West Africa.

One of the most successful African comics has no super heroes, and certainly no supernatural powers.

Instead, “Aya,” a graphic novel series, is full of everyday heroes, and topping the list is Aya herself, a young woman navigating the delights and obstacles of early adulthood in the West African nation of Ivory Coast.

Inspired by the childhood years that its author, Marguerite Abouet, spent in Ivory Coast and focused on daily life in a ***working-class*** suburb of Abidjan, the country’s largest city, the series mixes humor and biting takes on society, with a feminist twist — all vividly captured by Clément Oubrerie, the illustrator.

In the books, Aya and her friends go on awkward first dates, hook up and share countless shenanigans that celebrate Ivory Coast’s favorite sport after soccer — “palabrer,” or talking endlessly.

The relatable characters help explain the instant acclaim “Aya” won from readers and critics when it was first released in France in 2005; the following year, it won the award for best debut at the Angouleme International Comics Festival, one of the world’s leading comic gatherings. The books have since been translated into 15 languages and attracted more than a million readers worldwide.

In recent years, “Aya” has enjoyed a revival among a new generation of readers, many from the French-speaking African diaspora. “For teenagers in France, Aya is so in,” Abouet said in a telephone interview from Paris, where she now lives. “They discover an African character who doesn’t see being Black, or a woman, as a hurdle, who has her friends and her convictions.”

In the United States, sales of the books went up during the [*George Floyd protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd-protests-timeline.html) as American readers looked for fresh takes on racial issues and stories from Africa, said Peggy Burns, the publisher of Drawn &amp; Quarterly, which publishes “Aya” in North America.

The most recent volume that’s English, “Aya: Claws Come Out,” was released this week — another sign that the series resonates well beyond its setting, the neighborhood of Yopougon in the 1970s and 1980s.

Beyond the apparently light tone is a multilayered tale in which Aya and her friends struggle with unemployment and police violence, and fight for students’ rights and against sexual violence on campus.

In college, Aya wants to become a doctor then turns to law, but her father doesn’t really support her ambitions. Adjoua, one of her best friends, ends up raising a baby on her own; her other friend, Bintou, a rising actress, fights the sexism pervading the Ivorian television industry.

Their parents navigate the corruption plaguing the country as much as the issues roiling their households, like heavy drinking and adultery.

When Aya shares with Adjoua and Bintou that her father has been cheating on her mother for years and has had two children with his mistress, Bintou dismisses Aya’s despair with a devastating joke: “Sorry to tell you, but men are like hospital beds; they’ll take anyone under their sheets.”

Adjoua doubles down: “That’s how it’s always been, you know it!”

Abouet, 52, moved to France at age 12 and began writing about growing up in Ivory Coast after the parents of three children she was babysitting encouraged her to share stories from home with a broader public.

She did, and “Aya” is an ode to Abidjan’s most vibrant borough, Yopougon, the birthplace of zouglou, a dance style, and a [*wellspring of artistic creation*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd-protests-timeline.html).

Many of the landmarks that make up Aya’s Yopougon — the open-air playgrounds, the church Abouet would go to, the “1,000-star hotel,” an outdoor market turned meeting place for lovers at night — are gone. Middle-class families have moved to more affluent neighborhoods, and some areas are becoming gentrified, with gated communities sitting next to slums.

But the soul of the borough that Aya and her friends call Yop City, “like something out of an American movie,” lives on. The din of street vendors selling fried plantain or charcoal, groups of bickering children in school uniforms or harried workers running after public vans during rush hour give it a dizzying atmosphere.

Its unpaved alleys and broad avenues are still filled with the drone of sewing machines, the smell of grilled fish in open-air restaurants known as “maquis,” and the haze of exhaust fumes spewing out of brightly colored motorized tricycles.

Finding the Aya series in Yopougon is no easy task, as most book stalls in the street focus on self-help, school texts or old classics from France. [*Nearly half*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd-protests-timeline.html) of Ivory Coast’s 30 million people are illiterate, and “Aya” sales in West African countries represent less than 10 percent of the total, according to Gallimard, its publisher in French.

But Edwige-Renée Dro displays the books prominently in her library and bookstore in the heart of Yopougon, where she also organizes writing residences for women.

Dro, a writer herself, translated the most recent volume of “Aya” to be published in English. (There have been eight volumes in French, and three in English; the first two English-language volumes each collected three of the French originals into one. The most recent volume translated into English, “Aya: Claws Come Out,” is the seventh one in France.)

She called the series a classic of Ivorian literature.

“Ivorian writers don’t write in the language we speak on the streets,” Dro said on a recent morning on the rooftop of her library, where she was smoking a cigarette and combing through the book she translated. “Marguerite does, and people in Ivory Coast see themselves in Aya.”

But she noted that “Aya” was still published in France, Ivory Coast’s former colonial power. “In order to have a vibrant Ivorian literary scene, we need the infrastructure here,” she added.

After the fifth French issue, Abouet and Oubrerie took a 12-year break from the series. During that time, they adapted “Aya” into a movie, and Abouet wrote “That’s Life!” a television series popular across West Africa in which she explores themes developed in “Aya,” like women’s well-being, gender issues and public health. She has also been writing “Akissi: Tales of Mischief,” a tale for younger readers published in a youth magazine sold across West Africa and [*collected in an English-language book*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd-protests-timeline.html).

Last year, as Abouet was promoting the most recent volume of the book to be released in France — the eighth, not available in English yet — she said that she met many mixed-race teenagers and young adults who felt a real connection to her characters.

“There are not so many heroes like them,” Abouet said. “Black Panther is nice, but for many it is too much, too futuristic. They want a middle ground.”

Abouet said that she remains fascinated with perceptions of “Aya” across the world. In northern European countries, she said parents have asked if children in West Africa go to therapy after discovering that their father has a second family, or that he has cheated on their mother.

In Ethiopia she was once booed by university students who accused her of promoting homosexuality through the character of Innocent, a gay friend of Aya’s who moves to France and faces the hurdles of living as an undocumented migrant.

“Life in Africa is made of problems we all have, on all continents,” Abouet said. “But I still wonder, how come daily life in a ***working-class*** neighborhood of an African city is something of interest to you?”

From her library of in Yopougon, Dro, the translator, said the reason was clear to her.

“In ‘Aya,’ we see Africans loving each other,” she said. “Like everyone else.”

PHOTOS: Above, Marguerite Abouet said her books, top, are popular with French teenagers because they “discover an African character who doesn’t see being Black, or a woman, as a hurdle.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY VIOLETTE FRANCHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JOÃO SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Edwige-Renée Dro, who translated the novel “Aya: Claws Come Out” into English, also owns a library and bookstore in Yopougon, a suburb of Abidjan, in Ivory Coast. Dro said that people in Ivory Coast “see themselves in Aya.” Right, the Yopougon neighborhood. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOÃO SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES); PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS FROM DRAWN &amp; QUARTERLY) This article appeared in print on page C6.

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[***The Harris-\_\_\_\_\_\_ Campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJJ-9431-DXY4-X067-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 24, 2024 Wednesday 11:51 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 2039 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt and Ian Prasad Philbrick 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." Ian Prasad Philbrick is a writer for The Morning newsletter.

**Highlight:** We cover the four leading vice-presidential contenders.

**Body**

We cover the four leading vice-presidential contenders.

Kamala Harris’s choice of a running mate probably won’t decide this year’s presidential campaign. It’s hard to argue that a vice-presidential nominee has swung even a single state over the past 60 years.

Why not? The country’s polarization means that people increasingly base their vote on salient national issues. The media landscape has nationalized, reducing the influence of local news organizations and political parties. And vice presidents receive a fraction of the attention that presidents do.

These factors help explain why Paul Ryan, then a Wisconsin congressman, didn’t help Mitt Romney win that state in 2012 and why John Edwards didn’t help John Kerry win North Carolina in 2004. Not since Lyndon Johnson helped John F. Kennedy narrowly win Texas in 1960 has a running mate arguably made a difference.

But Harris’s choice could still matter very much for other reasons. She will be picking a partner who would help her govern. Most important, she will be elevating a potential future president.

Think back to four years ago. For his running mate, Joe Biden was choosing among Harris, Tammy Duckworth, Susan Rice, Elizabeth Warren, Gretchen Whitmer and a few others. By selecting Harris, Biden effectively chose the 2024 Democratic nominee.

We’ve chatted with our colleagues covering the Harris campaign, and today we offer a breakdown of [*the leading possibilities*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Most analysts expect Harris to pick a white man, as a form of demographic balance, much as Biden picked a woman of color four years ago.

The swing-state candidates

Despite the poor track record of swing-state running mates, they remain tempting possibilities. Given the expected closeness of the election, even a tiny boost could make a difference. Harris has two such options:

Josh Shapiro, Pennsylvania’s popular governor, has wowed many Democrats with a forceful speaking style and center-left record that helped him beat a Donald Trump ally in a landslide two years ago. Shapiro emphasizes abortion rights — but also supports fracking and school vouchers. He could help Harris combat Republican claims that she’s too liberal.

“Shapiro makes a lot of sense on paper,” our colleague Adam Nagourney said. Perhaps Shapiro’s biggest downside is that he could inflame divisions between moderate and liberal Democrats over the war in Gaza. Shapiro, who speaks proudly of his Jewish faith, has criticized both Israel’s right-wing government as an obstacle to peace and some anti-Israel protests in the U.S. as antisemitic.

Mark Kelly, a senator from Arizona, has a résumé from swing-state central casting, even if he’s not the orator that Shapiro is. Kelly is a Navy veteran and a former NASA astronaut. He represents a border state and has criticized Biden’s immigration policies. Kelly is married to Gabby Giffords, the former congresswoman who became a gun-control activist after being shot in 2011.

A downside: If Harris chose him and won, it would trigger a special election in Arizona in 2026, potentially costing Democrats a Senate seat.

Whitmer, Michigan’s governor who would otherwise fall into this category, has said she doesn’t want the job.

(Interviews with Democratic delegates found [*more support for Shapiro and Kelly*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) than any other candidates.)

The red-state governors

Some people may consider North Carolina a purple state, but no Democratic presidential or Senate candidate has won it in more than 15 years. Roy Cooper, however, has won back-to-back governor’s races. He would help Harris project a pragmatic image nationally.

He and Harris have known each other for years, having worked together when each was a state attorney general. Cooper, 67, has never lost an election. His signature achievement as governor has been expanding health insurance through Obamacare. But he is not considered exciting. “Cooper’s not given to soaring oratory or impassioned stemwinders,” Jeffrey Billman, a reporter for The Assembly, a North Carolina publication, [*has written*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Andy Beshear, Kentucky’s governor, has an even more impressive electoral record than Cooper does. In a state that Trump won by 26 points four years ago, Beshear has been elected governor twice. “Beshear’s talent for projecting compassion, including to Republicans, helps explain how the Democrat pulled off 2023’s most impressive political feat,” Molly Ball of The Wall Street Journal [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

A deacon at his church, Beshear won praise for his handling of Covid and natural disasters. He says that American politics have become too angry. And he has criticized other Democrats for suggesting that ***working-class*** people are dumb for voting Republican.

The second tier

Pete Buttigieg, Biden’s transportation secretary, would be a Democratic version of Trump’s running mate, JD Vance — a youthful military veteran with a talent for making his party’s case on television. Buttigieg would be the first openly gay vice president.

Tim Walz, Minnesota’s populist governor, might help Harris appeal to ***working-class*** voters. Wes Moore, Maryland’s first Black governor, is considered a potential future presidential candidate. JB Pritzker, the governor of Illinois, is a billionaire who could help finance Harris’s campaign. Gina Raimondo has accomplished more than most secretaries of commerce and is a favorite of moderate Democrats.

“Chemistry matters,” said Jennifer Medina, a colleague of ours who’s covering the campaign. “Harris obviously knows the job of vice president and is likely to look for someone who she can work well with in this fast sprint and beyond — someone who is unlikely to cause a lot of drama or be too focused on their own prospects for 2028 or 2032.”

More on the campaign

* Trump accused Harris of enabling the “willful demolition of American borders.” He said he [*was willing to debate her multiple times*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

1. “[*I know Donald Trump’s type*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing),” Harris said at a rally in suburban Wisconsin, contrasting her background as a prosecutor with his criminal convictions. More people attended the speech than were at any of Biden’s campaign events this year.

* Chuck Schumer and Hakeem Jeffries, the Democratic congressional leaders, endorsed Harris in a joint press conference.

1. Policy issues have played little role in the 2024 campaign so far. [*Harris’s entry could change that*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), Nate Cohn writes.
2. Biden, who returned to the White House after testing negative for Covid, [*will speak from the Oval Office tonight*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) about his withdrawal.
3. For much of Harris’s vice presidency, internet memes mocked her. Now [*liberals are sharing them triumphantly*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), the critic Amanda Hess writes. ([*Read an explanation*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) of Harris’s “brat summer” rebrand and the coconut tree emojis.)

THE LATEST NEWS

The Trump Shooting

* Kimberly Cheatle, the Secret Service director, [*resigned over security failures*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) related to the shooting. Biden said he would appoint a new director soon.

1. The Pennsylvania police [*asked the Secret Service*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) about a warehouse roof two days before a gunman used it to shoot at Trump, a state police colonel told Congress.
2. Mike Johnson, speaker of the House, and Jeffries [*announced a bipartisan task force*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) to investigate the assassination attempt.
3. Trump accused Biden and Harris of [*failing to “properly protect me,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) writing on social media that he “was forced to take a bullet for Democracy.”

Israel-Hamas War

* The two main rival Palestinian factions, Fatah and Hamas, [*jointly endorsed a temporary government*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) for Gaza and the West Bank, in a show of unity that China brokered.

1. Benjamin Netanyahu will address Congress today. Some Democrats, including Senator Dick Durbin and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, [*plan to boycott the speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. Biden will meet with Netanyahu at the White House tomorrow. [*Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) and [*Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) will also meet with Netanyahu during his visit.

International

* Parts of southern Italy are experiencing one of [*their worst droughts in decades*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). The authorities in Sicily are working to at least save tourism.
* Landslides in Ethiopia devastated a village and [*killed at least 229 people*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), including volunteers who had raced to help.

1. Emmanuel Macron, France’s president, rejected a coalition of left-wing parties’ pick for prime minister, saying he [*would not appoint anyone until after the Olympics*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. A plane crashed while taking off from an airport in Kathmandu, Nepal, [*killing 18 people*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Business

* Tesla’s profits [*fell in the last three months*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) as electric car sales weaken.

1. Alphabet’s [*profits jumped*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), but [*its stock price fell*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) after an earnings report showed its ad sales slowing, The Wall Street Journal reports.
2. The Transportation Department [*opened an investigation into Delta Air Lines*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) over its treatment of passengers, including unaccompanied minors, after a global tech outage.

Other Big Stories

* Senator Robert Menendez, a New Jersey Democrat recently convicted of corruption, [*will resign next month*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). The state’s Democratic governor will appoint a temporary replacement.

1. An Army reservist who fatally shot 18 people in Maine last year had homicidal thoughts beforehand. [*His commanders missed the signs*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), an investigation found.
2. At Yellowstone National Park, tourists raced for safety after a hydrothermal explosion shot [*boiling water and rock into the air*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Opinions

Like many women in politics, Kamala Harris is underestimated. But she [*is well prepared for this moment*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), Hillary Clinton writes.

Harris is unpopular, a bad campaigner and anchored to Biden’s record. [*Nominating her is a mistake*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), Bret Stephens argues.

Trump [*lies about his presidential record*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), as Steven Rattner shows in these charts.

Nancy Pelosi was unapologetically ruthless in [*ending Biden’s presidential campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). She showed that powerful women don’t have to be likable, Jessica Bennett writes.

Here’s a column by Thomas Friedman on [*Netanyahu*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

MORNING READS

Bon appétit: Food is the centerpiece of Paris’s Olympic Village, where [*six restaurants*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) will serve 15,000 Olympians.

Wellness: How [*healthy is sweet corn*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)

D.C.: The home of a former Washington Post publisher was once a hub for the powerful. A battle has [*left it empty for 22 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Lives Lived: The ethnic studies professor Robert Allen wrote a book about Black U.S. sailors unfairly convicted of conspiracy to commit mutiny during World War II. Allen, who campaigned for the sailors’ exoneration, [*died at 82*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) — a week before the Navy cleared them of wrongdoing.

SPORTS

Spying? The Canadian Olympic Committee apologized after a member of its support team was said to have [*flown a drone*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) over the New Zealand women’s soccer practice.

Suspension: A top British equestrian won’t compete in Paris because a video showed an undisclosed “error of judgment.” [*Read more about her exit*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

An exit: A Japanese gymnast withdrew from the Olympic Games after violating her team’s [*rules against smoking and drinking*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

ARTS AND IDEAS

In the era before mass cellphone use — before the late 1990s — isolation in horror movies was easier to parse. Now, filmmakers struggle to work around smartphones with GPS and internet access. Some solutions appear clichéd or perfunctory, but others use the unreliable cellphone as a key element of the terror. See examples of the ways horror cinema [*navigates the problem*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

More on culture

* John Mayall, a pioneering British bandleader whose mid-1960s blues ensembles incubated some of the biggest stars of rock’s golden era, [*died at 90*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

1. Chappell Roan, a rising pop star, has scored two big hits recently. The venues her team [*picked out months ago for her tour*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) are struggling to fit her audience.
2. Stephen Colbert discussed [*Charli XCX’s claim that Harris is “brat.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Make [*spaghetti with tuna*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) with items already in your pantry.

Test [*your fitness*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Protect your [*ears at concerts*](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 pangram was talkative.

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 and Ian

P.S. Jeremiah Bogert, a Times photo editor who has worked on this newsletter, co-directed a documentary about Chinese surfers challenging their country’s rigid sports culture. [*Watch it here*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

[*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: At the Harris campaign headquarters in Delaware. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The Many Versions of JD Vance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CK5-GJW1-DXY4-X2SP-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; MICHELLE GOLDBERG

**Length:** 983 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

In ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' the 2016 memoir that made JD Vance a celebrity, he described constantly remaking his childhood self to fit the rotating cast of father figures his unsound mother brought into their lives. ''With Steve, a midlife-crisis sufferer with an earring to prove it, I pretended earrings were cool -- so much so that he thought it appropriate to pierce my ear,'' Vance wrote. ''With Chip, an alcoholic police officer who saw my earring as a sign of 'girlieness,' I had thick skin and loved police cars. With Ken, an odd man who proposed to Mom three days into their relationship, I was a kind brother to his two children.''

Vance's yearning for a father is a constant theme in the book, as is his willingness to rationalize the flaws of the men he looks up to. At one point, he is reunited with his biological father, who gave him up for adoption when he was in kindergarten. The women in Vance's life -- not just his mother, but also his beloved sister, grandmother and aunt -- told him that his dad had been ''mean'' and abusive, but he doesn't believe it, preferring to think that there had only been ''a bit of pushing, some plate throwing, but nothing more.''

His father was a devoted Pentecostal, and for a time Vance gave up his Black Sabbath CDs and became one, too. ''I'm not sure if I liked the structure or if I just wanted to share in something that was important to him -- both, I suppose -- but I became a devoted convert,'' he wrote.

''Devoted convert'' may be the role he inhabits most naturally. In 2016 Vance speculated that Donald Trump might be ''America's Hitler.'' Now he's his running mate. A lot has been written trying to understand Vance's ideological journey, but at least part of the story seems to be hiding in plain sight in his book. In attaching himself to the most bellicose patriarch he can find, he's re-enacting a childhood pattern.

There is, of course, nothing inherently pathological about changing one's political views. Vance, however, swapped out not just his beliefs but his entire public persona in just a few short years. ''Hillbilly Elegy'' contains an indictment of ''conspiracy-mongers and fringe lunatics'' who spread lies about Barack Obama's religion and birthplace. And it laments the corrosive cynicism that led many in his white ***working-class*** community to embrace these falsehoods.

Vance presented their views as self-defeating: ''We can't trust the evening news. We can't trust our politicians. Our universities, the gateway to a better life, are rigged against us,'' he wrote, adding, ''You can't believe these things and participate meaningfully in society.''

Now Vance promotes all these things. He's argued that Alex Jones is more trustworthy than Rachel Maddow and that Joe Biden may be intentionally flooding the country with fentanyl to kill off MAGA voters. He gave a speech in 2021 titled, ''The Universities Are the Enemy.''

Vance's new worldview can be explained in part by opportunism: He was anti-Trump at a time when Trumpism seemed likely to fail. And he's said he was ''red-pilled'' by the cultural upheavals of 2020, a common enough phenomenon, especially in the Silicon Valley circles he travels in. But there is something particularly extreme about Vance's transformation, suggesting he hasn't left behind the mutability that once served as a survival strategy.

As Gabriel Winant wrote in a perceptive essay in the journal N+1, ''Hillbilly Elegy'' is fundamentally a book about unresolved trauma. In one of the book's final moments, Vance gains some insight into his own behavior by reading up on ''adverse childhood experiences,'' or ACEs. Kids who endure violent and chaotic childhoods like his, he wrote, ''become hard-wired for conflict. And that wiring remains, even when there's no more conflict to be had.''

His upbringing had taught him that ''disagreements were war, and you played to win the game.'' Understanding this, he wrote, helped him navigate his relationship with his wife, Usha. But he seems to have stopped there, rather than reckon with how his pugilistic instincts shape his approach to the wider world.

In 2020, Vance wrote an essay detailing his journey from Pentecostalism through the new atheism of Christopher Hitchens and finally into Catholicism. He portrayed his young adult rejection of religion as essentially mimetic, something he absorbed from his university surroundings rather than decided on for himself. One of the things that brought him back to religion was meeting the right-wing venture capitalist Peter Thiel, who would eventually become a patron. Thiel ''was possibly the smartest person I'd ever met, but he was also a Christian,'' Vance wrote. Vance converted to Catholicism in 2019. By then, he'd become part of a new conservative elite in which many leading intellectual figures were also Catholic.

Now this person of unusual suggestibility has become second in command to a first-order demagogue, giving himself over to MAGA theology. As Mother Jones reported on Thursday, Vance recently endorsed a new book called ''Unhumans,'' co-written by the ''Pizzagate'' conspiracy theorist Jack Posobiec, which demonizes progressives as nonpeople who must be crushed by extra-democratic means. ''Our study of history has brought us to this conclusion: Democracy has never worked to protect innocents from the unhumans,'' the book's co-writers say.

It is perhaps not surprising that Vance has ended up in this milieu. Authoritarian personalities, as the German social psychologist Erich Fromm argued, long to dominate, but they long just as much to submit.

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**Graphic**

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**End of Document**



[***Demi Moore and the Subversive Politics of the Naked Body; Fall Preview***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXJ-MRV1-JBG3-647D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1480 words

**Highlight:** She has become known for baring all (or, at least, a lot). But her work, including her newest film, “The Substance,” should be understood in a wider context.

**Body**

By the end of the 1990s, after years of giving her all to Hollywood and baring most of her all, too, Demi Moore began her fade-out. She had been a major film star that decade, complete with huge hits, humbling flops, famous friends, a celebrity marriage and headline-making magazine covers. Like all stars, she put in the work and sold the merch, herself included. And, like a lot of female stars, she made movies with male filmmakers who turned her into a spectacle of desire, a spectacle that she partly sought ownership of via her body.

You see a lot of her body in Moore’s latest movie, “[*The Substance*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc),” from the French filmmaker Coralie Fargeat. (It opens Sept. 20.) It’s a body-horror freakout that satirically takes aim at the commodification of women, and Moore is ferociously memorable in it as an actress who’s fired when she hits 50. It’s a performance that’s strong enough that you stop thinking about the fact that she’s naked in a lot of the scenes, strong enough to make you stop wondering what her exercise regime is or what work, if any, she’s had done. By the end, I admired how she had risen above the material; I also hoped she has better movies in her future.

She deserves them. Her performance in “The Substance” is a gaudy, physically demonstrative role that requires her to convey a range of outsize states that dovetail with the movie’s excesses, from her character’s plasticky on-camera smiles to her private despair and boiling rage. Like some of Moore’s best-known movies, “The Substance” also requires her to shed her clothing. Even after decades of watching her perform in states of undress, it is startling to see Moore, now 61, stand naked before a mirror as the camera slowly travels across her body. There’s a near-clinical quality to how she looks at herself and, I think, a touch of defiance.

The 1980s weren’t a welcoming period for women in the mainstream movie industry, yet Moore gradually succeeded in making a name for herself in between hanging with her pals in the [*Brat Pack*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc) and appearing in mediocre films (“[*St. Elmo’s Fire*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc)”) and flat-out rotten ones (“[*About Last Night*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc),” ugh). Her big break came with [*“Ghost”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc) (1990), a dreamy, sad romance in which she plays a dewy-eyed artist whose lover (Patrick Swayze) is murdered. Moore looked “terminally wistful much of the time” in the film, as [*Janet Maslin observed*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc) in The New York Times. Yet Moore also “combines toughness and delicacy most attractively,” which nicely expresses her gift for characters who often seem compelled to safeguard their vulnerabilities.

“Ghost” was the top-grossing movie of the year, racked up more than a half a billion dollars at the global box office and catapulted Moore into true stardom. She followed this by starring in, as well as producing, “[*Mortal Thoughts*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc)” (1991), a deliciously nasty noirish drama about two ***working-class*** Jersey friends (Moore and Glenne Headly) who cover up the murder of one of their husbands, played with relish and persuasive vulgarity by Moore’s husband at the time, Bruce Willis. One of her finest movies, it gave her a chance to express her range partly because she was working with a real filmmaker, Alan Rudolph. In contrast to many of her earlier directors, he didn’t treat Moore like a sex puppet but instead helped her create a nuanced, teasingly elusive woman.

With the exception of “Ghost” and some other notable releases, the early and mid-1990s weren’t much better for actresses than the previous decade had been. The month after “Ghost” opened, Meryl Streep, speaking at the Screen Actors Guild’s first National Women’s Conference, shared some bleak statistics that the organization had compiled. With their top guns, dashing adventurers and hyper-muscular heroes like Rambo, the 1980s had been so bad for women that in 1989, Streep told the audience, men had hogged 71 percent of the roles in feature films and were earning more than double what women did. “If the trend continues,” [*Streep ominously warned*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc), “by the year 2010 we may be eliminated from movies altogether.”

Despite this somber landscape, Moore thrived in the 1990s until she didn’t. After “Ghost,” she again became headline news in 1991 for appearing hugely pregnant and beautifully nude [*on the cover of Vanity Fair*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc), sending puritans to their fainting couches. (The accompanying article was as unflattering as the cover was flattering, a foreboding sign that she had become an easy target.) She held her own alongside Tom Cruise and Jack Nicholson in the military court drama “A Few Good Men” (1992); starred in the schlocky drama “Indecent Proposal” (1993) as a married woman who sleeps with a billionaire for a million bucks; and played a villain opposite Michael Douglas in “Disclosure” (1994), a disingenuous, sleazy thriller that tries to say something about sexual harassment but is really about male fears of female power.

Moore kept her clothes on in her movies more than she took them off, but it’s the ones in which she ditched her outfits, in part or full, that predictably sparked reams of publicity and some nitwit outrage. They’re still the films that she’s often most closely identified with, for better and for worse, with the bottom-barrel crummiest being the inept, grimly unfunny comedy [*“Striptease” (1996)*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc). She plays an exotic dancer who likes shimmying to Annie Lennox and is trying to recover custody of her daughter while navigating a byzantine, politically freighted intrigue. Moore has some nice moments in which she gets to show off her comic timing and the dancer’s humanity, but the movie is mostly interested in showing off her body.

By the time Moore shot “Striptease,” star salaries had skyrocketed to previously unseen heights; or, rather, salaries for actors like Sylvester Stallone had soared. Bruce Willis, Moore wrote in her engaging [*2019 memoir, “Inside Out,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNlrGhBpYjc) was paid more than $20 million for the third “Die Hard” flick. Moore was paid $12.5 million to star in “Striptease,” which earned her the nickname Gimme Moore. Hard-body male stars like Willis, Stallone, Cruise, Arnold Schwarzenegger and others were lavishly rewarded for flaunting their six-packs and bulging biceps in ridiculous, giddily violent action flicks while Moore was skewered for having the audacity to bare herself in an equally nonsensical comedy about a heroic, loving single mom.

Looking back on the period, I wonder if all those professional macho men factored into her decision to star in Ridley Scott’s “G.I. Jane” (1997), another career high point in which she bulked up to play a Navy S.E.A.L. I love the film, despite its flaws, including an unfortunate scene in which Moore executes some very impressive one-armed push-ups in short shorts while her nipples stand at attention in a sleeveless undershirt. I get why the scene was shot. Moore was a celebrated, bankable sex symbol. She also had a buzz cut for much of the running time and was otherwise so deglammed that I imagine she, Scott and company felt that they needed to eroticize her to peddle the film. It didn’t work; the movie flopped badly.

In her memoir, Moore spends a lot of time on her kids, husbands and movies, but what’s striking is the space she devotes to her body. It makes for painful, at times infuriating reading, as when she revisits her experience with “Indecent Proposal.” She writes that while she agreed to the sex scenes, the director Adrian Lyne promised that he’d cut anything she found objectionable. “Still, I would be on display again,” she writes, “and all I could think about was my body, my body, my body.” So, once again, she threw herself into an exercise regime until she felt good about how she looked. In response, Lyne told her she was too thin, the perverse reverse of what the director Ed Zwick said to her before “About Last Night”: She was too fat.

Moore deserved better from Lyne, from Zwick, from the movie industry she made a lot of money from and from all those media types who eagerly fawned over her until they gleefully fileted her. Over her career, she has gone through the usual stages of Hollywood stardom — invention, exploitation, idolization, rejection and resurrection — with what seems to be a lot of self-actualizing work along with grit, sweat and, yes, talent. In a career filled with box-office highs, derided lows and states of undress, she has been by turns celebrated and mocked for being precisely what the movies asked her to be: a fantasy, one that is emblematic of how the world continues to look at women and that now finds Moore staring right back, naked and defiant.

PHOTOS: PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HOLLYWOOD PICTURES, VIA EVERETT COLLECTION; PHIL BRAY/HOLLYWOOD PICTURES; ALLSTAR PICTURE LIBRARY LTD., VIA ALAMY; COLUMBIA PICTURES, VIA EVERETT COLLECTION.); Demi Moore plays an actress trying to cope with issues of aging in Hollywood in “The Substance.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY MUBI) This article appeared in print on page AR77.

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[***Corporate Barbie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C9Y-F5D1-DXY4-X015-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 16; NONFICTION

**Length:** 749 words

**Byline:** By Lucinda Rosenfeld

**Body**

In ''Ambition Monster,'' Jennifer Romolini recounts a rise from blue-collar dropout to ''Corporate Barbie,'' and what it cost her.

AMBITION MONSTER: A Memoir, by Jennifer Romolini

This spring, the website LitHub published an essay about the lack of financial particulars in contemporary fiction. That piece stayed in my head as I read Jennifer Romolini's spirited memoir about her transformation from an angry and self-destructive child of teen parents in ***working-class*** Philadelphia to a hard-charging fashion magazine editor and, later, a ''Corporate Barbie'' at a Fortune 500 tech company.

Although a work of nonfiction, the memoir, ''Ambition Monster,'' is at its most original when it grapples with the monetary calculations and status anxiety of a heroine who, unlike many denizens of the 21st-century mediascape, has neither a trust fund nor an Ivy League pedigree to fall back on.

Instead, pregnant, shotgun-married and a college dropout at age 21, the author seems poised to follow in the domestic footsteps of her mother. But a circuitous path leads her back to community college, then out of a stifling marriage. A collection of truly terrible boyfriends follows. Among them: a writer-musician who, unhappy about being broken up with, sends a photocopy of his middle finger, embellished with the words, ''I now look at you as only a receptacle to put sperm.''

At a summer publishing course in her late 20s, Romolini makes the acquaintance of another world-class jerk: this one a ''maverick'' middle-aged publisher. Soon after, she washes up in New York City. There, she finds herself sharing his V.I.P. table at the nightclub Moomba, and, more generally, ''submitting to sex not for pleasure but as an extension of my résumé, a gathering of useful information, a performance of independence, if not solely a means to numb out.''

It is ultimately through pavement pounding, not connections, that she lands her first editorial assistant job. But her ascent up the career ladder is slippery; after paying rent, Romolini has so little money left over that she resorts to making $3 rice and beans last two nights.

Even after landing a proper editor's post, she discovers that she makes less than she did while waiting tables. Compelled to seek side gigs, she writes unlikely-to-win-a-Pulitzer features for Target's in-house magazine with headlines like, ''What's Your Faucet Style?'' Insecurities about her skill set and class background persist, exacerbated by the frequent experience of dating men with more success and fancier educations than her own.

But if the constant threat of precarity underscores her drive, Romolini makes the argument that it is actually childhood trauma -- her early years were steeped in chaos and occasional violence -- that accounts for her growing workaholism as she moves through her 30s and 40s. ''Inside me is a hungry, terrified, security-craving goblin in the presence of whom I feel powerless; an ambitious monster who wants it all,'' she writes.

Eventually, Romolini realizes her girlboss dreams and lands a C-suite job running the style pages of a legacy tech website. But even as she mocks the meaningless corporate lingo and ''Hunger Games''-esque firings -- ''transitioned out'' is the preferred dystopian terminology -- her inability to put work away threatens to destroy her marriage.

Romolini's honesty about her failings is laudable. Her propensity for overwork, however, is matched by a tendency to overwrite. We don't, for instance, need to know that on Wednesday nights she and her future husband watch ''Lost,'' and a 26-page chapter on Romolini's stint as a glorified caption writer at the shopping glossy Lucky might have been whittled by half.

She also packs on adjectives and clauses where just one or two would do. ''In my work life, I am diligent, strategic, calculating, eyes on the prize; but after work I'm sloppy and not at all self-preserving; a pretend life-of-the-party girl, a girl who pretends she doesn't care, the last person standing wherever I land,'' reads one of countless prolix sentences.

However overstuffed, ''Ambition Monster'' offers an entertaining and highly relatable account of the struggle to avenge the people we once were. It also illuminates the empty promises of a life built on nothing but external metrics of achievement.

AMBITION MONSTER: A Memoir | By Jennifer Romolini | Atria | 304 pp. | $28.99Lucinda Rosenfeld, a novelist and essayist, is the author of five books, including ''Class.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/01/books/review/ambition-monster-jennifer-romolini.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/01/books/review/ambition-monster-jennifer-romolini.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR16.

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[***Trump Has Turned It Up to 11; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6F-JHF1-JBG3-603V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2632 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 Tuesday. He previously covered politics for The Washington Post.

**Highlight:** The former president is so dependent on racial and ethnic antagonism that without it, he would be a marginal figure.

**Body**

Donald Trump is so dependent on racial and ethnic antagonism that without it, he would be a marginal figure, relegated to the sidelines.

Trump’s constant demonization of Black people and immigrants has inured the public to the fact that he is the first — or certainly the most explicit — modern president and party nominee to transparently generate, not to mention exacerbate, fear and white animosity toward people of color.

Despite his appeal to a small if potentially crucial segment of Black and Hispanic men, racial bigotry has been central to Trump’s appeal from his initial quest, in 2015 and 2016, to take over the Republican Party. In the closing days of the 2024 election, he continues to foment race hatred and to rely on it ever more intently.

The 2018 book “[*Identity Crisis*](https://press.princeton.edu/books/paperback/9780691196435/identity-crisis?srsltid=AfmBOoonX7nMSNkuEb4v34Dz4_Jb-2zTPpGS1RY4HXl_0e_7lzepRUBO): The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America,” by the political scientists [*John Sides*](https://johnsides.org/), [*Michael Tesler*](https://faculty.sites.uci.edu/mtesler/) and [*Lynn Vavreck*](https://polisci.ucla.edu/person/lynn-vavreck/), documented the success of Trump’s strategy.

“Trump was distinctive in how he tapped into white grievance,” they wrote. “Trump’s primary campaign became a vehicle for a different kind of identity politics” — one oriented toward capitalizing on the feeling of many white people that they were being “pushed aside in an increasingly diverse America.”

Trump crushed his primary opponents by magnifying and mobilizing the racial resentment and bitter discontent endemic in the Republican electorate.

How endemic? Sides, Tesler and Vavreck wrote that in late 2015 [*a P.R.R.I. survey*](https://www.prri.org/research/survey-anxiety-nostalgia-and-mistrust-findings-from-the-2015-american-values-survey/) found that 64 percent of Republicans claimed to believe “that ‘discrimination against whites has become as big of a problem as discrimination against Blacks and other minorities.’”

Trump has consistently capitalized on the vulnerability — and the racial prejudice — of these white voters, repeatedly legitimating their sense of victimization and grievance.

“There is a definite anti-white feeling in this country, and that can’t be allowed,” Trump [*told*](https://time.com/6972270/donald-trump-anti-white-bias-exclusive/) Time magazine in April.

Trump’s history of racist comments and actions is long and deep. In 1989, famously, he paid $85,000 for [*full-page ads*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1989/05/01/issue.html) in four New York newspapers calling on authorities to severely punish the Central Park Five, Black and Latino teenagers accused of rape and assault but later exonerated. “They should be forced to suffer, and when they kill, they should be executed for their crimes,” the ads declared. More recently, he and his running mate, JD Vance, have caused havoc [*claiming*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/10/us/politics/trump-debate-immigrants-pets.html) that Haitian immigrants in Springfield, Ohio, were eating their neighbors’ pets.

For Trump, the angry Republican electorate has been fertile ground, and it is getting even more so, as the United States inexorably moves from a once overwhelming white majority to a white minority. From 2010 to 2022, the non-Hispanic [*white share*](https://usafacts.org/data/topics/people-society/population-and-demographics/our-changing-population/) of the population fell to 58.9 percent from 63.8 percent. In roughly 20 years, according to the [*U.S. census*](https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-us-will-become-minority-white-in-2045-census-projects/), whites are predicted to make up less than half of the population.

Trump initially rose to power on the backs of white voters who felt most aggrieved by what they saw as the subversion of their status, employment and income by ascendant people of color.

What does Trump’s rise say about the level of bigotry and prejudice in this country? [*Stanley Feldman*](https://www.stonybrook.edu/commcms/polisci/people/_faculty/Feldman_Stanley.php#Biography), a political scientist at Stony Brook University, emailed his response to my query:

“There’s no question that Trump has made appeals to whites who are threatened by the growing size and influence of Blacks and Latinos a central part of his campaigns and rhetoric,” Feldman wrote:

His signaling to white voters is clear: “Minorities are a threat to your way of life, and I will restore white, Christian dominance in the U.S.” You could see this clearly in his response to the Black Lives Matter protests that occurred after the George Floyd killing. His threats to send in the military to break up the protests sent a clear message to white voters about his position on race relations and his willingness to use the power of the federal government to control the growth of minority power.

But, Feldman continued,

it would be a mistake to label all of Trump’s white supporters as ethnocentric or racist. Partisanship remains a powerful influence on vote choice in the U.S., and some of his followers are more focused on limiting access to abortion and defending traditional gender norms. And there’s no question that he is benefiting in this election from deep dissatisfaction with the Biden administration because of inflation. But his clear appeals to white voters who want to halt or even roll back minority gains has been a major factor in his effective takeover of the Republican Party. It’s what set him apart from the other Republican primary candidates in 2016, and it has helped him increase the proportion of racially fearful whites in the Republican Party.

Trump’s unambiguous support of white, Christian America is a crucial factor in the willingness of the majority of his supporters to either overlook or accede to his habitual lying, to dismiss the multiple criminal charges and convictions against him as the work of “corrupt” Democrats and to endorse his endlessly repeated and provably false claim to have won the 2020 election.

[*Arlie Russell Hochschild*](https://sociology.berkeley.edu/professor-emeritus/arlie-r-hochschild), a sociologist at Berkeley and the author, most recently, of “[*Stolen Pride*](https://thenewpress.com/books/stolen-pride): Loss, Shame, and the Rise of the Right,” described by email the conclusions she reached during the research and writing of her book after “talking to people in Kentucky’s Fifth Congressional District, the whitest and second-poorest congressional district in the country”:

The people I talk to do not believe they are racist and are insulted when they see themselves so described on CNN. They roundly rejected a 2017 white nationalist march through Pikeville, Ky., led by the neo-Nazi Matthew Heimbach. Many I talked to were proud to have the first integrated cemetery, and there are town markers commemorating an early-century Black female poet.

But they also sense themselves sinking and are threatened — by, in order of importance, immigrants, refugees, Blacks, women, highly educated “elites” — who are doing better than they are — and feel these categories are favored by the Democrats over them. They feel the Democrats are consumed by “identity politics” and have, because of it, wiped white men off the Democratic social map.

Most of Trump’s appeal is based, I argue in “Stolen Pride,” on his call to turn the shame of white, non-B.A. downward mobility into blame. Primary among the many targets of blame are immigrants, but secondary are Blacks and women — sort of “secondary immigrants” threatening to replace white males in the status hierarchy.

Since the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Democratic Party has struggled in its efforts to deal with racial issues, while the Republican Party has [*repeatedly used*](https://wwnorton.com/books/9780393309034/about-the-book/product-details) crime, busing, urban decay and immigration to divide the Democratic coalition.

Trump’s focus on such divisive issues is a political strategy, in the view of [*Christopher Stout*](https://polisci.ucsd.edu/people/faculty/faculty-directory/currently-active-faculty/stout-profile.html), a political scientist at the University of California, San Diego:

Trump is unique in that he has made explicit racial outreach a core part of his campaign. He did this in 2016, 2020 and now again in 2024.

It also helps him expand his base by motivating voters who generally do not vote to turn out. For example, white non-college-educated voters turn out in larger numbers for Trump than they do in other years. However, this messaging around race may make it difficult for him to appeal to swing voters and, in particular, college-educated suburban women who feel uncomfortable with his messaging on this topic.

[*Gary Jacobson*](https://polisci.ucsd.edu/people/faculty/faculty-directory/emeriti-faculty/jacobson-profile.html), also a political scientist at the University of California, San Diego, sees Trump as an avatar of malice. “Extreme rhetoric fanning fear and hatred of nonwhite immigrants and urban minorities is central to Trump’s current campaign,” he wrote by email. “I assume he thinks it works for him.”

Trump, Jacobson argued, would be a stronger candidate if he moderated his language:

Trump’s appeals to racial resentment and fear of nonwhite immigrants helps motivate his MAGA base but does not do much to expand his coalition. I think he would probably be more competitive if he relied more on subtler dog whistles to remind the MAGA crowd of where he stands (they don’t have to be told explicitly) while focusing on exploiting economic woes and other sources of unhappiness with the direction of the country.

The fundamentals — the Biden-Harris administration’s low approval ratings in every policy domain, large majorities believing the economy is poor or only fair, the reality of higher prices for necessities — favor Republicans this year. Trump could benefit from focusing on these problems and addressing them in terms that make him appear reasonable. This could even include a less hysterical approach to immigration. But it is not in his nature to do so.

According to [*Samuel Sommers*](https://as.tufts.edu/psychology/people/faculty/sam-sommers), a professor of psychology at Tufts, Trump’s emphasis on racial and immigration issues is less a strategic decision than a reflection of Trump’s worldview:

It’s difficult to play out the counterfactuals with confidence, of course, but one can conceive of a universe in which a Republican campaign would be quite competitive in the current election cycle by focusing on public discontent with consumer prices and inflation, foreign policy and other domains contributing to what some pundits have referred to as fundamentals favorable to a Republican candidate.

In fact, some reporting indicates that Trump campaign officials have tried to steer the candidate toward those issues. His focus on racial hostility, in terms of policy rhetoric and how he talks about his opponent, appears to be somewhat of a personal choice.

One of the selling points of Trump’s messaging is its appeal to white voters who believe that government policies treat them unfairly.

[*Jack Goldstone*](https://jackgoldstone.gmu.edu/), a professor of public policy at George Mason University, emailed his assessment of Trump’s modus operandi:

Racial and ethnic hostility has become a core element of the Trump campaign’s messaging, policies and rhetoric. You see it in everything from the wild claims that the Biden administration is diverting FEMA emergency aid away from Americans who need it to buy migrants cellphones and hotel rooms to Trump’s claims that “open borders” are being used to bring in immigrants who murder Americans and will (illegally) vote Democratic.

Despite this, Goldstone continued,

it is important to realize that such appeals are not based simply on crude racism. Rather, they build on a fairness narrative that undeserving “others” — immigrants, L.B.G.T.Q.+ people, racial minorities — are getting resources and privileged treatment that is being denied to native-born white Americans. It is not that minorities are “bad” as such — while some Trump supporters are white supremacists, the vast majority are not — what packs emotional punch is the belief that minorities are being unfairly favored while native-born white Americans are under attack. Trump and his acolytes do everything they can to say that Democratic treatment of racial, ethnic and religious minorities is unfair and damaging to native-born white Christians.

Trump, Goldstone argued,

is deeply dependent on the idea that “things are unfair" to him and to his supporters. Whether it is cheating at elections or opening borders to criminals and murderers or diverting FEMA funds, it is all a vast conspiracy to portray Trump and his supporters as victims of an unpatriotic, anti-American elite who are out to “get them” and who therefore must be defeated and deserve retribution. Without these beliefs, his movement would quickly lose steam.

There is, however, what Goldstone called “an element of truth” that gives Trump credibility among his supporters:

That it has become more difficult to rise out of the ***working class*** into the upper and professional classes. Blue-collar jobs don’t pay as much and don’t have the benefits that they used to, college has become much more expensive and competitive to get into, housing in middle- and upper-class areas has become far more costly, and economic growth became more concentrated in major metro cities and less widely shared in rural and small-town America.

For Trump, it is important that his supporters do not see these trends as the result of changes in technology, international economic competition and profiteering by private businessmen. Instead, he wants his followers to see these trends as a deliberate effort of Democratic leaders and “elites” to undermine traditional America and deliver the country into the hands of “others.”

How crucial is racial and ethnic hostility to Trump’s presidential campaign? [*Darren Davis*](https://politicalscience.nd.edu/people/darren-davis/), a political scientist at Notre Dame, addressed that question in an email:

A large component of Trump’s appeal is driven by racial resentment and racial prejudice, though there are a host of reasons people may be attracted to Trump — such as a (mis)perceived business shrewdness, tough talk on foreign affairs and his stance on immigration. Without tapping into and triggering citizens’ racial resentment and racial prejudice, Trump would not be competitive. He is incapable of articulating traditional conservative values.

What strategies and policies on racial issues might Kamala Harris, Tim Walz and other Democrats adopt to counter Trump? Davis’s suggestions:

Policies that are explicitly racial or that are perceived to benefit Blacks will likely incur intense backlash in this political climate (examples: B.L.M., wokeness, 1619, D.E.I.). Because resentment is rooted in ideals of fairness, justice and deservingness (American ethos and meritocracy), Democrats might frame policies that emphasize American values, justice, civic virtue and the negative consequences of inequality.

With three weeks to go in the campaign, [*Robert Jones*](https://www.prri.org/staff/robert-p-jones-ph-d/), the founder and president of [*P.R.R.I.*](https://www.prri.org/) and the author of “[*The Hidden Roots of White Supremacy*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/The-Hidden-Roots-of-White-Supremacy/Robert-P-Jones/9781668009512),” wrote by email:

We’re rapidly running out of superlatives to describe how extreme Trump’s anti-immigrant rhetoric has become. He’s clearly amped up his harsh and violent rhetoric. Even in 2020, his rhetoric largely focused on building a wall and keep out undocumented immigrants. But in 2024, his rhetoric has shifted almost exclusively to talking about immigrants as the deranged and violent enemy who has already invaded the country.

He talks about immigrants slitting the throats of housewives in their kitchens and raping young girls and promises mass arrests, militarized encampments and deportation. His rhetoric has now moved — there’s really no other way to say it — fully into Nazi territory. He has called immigrants “[*not human*](https://www.reuters.com/world/us/trump-expected-highlight-murder-michigan-woman-immigration-speech-2024-04-02/)” and referred to them as “animals.”

More disturbingly, Jones added,

Trump has taken his supporters with him on this extremist journey. In 2013, a majority (53 percent) of Republicans supported a path to citizenship for immigrants living in the country illegally; by 2019, that number had dropped to 39 percent.

Today, two-thirds of Republicans (64 percent) and a majority of white evangelical Protestants (54 percent) agree even with Trump’s dehumanizing assertion, echoing Hitler’s arguments in “Mein Kampf,” that immigrants are “poisoning the blood of our country.” We know these words are the bricks paving the road to political violence and even genocide.

Perhaps even more disturbing: Trump has at least a 50-50 chance of once again becoming president.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2025

**End of Document**



[***Walz, Accepting Vice-Presidential Nod, Plays Up Regular-Guy Appeal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSX-S7K1-JBG3-605F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 23, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1268 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck, Nicholas Nehamas and Reid J. Epstein

**Body**

Completing his transformation into a party leader, Mr. Walz played up his Midwestern roots and his time as a football coach. ''It's the fourth quarter,'' he said. ''We're down a field goal.''

Follow the latest news on the Democratic National Convention.

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota offered himself as a bridge to disillusioned Americans who regard the Democratic Party as a bastion of coastal elitism, in a high-stakes address formally accepting the vice-presidential nomination on Wednesday night.

From the stage of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Mr. Walz completed his breathtaking transformation from little-known governor to leading party figure, accentuating his Midwestern roots and portraying the Democratic ticket as one that champions pragmatism and patriotism.

''We're all here tonight for one beautiful, simple reason: We love this country,'' he said.

A month ago, many Americans outside Minnesota were unfamiliar with Mr. Walz, other than highly engaged Democrats who delighted in his punchy television appearances and memorable critiques of Republicans, whom he labeled ''weird.''

But on Wednesday, as he gave the most consequential speech of his career, attendees made clear they had quickly become familiar with his life story, including his background as a former high school football coach.

Before he took the stage, convention organizers handed out signs that read ''Coach Walz,'' and a burly group of his former players, now middle-aged, marched out to the tune of their high school fight song. Chants of ''Coach'' rang out during his speech, which was rife with football metaphors.

''It's the fourth quarter. We're down a field goal,'' Mr. Walz said. ''But we're on offense and we've got the ball. We're driving down the field. And boy, do we have the right team.''

He added: ''We're going to leave it on the field. That's how we'll keep moving forward.''

In some ways, Mr. Walz -- who speaks often of ''joy'' and has the demeanor of a man who still can't believe his good fortune -- is the human embodiment of the Democratic Party's head-spinning reversal of energy this summer.

After President Biden's exit from the race and Vice President Kamala Harris's ascent, an anxious party that was dreading November suddenly seems giddy.

''I'm having more fun than I ever imagined,'' said Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the majority leader who has been coming to Democratic conventions since 1984. ''There's such unity and excitement. Who ever thought?''

Of course, senior Democrats also think that the campaign against former President Donald J. Trump will be ugly, unpredictable and close.

That, in part, is where Mr. Walz comes in.

Throughout the evening, there were frequent nods to Mr. Walz's identity as a husband, father and red-blooded American man. His remarks focused far more on the details of his football coaching career than on the 12 years he spent in Congress. And he repeated a familiar line from his stump speech about his prowess as a hunter, noting he ''has the trophies to prove'' he was a more accurate shot than his Republican colleagues in the House.

It illustrated why Democrats hope he can help stem their losses with rural and white ***working-class*** voters -- especially men -- who have grown increasingly hostile to his party.

''Who better to take on the price of gas than a guy who could pull over to help change your tire?'' Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota said from the convention stage shortly before Mr. Walz spoke, playing up his average-Joe persona. ''Who better to find common ground than a guy with Midwestern common sense?''

On Wednesday, the country also caught a glimpse of Mr. Walz's family. His wife, Gwen Walz, who has stood out this week for the notably expressive way she watches speeches, narrated a video introducing her husband. Their two children, Hope and Gus, were seen on camera responding emotionally when Mr. Walz said that his family was his ''entire world.''

In one poignant moment, his son stood up, crying, and seemed to mouth, ''That's my dad.''

Mr. Walz began his career as a culturally conservative Democrat on some issues -- in particular, guns -- before evolving in recent years into a liberal favorite. His first term as governor was marked by consensus-building with Republicans who controlled one chamber of the State Legislature. But when Democrats won majorities in the 2022 election, he pressed to enact a sweeping agenda of liberal priorities.

''While other states were banning books from their schools, we were banishing hunger from ours,'' Mr. Walz said, referring to a bill he signed that allowed public schools to provide all students with free breakfast and lunch.

But back in 2006, he also flipped a largely rural and more conservative House district in southern Minnesota.

''Never underestimate a public-school teacher,'' Mr. Walz, a former social studies teacher, said to cheers. Describing lessons from his time in Congress, he added, ''I learned how to work across the aisle on issues like growing the rural economies and taking care of veterans, and I learned how to compromise without compromising my values.''

With his emphasis on neighborliness and his folksy style, he still speaks the language of small-town America. (His walk-on music, John Mellencamp's ''Small Town,'' only drove that point home.)

The governor, a graduate of Chadron State College in Nebraska, has also relished turning charges of elitism against Republicans -- Senator JD Vance, Mr. Trump's running mate, attended Yale Law School.

''I had 24 kids in my high school class,'' Mr. Walz said of his Nebraska upbringing. ''And none of them went to Yale.''

Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz have both embraced traditionally right-leaning language and phrasing to cast themselves as defenders of universal American values like freedom and liberty, arguing that it is Republicans, with their abortion bans in many states, who are spurring government intrusion into Americans' lives.

''In Minnesota, we respect our neighbors and the personal choices they make,'' Mr. Walz said, offering a line that has become a favorite with his fans. ''And even if we wouldn't make those same choices for ourselves, we've got a golden rule: Mind your own damn business.''

Mr. Walz, who served 24 years in the Army National Guard, seems comfortable with an emphasis on patriotic language. But Republicans, led by Mr. Vance, who served in the Marine Corps, have attacked him over his military record and how he has characterized his service.

Four veterans who investigate claims of fraudulent military service told The New York Times that they did not believe Mr. Walz engaged in ''stolen valor,'' but that he did misrepresent or speak imprecisely about his record at times. Mr. Walz has strongly defended his record, saying on Wednesday night that he ''proudly wore our nation's uniform.''

In attacking Mr. Trump, Mr. Walz turned to the kind of prairie populism that helped propel him in Minnesota, saying that the former president's agenda ''serves nobody, except the richest and the most extreme amongst us'' and did ''nothing for our neighbors in need.''

And he echoed arguments made by Democrats throughout the convention that Americans had grown tired of Mr. Trump's insults and brash aggression.

''Leaders don't spend all day insulting people and blaming others. Leaders do the work,'' Mr. Walz said, comparing Mr. Trump unfavorably to the high schoolers he had taught. ''So I don't know about you: I'm ready to turn the page on these guys.''

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting.Taylor Robinson contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/us/politics/tim-walz-dnc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/us/politics/tim-walz-dnc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota spoke Wednesday at the convention in Chicago. ''We're going to leave it on the field,'' he said, invoking football metaphors for the campaign. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** August 23, 2024

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[***The Democratic Convention Party Scene Is Taking Shape***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPW-8DJ1-JBG3-614H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 13, 2024 Tuesday 07:57 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1089 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:** John Legend is set to headline one of the week’s biggest events so far — a bash by Gov. J.B. Pritzker of Illinois — but despite speculation, there’s no sign yet of Beyoncé or Taylor Swift in Chicago.

**Body**

John Legend is set to headline one of the week’s biggest events so far — a bash by Gov. J.B. Pritzker of Illinois — but despite speculation, there’s no sign yet of Beyoncé or Taylor Swift in Chicago.

The venues are booked, the stars are ready and the talent mostly secured. But a big hole in the schedule of after-parties at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on the final night has prompted a burning question: Could Beyoncé or Taylor Swift show up?

Neither has indicated that they might, and their representatives have remained mum. But that hasn’t stopped eager [*Democrats from speculating*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc) and praying. After all, [*Beyoncé performed at an event*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc) for former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in 2016, and [*allowed Vice President Kamala Harris to use her song “Freedom”*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc) as a campaign anthem. Ms. Swift [*endorsed President Biden in 2020*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc).

“Democracy is at stake,” reads [*an online petition from the liberal group MoveOn.org*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc), appealing to both singers to appear together.

Democratic conventions have long prided themselves on their star-studded guest rosters, which routinely outshine the Republican conventions. The Milwaukee gathering that anointed former President Donald J. Trump in July included the country star Jason Aldean, the right-wing rapper Kid Rock and the wrestling icon Hulk Hogan. Lee Greenwood performed his “God Bless the U.S.A.” for the former president, who has adopted it as a song of his movement.

But the Democratic entertainment lineup next week is sure to be deeper and more diverse.

“We have encouraged our members to use the super power of the entertainment industry to bring attention to issues that are important to the nation’s social welfare,” said Robin Bronk, chief executive of the Creative Coalition, the nonprofit advocacy arm of Hollywood. “If artists can make a difference, that’s our whole platform.”

Creative Coalition is sponsoring what it hopes will be a contender for biggest and best party of the week, a multi-act concert co-hosted by the actress Octavia Spencer on Wednesday, the second-to-last night of the convention.

Since Vice President Kamala Harris assumed the mantle of the Democratic standard-bearer, there has been a rush to participate in the convention festivities and a rash of late sign-ups. Her candidacy has not only re-energized her party’s rank-and-file, but galvanized high-profile Hollywood stars who had begun to shy away from Mr. Biden.

Harris campaign officials said they were all for celebrities and big-name musical guests brightening up Chicago’s nightlife, but inside the arena, they hope the focus will be on ordinary Americans carrying Ms. Harris’s message, or going after Mr. Trump.

Here is what to expect as the party scene takes shape.

On Sunday, the comedic news team of “The Daily Show” will be near Wrigley Field, promoting dog adoptions as Cubs fans (and out-of-towners with a love for venerable ballparks) head to an afternoon home game in the friendly confines with the Toronto Blue Jays. The host Jon Stewart is not likely to be on hand, but he is scheduled to helm the show from Chicago’s [*Athenaeum Center*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc) on Thursday.

Monday night will feature an Equality PAC party in the L.G.B.T.Q. neighborhood of Northalsted (or Boystown), with performers who were unlikely to get bookings at the Republican National Convention: stars of “RuPaul’s Drag Race,” Chad Michaels, Silky Nutmeg Ganache and Jackie Cox.

Not far away, at the House of Blues, the “Daily Show” alum Roy Wood Jr. will host what has been billed as a “Tipping Point States” party with musicians from Wisconsin and Arizona, including the band Jimmy Eat World, which hails from Mesa, and D.J. Shawna from Milwaukee.

And at PRYSM, a Chicago nightclub, the Georgia Democratic Party is holding a D.J. party with the Atlanta rapper Lil Jon.

On Tuesday, the first big splash comes from JB Pritzker, the billionaire governor of Illinois who, along with his wife, MK Pritzker, has been eager to show off his hometown. Mr. Pritzker procured the Salt Shed, a converted Morton Salt factory on the Chicago River and one of the city’s premier concert venues. The headliner: the singer, songwriter and Democratic activist John Legend.

On Wednesday, the Creative Coalition, Giffords, a gun-safety group founded by former Representative Gabrielle Giffords, Reproductive Freedom for All, and End Citizens United are talking up what they hope to be the concert of the week, promoting three huge issues for the Democratic coalition: abortion rights, gun control and voting rights.

The headliners at the newly renovated [*Ramova Theater*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc) in the ***working-class*** Bridgeport neighborhood will be Joan Jett and the Blackhearts, a band from Ms. Harris’s Generation X youth, Drive-By Truckers, a favorite of the Harris campaign staff, and SistaStrings, from oh-so-important Milwaukee. Ms. Spencer, an Academy Award winner, will host, and the promoters are promising to seed the audience with Hollywood talent, including Uma Thurman; Danai Gurira of “Walking Dead” and “Black Panther” fame; Iain Armitage of “Young Sheldon”; and Uzo Aduba, Crazy Eyes from “Orange Is the New Black,” but perhaps more relevantly in the mini-series “Mrs. America,” Shirley Chisholm, the trailblazing Black female politician. Oh, and Ms. Giffords and her husband, Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona, will co-host.

Emma Brown, the Giffords executive director, emphasized the coalition of gun safety, abortion rights and voting rights over the star power at the Ramova.

But she added, “This will be the major place to be on Wednesday.”

That leaves Thursday night, the last chance for a surprise or two. Impactual, a Washington consulting firm, and Future Forward, the nonprofit arm of a super PAC supporting the Harris-Walz ticket, is co-producing a concert and fund-raiser for [*Party at the Polls*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc), a youth-oriented group that sponsors, yes, parties at the polls to bring out young voters. The concert will also take place at the Ramova, which is [*co-owned by Chance the Rapper, Jennifer Hudson and Quincy Jones*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/beyonce-among-big-celebs-rumored-to-boost-kamala-harris-at-dnc).

Rodell Mollineau, a veteran Democratic lobbyist, strategist and former Senate aide involved in the show, said in an interview that the bash was intended to mark the end of the convention season and officially start the sprint to Election Day.

But, he insisted, the talent is not yet set.

Let the speculation continue.

PHOTO: John Legend is expected to perform at the Salt Shed, a converted Morton Salt factory on the Chicago River and one of the city’s premier concert venues. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jutharat Pinyodoonyachet for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Turkey Aims to Cull Its Stray Dogs. Critics Say It’s About Politics.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CM9-11M1-JBG3-6028-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 1, 2024 Thursday 13:47 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1036 words

**Byline:** Sarah Hurtes Sarah Hurtes is a Times reporter working on international investigations from Brussels.

**Highlight:** Turkey’s new law aimed at moving millions of stray dogs to shelters, and allowing some to be euthanized, has both cultural and political implications.

**Body**

Turkey’s new law aimed at moving millions of stray dogs to shelters, and allowing some to be euthanized, has both cultural and political implications.

Dogs have been a prominent part of Turkish culture for centuries. The Kangal Shepherd breed is a national treasure featured on postage stamps, and some strays have become local celebrities, like [*Boji*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/58828288), who earned fame for riding Istanbul’s public transportation.

But this year, Turkey’s stray dogs have become a contentious political issue.

The country’s Parliament passed a law this week requiring municipalities to round up stray dogs and put them into shelters, and permitting aggressive or ill animals to be euthanized. The law mandates shelter improvements by 2028 and threatens mayors with prison time if they don’t enforce the law.

But critics have expressed fears that the law may be used to target political opponents of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, whose ruling party pushed through the legislation. Some are also concerned about inadequate, overcrowded shelters for the country’s stray dog population — estimated to be around four million.

“The shelter capacity is insufficient,” said Dr. Murat Arslan, the president of the Turkish Veterinary Medical Association. All the country’s shelters combined have capacity for just over 100,000 animals, he said, and most municipalities have no shelters at all.

“Currently, 3,000 veterinarians are employed in municipalities, but at least 10,000 more are needed,” Dr. Arslan said, noting that the new law does not require hiring additional veterinarians. In December, Dr. Arslan’s agency presented its recommendations to the government. “We provided our report and explained the source of the problem,” he said. “I don’t think they took any of it into account.”

President Erdogan cited dogs attacking people and other animals, as well as causing traffic accidents, in pushing for the law. “Although some people persistently ignore it, Turkey has a stray dog problem,” he told legislators last week, according to The Associated Press. President Erdogan’s Justice and Development Party did not respond to requests for comment.

But critics of the law believe it is motivated more by politics than by safety concerns.

“The law is claimed to solve the problem of stray animals on the streets, but it rather seems like a political move,” said Ahmet Kasim Han, a professor of politics at Beykoz University in Istanbul.

President Erdogan’s party suffered significant losses in local elections in March — its worst showing in local elections since its foundation and a major setback for Mr. Erdogan, who has dominated Turkish politics for over two decades.

Mr. Han saw the new law as a way for Mr. Erdogan’s government to push back on local opposition.

“It now seeks to limit the opportunities available to opposition municipalities and mayors, to stop them from expanding their voter base,” he said of the president’s party.

The legislation could also help shore up support among Mr. Erdogan’s base, which has been hard hit by persistent, high inflation that declined slightly to 71 percent in June, the government said. His supporters are primarily from ***working-class***, lower-middle-class and rural backgrounds, said Soner Cagaptay, author of a biography of Mr. Erdogan and director of the Turkish Research Program at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

In Turkey, in-house dog ownership is associated with increased incomes and middle-class status, he said.

Mr. Erdogan’s supporters also tend to be more observant Muslims, Mr. Cagaptay said, many of whom consider it unclean to keep dogs as pets. “He’s approaching this in a way that aligns with his base, where the mass culling of dogs has been embraced by pro-Erdogan pundits,” Mr. Cagaptay said.

He added: “This is not just about that brutal act of mass killing of dogs, but it’s also informed by class, Islamic lifestyle, and the unending war between Erdogan and the opposition.”

The bill may still meet resistance across Turkey: The Republican People’s Party, the opposition party that won local elections in many of the country’s biggest municipalities earlier this year, has said it will not implement the law.

Aysu Bankoglu, a member of Parliament with the Republican People’s Party, said it planned to appeal to the Constitutional Court to repeal the law. “We will try to build new animal shelters while raising the capacity of existing shelters,” she said. “We will spay and vaccinate dogs with the budget of our municipalities. Stray dogs will not die, they will remain alive, they will survive.”

Still, concerned animal welfare groups have called the bill the “massacre law.” In the last few days, thousands have taken to the streets across Turkey, protesting the law’s provision that allows for some strays to be euthanized.

“There is a genocidal discourse targeting the eradication of street animals,” said Mine Yildirim, assistant professor at Kadir Has University and president of the Four-Legged City, a national animal rescue and protection organization. “Practically, this is impossible. Any attempt to annihilate these animals will fail, because we are committed to protecting them.”

Others are less optimistic.

“Shelters lack the capacity to house all the collected dogs,” said Ece Unver, the general manager of the SemtPati Foundation, an organization that works to help the street dog population with the C.N.V.R. method, standing for catch, neuter, vaccinate and return. “This is why it’s expected that the majority of the dogs will be killed or die in overcrowded shelters.”

Dr. Arslan said the potential pressure for veterinarians to euthanize animals was leading some of his colleagues to consider resignation.

“Our education prioritizes keeping animals alive,” Dr. Arslan said. “But in Turkey, if our colleagues are pressured by administrators or fear for their job security, leading to their professional judgment being overridden, it would be a significant trauma. This marks the beginning of a very difficult period for us.”

Safak Timur contributed reporting.

Safak Timur contributed reporting.

PHOTO: A stray dog resting in front of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, in May. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Yasin Akgul/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 1, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Kamala Harris Takes Control***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJ4-9K11-JBG3-61WN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 22, 2024 Monday 11:23 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 2127 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:** President Biden has dropped out of the race. We answer four questions about what happens next.

**Body**

President Biden has dropped out of the race. We answer four questions about what happens next.

With President Biden having dropped out of the race, I’m devoting today’s newsletter to four big questions about what happens next. My colleagues and I will also give you the latest news about the campaign.

Four questions

1. Is the Democratic nomination race already over?

It may be. Vice President Kamala Harris [*appears to be in a commanding position*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Some top Democrats, including Nancy Pelosi, favor a competition to choose a new nominee. And an open process would have some big advantages. It would test whether Harris was a stronger politician than she had been during her failed 2020 campaign. If she won the competition, she would emerge from it looking like a winner who was more than Biden’s No. 2.

But a competition obviously requires more than one competitor, and Harris was the only top-tier Democrat to [*declare herself a presidential candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) yesterday. Many other Democrats endorsed her in the hours after Biden’s withdrawal.

[*Her list of backers*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) include both progressives and moderates in Congress, as well as Biden, members of the Congressional Black Caucus and two governors who had been considered potential presidential candidates themselves: Gavin Newsom of California and Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania. The party’s nominating delegates from three states — North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee — unanimously voted yesterday to endorse Harris.

Overall, the hours after Biden’s exit went about as well as Harris could have hoped.

2. What will the [*Harris-Trump polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) say now that they’re not hypothetical?

Polling experts frequently caution against trusting hypothetical survey results. People don’t always know how they will respond to a scenario that hasn’t yet happened, such as a sitting president’s departure from a campaign.

That said, the recent hypothetical polls about a race between Harris and Donald Trump have suggested he leads her, although more narrowly than he led Biden. A CBS News poll conducted this month, for example, showed that Trump had support from 51 percent of likely voters, compared with 48 percent for Harris.

As new polls emerge in coming days, it will be worth watching whether a Harris-Trump race effectively starts as a tossup — or something else.

3. How will Trump campaign against her?

For starters, Trump will emphasize the same unpopular parts of Biden’s performance that were already the central message of Trump’s campaign, including inflation and immigration. Given that Harris helped oversee Biden’s immigration policy, that subject will continue to play a central role.

But there are some uncertainties about how Trump and his aides will campaign against a Harris-led ticket. Among the questions: Will Republicans emphasize the candidates’ obviously different racial and gender profiles, much as Trump [*used gender-based messages against Hillary Clinton*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) in 2016? Or will Trump tread more carefully now that he hopes to win a meaningful share of Asian, Black and Latino voters?

It does seem likely that Trump will emphasize some of Harris’s most liberal past positions, including [*her support in 2020 for Medicare for All*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), a policy that would effectively eliminate private health insurance.

4. How will Harris campaign differently from Biden?

Harris has one huge advantage over Biden: She isn’t 81 years old. She is an energetic campaigner, with [*a strong history as a debater*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

She has some other advantages, too. Harris is more comfortable criticizing [*the Republican Party’s unpopular position on abortion*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) than Biden has been. Nate Cohn, The Times’s chief political analyst, [*points out*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) that recent polling data suggests she is also better positioned than Biden to hold onto support from some groups that have historically supported Democrats but soured on Biden, such as younger voters and voters of color.

At the same time, Harris is starting with some disadvantages relative to Biden, Obama and other recent nominees. Nate notes that the same polling data suggests Harris is weaker than Biden among voters over 65 and white voters without a college degree.

Above all, Harris has little track record of winning the type of swing voters who decide presidential elections. She comes from California, a liberal bastion. In her only Senate campaign, which she won, no Republican even qualified for the general election. Harris beat another Democrat.

If she is the nominee, I think the biggest question is: How she will appeal to swing voters in states like Arizona, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin?

Many of these voters are ***working-class*** Americans dissatisfied with the country’s direction. Many do not follow politics obsessively. Most are less liberal on social issues than prominent Democratic politicians, including Harris. Many have been attracted to feisty populist and patriotic messages, from both Trump and [*from Democratic Senate candidates*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). (Harris [*is likely to choose a running mate*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) with a stronger history of winning swing voters.)

Harris will no doubt devote much of her campaign to an anti-Trump message. But a message organized almost entirely around Trump seems less likely to succeed than one that also focuses on her vision of the future — including how it differs from Biden’s vision and why even voters who are often skeptical of the Democratic Party should support Harris this year.

More on Biden’s decision

* Biden did not tell most of his staff about his decision [*until a minute before he announced it*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) publicly. Some White House staff members were in shock, while others were relieved.

1. Biden summoned top advisers to his Delaware beach house on Saturday afternoon to write the letter announcing his withdrawal and finalized it Sunday morning.
2. “It has been the greatest honor of my life to serve as your president.” [*Read Biden’s full letter*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
3. In the last 75 years, only two Democratic presidents — Harry S. Truman and Lyndon B. Johnson — [*decided during an election year not to run again*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
4. “Overjoyed,” “too late”: Here’s [*how Democratic voters reacted to Biden’s withdrawal*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

* Several top Republicans — including JD Vance, Trump’s running mate, and Speaker Mike Johnson — called on Biden to resign as president. Trump said that Biden had “[*quit the race in COMPLETE DISGRACE!*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)”

More on Harris

* “We have 107 days until Election Day,” Harris said in a statement yesterday. “Together, we will fight. And together, we will win.”

1. Democratic donors quickly mobilized around Harris. One Silicon Valley bundler [*raised over $1 million in 30 minutes*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Yesterday was the single biggest day for Democratic online fund-raising since the 2020 election, with [*more than $50 million donated*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. Many Democrats [*think Harris will pick a white man*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) as her running mate. Possibilities include governors — like Roy Cooper of North Carolina or Andy Beshear of Kentucky — and Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona.
3. As vice president, Harris defended Biden’s economic agenda. But in the past, [*she’s pushed for more progressive policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), like universal health care and generous tax benefits for ***working-class*** Americans.
4. While many Democrats have coalesced behind Harris, she doesn’t start the campaign as [*the kind of broadly acceptable candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) Democrats have put forward during the Trump era, Nate Cohn writes.

Commentary

* “Right now, most Democrats can see Biden only as a millstone, but history will remember him as one of the most effective presidents of his era,” [*Franklin Foer*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), who wrote a book about Biden’s presidency, argues in The Atlantic.

1. “Do Americans share enough disgust over Trump this year to forget their traditional misogyny when it comes to the top job?” [*Robin Epley asks in The Sacramento Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. “Really cannot overstate how problematic this is for Trump’s operation. Everything they built was customized for a contest with Biden,” [*The Atlantic’s Tim Alberta*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), who has written about Trump’s campaign, wrote on X.
3. “If you think Biden’s only problem was age, then Harris is a good choice,” [*The Washington Post’s Megan McArdle*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) wrote on X, adding: “If you think that voters disliked Biden for other reasons, then Harris is the worst choice, because she’s shackled to that baggage.”
4. “Anyone who tells you they know how this is going to play out is lying or deluded,” [*Jacob Rubashkin of Inside Elections wrote on social media*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

THE LATEST NEWS

More on the Election

* Vance’s biography propelled his career, but his first campaign rally as Trump’s running mate made his position clear: When Trump is around, [*he is the warm-up act*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), Shawn McCreesh writes.

1. The House oversight committee is scheduled to [*question the Secret Service director*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) about security at the rally during which a would-be assassin wounded Trump.
2. The homeland security secretary announced the members of a panel — which he described as bipartisan — that would [*review security failures at that rally*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
3. Trump’s criminal conviction and Biden’s debate performance sent a [*flood of donations into the presidential race*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

International

* Egypt’s government has imposed [*daily power cuts during a hot summer*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), leaving millions without air conditioning for hours each day.

1. In Bangladesh, deadly protests prompted by a quota system for government jobs revealed[*resentment about inequality*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Other Big Stories

* “We’re all afraid”: In Montgomery, Ala., [*Latino-owned businesses*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) have been the targets of violent robberies.

1. Some health care providers hope to overcome issues with the distribution of methadone — a drug used to treat opioid addiction — with [*a fleet of mobile vans*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. Senator Bob Menendez’s lawyers plan to [*appeal his bribery conviction*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). They have reason to be optimistic: For years, the Supreme Court has narrowed the legal definition of corruption.

Opinions

“Mr. Biden has now done what Mr. Trump never will: He has placed the national interest above his own pride and ambition,” [*The Times’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) [*editorial board*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) [*writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), endorsing a competitive process to pick a new nominee.

Now that Biden is out, Harris is the [*only choice to replace him*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), Tressie McMillan Cottom writes.

[*Democrats should give their support to Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). As the highest elected Black woman in American history, she will face attacks unlike anything we’ve ever seen, Al Sharpton writes.

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens discuss [*whether Harris can win*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Here is a column by Nicholas Kristof on [*how Biden just reshaped America*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

MORNING READS

Night train: A reporter rode a new overnight rail route to Paris from Berlin. It wasn’t always comfortable, but [*the retro-romantic train journey*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) was an experience.

Too much fun: She danced naked at Woodstock and dated Serpico. [*At 93, she’s not done*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Olympics: Hosting the games costs billions. [*What does a city get in return*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)

Metropolitan Diary: [*Double sausage, extra bacon*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Lives Lived: Bernice Johnson Reagon was an original member of the Freedom Singers, a vocal group that provided anthems of defiance for civil rights protesters in the 1960s. She went on to become a cultural historian and a Smithsonian curator. Reagon [*died at 81*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

SPORTS

Golf: Xander Schauffele won the Open Championship, his second major victory of the season. [*Is he the world’s best golfer*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)

Cycling: Tadej Pogacar [*won his third Tour de France*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), beating his rival Jonas Vingegaard by 6:17.

ARTS AND IDEAS

“SpongeBob SquarePants” premiered on Nickelodeon 25 year ago — meaning some who watched the show as kids are now the parents of ”SpongeBob” fans. To mark the milestone, The Times’s culture desk has created a quiz. [*Test your knowledge here*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

More on culture

* “Twisters” — a loose follow-up to the 1996 action movie “Twister” — [*was on track to earn far more in its opening weekend*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) than box office analysts had predicted.

1. Popular sports video game franchises like NBA 2K and FC encourage players to spend on in-game purchases. [*Critics say it’s ruining the games*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. Sean Kingston, best known for his 2007 hit “Beautiful Girls,” was indicted alongside his mother [*in a $1 million fraud scheme*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Layer [*warm chickpeas and tomatoes*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) atop crunchy cucumber yogurt.

Fit twice as much in your luggage with [*packing cubes*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Make cooking easier with a [*good pair of oven mitts*](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 pangram was megabit.

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

Correction: Yesterday’s newsletter described incorrectly the Trump campaign’s recent fund-raising efforts. The Trump campaign out-raised the Biden campaign for the first time in this election cycle in April, not June. The information we cited, and the linked article, were from May.

[*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: President Biden has endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris for president. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 23, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Is New York City Back? Not for Everyone.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BGF-YMC1-JBG3-64H6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 5, 2024 Tuesday 14:41 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1653 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Jeffery C. Mays Emma G. Fitzsimmons is the City Hall Bureau Chief for The Times, covering Mayor Eric Adams and his administration. Jeffery C. Mays is a Times reporter covering politics with a focus on New York City Hall.

**Highlight:** The city has rebounded from the worst of the coronavirus pandemic in meaningful ways. But the recovery is incomplete and uneven.

**Body**

The city has rebounded from the worst of the coronavirus pandemic in meaningful ways. But the recovery is incomplete and uneven.

Nearly four years after the coronavirus pandemic hit, New York City is back in many ways.

As of September, New York City had the most jobs ever recorded. Tourism has mostly rebounded, with 62 million visitors last year. Subway ridership is still short of prepandemic levels, but has risen to nearly four million on weekdays. The number of murders fell under 400 last year for the first time since 2019.

Tax revenue projections were $1.3 billion higher than expected for the current fiscal year, allowing Mayor Eric Adams to rescind midyear budget cuts that would have affected nearly every city agency. This year’s Wall Street bonuses are expected to be slightly higher than last year’s, according to the state comptroller’s office, which would funnel more tax revenue to the city than expected.

“We’re not surviving — we are thriving in this city,” Mr. Adams said at a recent news conference celebrating the city’s strong bond rating.

The recovery of New York City, the nation’s financial capital, is critical to the American economy and to the eight million people who call the city home.

But the recovery is incomplete and uneven. Multibillion-dollar budget deficits loom in each of the next few years, in part because of the migrant influx that city officials say will cost $10 billion over three years. Office building vacancies are still plentiful in a new era of hybrid work.

And in many parts of New York, especially among the ***working class***, it does not feel like the city is back on its feet. The [*poverty rate has soared to 23 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html), up from 18 percent in 2021. Demand for food stamps and cash assistance has surged. The [*housing crunch is the worst it has been in more than 50 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html), with a rental vacancy rate of only 1.4 percent. Even [*life expectancy remained below prepandemic levels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html), according to the Health Department.

Roughly 41 percent of voters were “very dissatisfied” with the way things were going in New York City, according to a [*Quinnipiac University poll in December*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html) — the highest level since the poll began asking voters that question in 1997.

The next year will reveal the durability of the recovery and shed more light on Mr. Adams’s priorities as he confronts the city’s many pressing challenges, including managing the arrival of more than 180,000 migrants and the end of generous federal pandemic aid.

Many business leaders have been pleased by the city’s economic rebound, and the mayor’s focus on public safety and stimulating the city’s economy, even as [*concerns over the commercial real estate industry persist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html). They share Mr. Adams’s view that helping businesses thrive is essential to the city’s comeback.

“The only way we’re going to be able to support the increase in people on public assistance and the costs of the migrant crisis is if we continue to see economic growth in the city,” said Kathryn Wylde, president of the Partnership for New York City, a business group. “The mayor has to be a reassuring champion of the city’s future.”

On this front, the mayor has given mixed messages. Mr. Adams, a Democrat, was elected partly by accentuating everything that was wrong with New York City, including a surge in crime during the pandemic. Even as mayor, he has been known for gloomy assessments like his warning that [*the migrant crisis would “destroy New York City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html).”

In recent months, Mr. Adams has begun to strongly emphasize the positive. “I can say with confidence, New York City isn’t coming back — New York City is back,” he said at a news conference last week.

But some of the city’s economic achievements tell a more nuanced story.

The median rent for an apartment in Manhattan has [*steadily increased*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html), to $4,150 in January, up 1.3 percent from the year before — a trend that conveys confidence in the city’s future, but also underscores the affordability crisis.

Even with more people physically returning to work, the office occupancy rate is still roughly [*50 percent of prepandemic levels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html) by one measure, raising alarm in the commercial real estate industry. The city’s hotel occupancy rate rose by 6.6 percentage points last year, the largest gain in the nation among major markets, according to [*an industry study*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html). But some of that increase comes from the city’s use of hotels for migrants, accounting for roughly 16,000 rooms.

And while the [*city gained 54,900 private sector jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html) last year, much of the growth has been in low-wage sectors, like home health aides, and most wage gains have been for the highest earners, said James Parrott, the director of economic and fiscal policy at the Center for New York City Affairs at the New School.

“The economic rebound we’ve had hasn’t been one that’s lifted all boats,” Mr. Parrott said.

Mr. Adams, who is running for re-election next year and facing a federal investigation into his campaign fund-raising, has insisted that he is focused on ***working class*** New Yorkers. He has highlighted an expansion of earned-income tax credits and child care vouchers, among other policies.

Charles Lutvak, a spokesman for the mayor, said in a statement that Mr. Adams was setting the foundation for a strong and equitable recovery.

“We have always been clear that there is more work to do, and our administration is continuing to deliver progress so that hard-working New Yorkers feel the benefits of a safer, more prosperous, and more livable city,” he said.

Difficult decisions loom. Thomas P. DiNapoli, the state comptroller, said in a new report on Thursday that while the city’s economic outlook had improved, its budget gaps were higher than the city’s forecasts at $11.3 billion in 2026.

“New York City’s finances were boosted by better-than-projected revenues and planned savings, but out-year budget gaps are still large and tough choices remain ahead to fund essential education programs and social services,” he said.

Some New Yorkers fear that Mr. Adams will continue to cut funds for essential city services, especially those most relied on by lower-income families like free preschool and libraries. He had called for severe midyear budget reductions to the police, fire, education, parks and sanitation departments, but [*rescinded some of those cuts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html) in January when the city’s tax revenue came in higher than projected.

Andrew Rein, the president of the Citizens Budget Commission, an independent fiscal watchdog, said that the city still needed to “rein in spending,” and called for Mr. Adams to have an “honest and transparent discussion” with New Yorkers about [*what services must be curtailed or ended*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html).

More than 50 percent of working families in New York City cannot afford to pay for their basic needs, according to a [*recent report by the Fund for the City of New York and United Way*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html). Evictions are [*rising again*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html).

City agencies are short staffed, leading to troubling delays. Only 14 percent of applications for cash assistance were processed within the legally mandated 30-day window during a four-month period last year, according to the Mayor’s Management Report. The timeliness rate was more than 95 percent in 2019. The mayor’s office [*announced on Monday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html) that it had significantly reduced the delays after hiring 1,000 staffers since January 2023 to process applications.

There is also the question of whether New Yorkers feel safe. The city has seen a drop in murders that is part of a national trend, though some crime categories are still high, including [*car thefts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html).

In the West Bronx, a predominantly Black and Latino neighborhood that Mr. Adams won in the 2021 Democratic primary, residents liked the mayor’s message and “see themselves” in his ***working-class*** upbringing, said Pierina Sanchez, a city councilwoman.

But they are also worried about violence and quality of life. A man [*was killed recently in the subway*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html) in Ms. Sanchez’s district. A 1-year-old died in September after being [*exposed to fentanyl at a home day care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html). There are also concerns over school budget cuts and the mayor’s [*refusal to expand a housing voucher*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/nyregion/nyc-poverty.html) program intended to reduce homelessness.

“It’s counterintuitive,” Ms. Sanchez said of the mayor’s stance on housing vouchers. “We voted for you en masse. You say you represent us. We need this, and you’re not supportive of it.”

At Montefiore Square, a park in West Harlem, neighbors are frustrated about open-air drug dealing and the grounds littered with used hypodermic needles and trash.

At a recent community meeting about the conditions at the park, several residents said they were fearful of the area. Cary Rose, the captain of the 30th Precinct, said officers had been present at the park almost 700 times from January to late February in an effort to address the problems there.

Local businesses are forming a merchants association because they are worried about violence, said Quenia Abreu, president of the New York Women’s Chamber of Commerce. She said she was nearly hit in the head with a bat recently when two men began fighting near a Dunkin’ across from the park.

Shaun Abreu, a local councilman who campaigned with Mr. Adams at the park, said the mayor’s upbeat message of “crime is down and jobs are up” did not reflect reality.

“In West Harlem,” Mr. Abreu said, “I don’t think that message would resonate.”

PHOTOS: The view of how New York is doing varies by any number of measures. For example, Wall Street bonuses are expected to be higher this year than last, but rent is too expensive for many families. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB1); Mayor Eric Adams, top, has stated that the ***working class*** has benefited from expanded earned-income tax credits and child care vouchers. Residents in West Harlem are frustrated over the visibility of crime, including at Montefiore Square, an area park, above. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES; ELIAS WILLIAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB6) This article appeared in print on page MB1, M6.

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2024

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[***In Memory of My Husband, Dan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJR-KV11-JBG3-64MW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 25, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; GAIL COLLINS

**Length:** 908 words

**Byline:** By Gail Collins

**Body**

My husband, Dan Collins, died this month. It was because of Covid and pneumonia. By the time he passed, Dan had been sedated for a while, and there's a small controversy between me and my sisters over what was said the last time he and I actually exchanged words. It was either ''I love you'' or Dan's claim that he was the one who ordered cans of salmon and vegetable for our dog.

Either one seems good. One of the great joys of a long marriage is how the personal and pragmatic moosh together.

We married in 1970, when we were living in Amherst, graduate students studying government at the University of Massachusetts. Dan, who had been drafted right out of college, always said that he'd signed up for the program because it would mean an early release from a deeply boring job processing forms for the Army.

My conservative parents were thrilled when I was home for vacation and received a picture of my new boyfriend in uniform and carrying a rifle, taken while he was finishing up some final piece of duty. They became less euphoric when they read his inscription: ''Pfc. Daniel Collins awaits the next infringement of his civil liberties.''

We lived together for a couple of years, and I agreed to become ''Gail Collins'' while we were still single because our postal worker refused to deliver mail to a man and woman at the same address with different names.

Dan got a reporting job at The Evening Sentinel, a paper in Ansonia, Conn. He proposed when I told him I was not following him to the Lower Naugatuck Valley unless we were married.

We both eventually got hired by United Press International in New York. Dan's specialty was big police stories. (Mine was making fun of politicians.) Back when Rudy Giuliani was a famous crime fighter, Dan negotiated with him about writing an authorized biography. It was exciting -- until Rudy decided he wanted to run for mayor. Dan found the political Giuliani a much less attractive co-worker and dropped out of that project fast. But he eventually revisited the subject with ''Grand Illusion,'' a book he wrote with Wayne Barrett about Giuliani's disastrous handling of Sept. 11.

Wayne was a legend in New York journalism for his incredible reporting and his, um, independent spirit. Dan was intent on getting equal control of their product. Eventually, Wayne's wife, Fran, would call me every day and say something like ''My client feels there should be a lot more emphasis on lack of preparedness at the Office of Emergency Management.''

''Well, my client feels that part's gone on long enough,'' I'd reply. Then we'd negotiate and report our decision to the two parties, who pretty much always abided by the outcome. I guess fighting with your co-author was less attractive when it spilled over to dinnertime at home.

Dan went on to other jobs -- I think his favorite was senior producer at CBSNews.com. He didn't love the internet, but he really enjoyed shepherding all the younger, relatively inexperienced reporters through their paces.

He was my editor, too -- the at-home one who read all my columns before I turned them in, frequently pointing out places where the language could be a little better, the examples a little livelier. If I tried to slide past another revision to make dinner or watch TV, he'd cheerfully stop me and say, ''Your work is our Job 1.'' It became a kind of mantra.

We both wrote books. We even did one together back in 1990, a preview of the year 2000 called ''The Millennium Book.'' It wasn't very deep, but we did enjoy getting friends to come up with lists like ''The Top 10 Tunes of the Millennium'' (ranging from ''Ave Maria'' to ''Oh! Susanna'') and recommendations for a millennial wine cellar.

Dan, as his friends all knew, was deeply into wine. It wasn't the sort of thing you might have anticipated for a guy from a ***working-class*** neighborhood in Boston, and early in our marriage we pretty much stuck to varieties of Blue Nun. But then we went on our first trip to Europe and our first trip to a serious restaurant, where the waiter suggested a couple of glasses of cabernet. Totally knocked our socks off, and Dan embarked on a hobby that would last the rest of his life.

He was a great party host, and even after we'd passed our -- oh, Lord -- 50th wedding anniversary, I always had a fine time with him. Dan loved going to restaurants, going to parties, going to a downtown hotel with great views of the river, where we'd spend a weekend admiring the Brooklyn Bridge. He liked the theater, too, but as many New Yorkers know, the seats in most Broadway houses are totally unsuited for patrons more than six feet tall.

Dan came down with respiratory problems this spring, and he seemed to be recovering just fine until we both caught Covid. It felt like a bad cold on my end, but Dan woke up one night unable to breathe at all. We went to the closest hospital's intensive care unit, and he never recovered.

I visited, of course, all the time. On what turned out to be his last night, I found myself propelled back late in the evening. ''Got a chance to say 'I love you' again,'' I whispered. Kissed his forehead and went home.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/opinion/dan-collins-gail-obit-marriage.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/opinion/dan-collins-gail-obit-marriage.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH VIA COLLINS FAMILY) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** July 25, 2024

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[***A Love Affair Bridges a Social Divide That Politics Can’t; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BHR-YC91-DXY4-X005-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 11, 2024 Monday 21:47 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 774 words

**Byline:** Fernanda Eberstadt

**Highlight:** Nicolas Mathieu’s novel “Connemara” illuminates a clash of values and visions in contemporary France.

**Body**

Nicolas Mathieu’s novel “Connemara” illuminates a clash of values and visions in contemporary France.

CONNEMARA, by Nicolas Mathieu. Translated by Sam Taylor.

Anglophone readers seeking a broader view of France than the Paris of bourgeois intellectuals have had plenty to read in recent years. Novelists as varied as [*Marie NDiaye*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/18/books/booksupdate/marie-ndiaye-vengenance-is-mine.html), [*Annie Ernaux*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/18/books/booksupdate/marie-ndiaye-vengenance-is-mine.html) and [*Édouard Louis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/18/books/booksupdate/marie-ndiaye-vengenance-is-mine.html) have introduced us to the hard-bitten northern regions of their youths, to the hinterlands of shuttered factories, to derelict city centers and suburbs whose inhabitants, after years of voting Communist, are turning to the anti-immigrant right.

Count Nicolas Mathieu, a winner of France’s [*prestigious Goncourt Prize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/18/books/booksupdate/marie-ndiaye-vengenance-is-mine.html), among this growing corps of writers. Born in 1978, Mathieu abandoned his life in Paris to return to his birthplace in the northeastern borderland of Lorraine — a region that in a deliberate governmental erasure merged in 2016 into a new conglomerate branded the Grand Est.

If Louis, in his autobiographical novel “[*The End of Eddy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/18/books/booksupdate/marie-ndiaye-vengenance-is-mine.html),” portrays his ***working-class*** hometown as a dystopia where young men congregate in bus shelters to get drunk and look for gay boys to beat up, the world of [*Nicolas Mathieu’s fiction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/18/books/booksupdate/marie-ndiaye-vengenance-is-mine.html) is somewhat less brutish. Mathieu’s characters are people who, in his words, glorify “the merits of hard work, manual labor, home improvement, people who know how to do things around the house, people who slip between the cracks, people who live from day to day, from hand to mouth,” and he depicts them with sympathy.

“Connemara,” Mathieu’s fourth novel and his third to be published in the United States, is the story of two 40-year-olds trying to recapture their youths in a clandestine love affair. (The book’s title comes from a 1981 Michel Sardou song, a blue-collar anthem that has accompanied the protagonists through years of postgame binges, weddings and office parties.)

Hélène is a human resources consultant, a snarky and ambitious provincial girl made good. After a midcareer burnout, she has persuaded the father of her two children to leave Paris and move the family back to her native Lorraine. This return to the more peaceable world that Hélène long ago rejected doesn’t succeed in stilling her demons. Work and home conspire to irritate her: Hélène’s new boss has promoted a more recent male hire over her head; her partner is working later and later hours, and she’s resentful of his reluctance to assume his share of child care.

Bored, pissed off, alienated, Hélène drifts into a Tinder otherworld, seeking semi-anonymous revenge sex. During a failed date in a chain restaurant by a bowling alley, Hélène spots her high school classmate Christophe, a former hockey star. Sure, he’s put on a little weight and he was never all that bright, but her desire and curiosity are piqued.

Their ensuing motel-room love affair (described in pages of oddly generic sex) brings together two divergent small-town destinies. If Hélène is the class traitor who through brains and hard work escaped to the big city and is now trying to find her way home, Christophe, sweet-natured, dutiful, is the boy who never wanted to leave. Divorced, with an only son, Christophe is now selling dog food door to door and living with his father, who is struggling with dementia. Until he reconnects with Hélène, Christophe’s chief pleasures are getting drunk with his childhood buddies and dreaming of making a comeback with his old hockey team.

“Connemara” reaches its climax during the runoff to the 2017 elections, when President Emmanuel Macron faced the far-right candidate Marine Le Pen. Hélène and Christophe’s romance thus becomes emblematic of the nation’s larger cultural and socioeconomic divides. The question of whether Hélène will leave her high-earning partner and seek a humbler kind of hometown happiness is mirrored by the larger question of whose France will prevail — the France of elite technocrats represented by Macron, or the nostalgic France invoked by the far right, a nation of ***working-class*** bars with photos of Jacques Brel on the wall, where the old-timers “scratched off lottery tickets as they chatted about politics, horse racing and immigrants.”

These open wounds of class belonging and dispossession are crucial subjects for both European and American writers today. Mathieu knows how to take us from a small-town hockey match to a corporate boardroom, but “Connemara” — despite Sam Taylor’s smooth translation — lacks the passion or the rigor to give the story more than a surface gloss.

CONNEMARA | By Nicolas Mathieu | Translated by Sam Taylor | Other Press | 457 pp. | Paperback, $18.99

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR22.

**Load-Date:** April 11, 2024

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[***Tim Walz, Accepting V.P. Nomination, Tells Democrats to ‘Leave It on the Field’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSP-BFG1-DXY4-X04F-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1281 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck, Nicholas Nehamas and Reid J. Epstein Katie Glueck covers American politics with a focus on the Democratic Party. Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris. More about Nicholas Nehamas Reid 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:** Completing his transformation into a party leader, Mr. Walz played up his Midwestern roots and his time as a football coach. “It’s the fourth quarter,” he said. “We’re down a field goal.”

**Body**

Completing his transformation into a party leader, Mr. Walz played up his Midwestern roots and his time as a football coach. “It’s the fourth quarter,” he said. “We’re down a field goal.”

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota offered himself as a bridge to disillusioned Americans who regard the Democratic Party as a bastion of coastal elitism, in a high-stakes address formally accepting the vice-presidential nomination on Wednesday night.

From the stage of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Mr. Walz completed his breathtaking transformation from little-known governor to leading party figure, accentuating his Midwestern roots and portraying the Democratic ticket as one that champions pragmatism and patriotism.

“We’re all here tonight for one beautiful, simple reason: We love this country,” he said.

A month ago, many Americans outside Minnesota were unfamiliar with Mr. Walz, other than highly engaged Democrats who delighted in his punchy television appearances and memorable critiques of Republicans, whom he labeled “[*weird.*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas)”

But on Wednesday, as he gave the most consequential speech of his career, attendees made clear they had quickly become familiar with his life story, including his background as a former high school football coach.

Before he took the stage, convention organizers handed out signs that read “Coach Walz,” and a burly group of his former players, now middle-aged, marched out to the tune of their high school fight song. Chants of “Coach” rang out during his speech, which was rife with football metaphors.

“It’s the fourth quarter. We’re down a field goal,” Mr. Walz said. “But we’re on offense and we’ve got the ball. We’re driving down the field. And boy, do we have the right team.”

He added: “We’re going to leave it on the field. That’s how we’ll keep moving forward.”

In some ways, Mr. Walz — who speaks often of “joy” and has the demeanor of a man who still can’t believe his good fortune — is the human embodiment of the Democratic Party’s head-spinning reversal of energy this summer.

After President Biden’s exit from the race and Vice President Kamala Harris’s ascent, an anxious party that was dreading November suddenly seems giddy.

“I’m having more fun than I ever imagined,” said Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the majority leader who has been coming to Democratic conventions since 1984. “There’s such unity and excitement. Who ever thought?”

Of course, senior Democrats also think that the campaign against former President Donald J. Trump will be ugly, unpredictable and close.

That, in part, is where Mr. Walz comes in.

Throughout the evening, there were frequent nods to Mr. Walz’s identity as a husband, father and red-blooded American man. His remarks focused far more on the details of his football coaching career than on the 12 years he spent in Congress. And he repeated a familiar line from his stump speech about his prowess as a hunter, noting he “has the trophies to prove” he was a more accurate shot than his Republican colleagues in the House.

It illustrated why Democrats hope he can help stem their losses with rural and white ***working-class*** voters — especially men — who have grown increasingly hostile to his party.

“Who better to take on the price of gas than a guy who could pull over to help change your tire?” Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota said from the convention stage shortly before Mr. Walz spoke, playing up his average-Joe persona. “Who better to find common ground than a guy with Midwestern common sense?”

On Wednesday, the country also caught a glimpse of Mr. Walz’s family. His wife, Gwen Walz, who has stood out this week for the notably expressive way she watches speeches, narrated a video introducing her husband. Their two children, Hope and Gus, were seen on camera responding emotionally when Mr. Walz said that his family was his “entire world.”

In [*one poignant moment*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas), his son stood up, crying, and seemed to mouth, “That’s my dad.”

Mr. Walz began his career as a culturally conservative Democrat on some issues — [*in particular, guns*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) — before evolving in recent years into a liberal favorite. His first term as governor was marked by consensus-building with Republicans who controlled one chamber of the State Legislature. But when Democrats won majorities in the 2022 election, he pressed to enact [*a sweeping agenda of liberal priorities*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas).

“While other states were banning books from their schools, we were banishing hunger from ours,” Mr. Walz said, referring to [*a bill he signed*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) that allowed public schools to provide all students with free breakfast and lunch.

But back in 2006, he [*also flipped*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) a largely rural and more conservative House district in southern Minnesota.

“Never underestimate a public-school teacher,” Mr. Walz, a former social studies teacher, said to cheers. Describing lessons from his time in Congress, he added, “I learned how to work across the aisle on issues like growing the rural economies and taking care of veterans, and I learned how to compromise without compromising my values.”

With his emphasis on neighborliness and his folksy style, he still speaks the language of small-town America. (His walk-on music, John Mellencamp’s “Small Town,” only drove that point home.)

The governor, a graduate of Chadron State College in Nebraska, has also relished [*turning charges of elitism*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) against Republicans — Senator JD Vance, Mr. Trump’s running mate, attended Yale Law School.

“I had 24 kids in my high school class,” Mr. Walz said of his Nebraska upbringing. “And none of them went to Yale.”

Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz have both embraced traditionally right-leaning language and phrasing [*to cast themselves as defenders of universal American values*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) like freedom and liberty, arguing that it is Republicans, with their abortion bans in many states, who are spurring government intrusion into Americans’ lives.

“In Minnesota, we respect our neighbors and the personal choices they make,” Mr. Walz said, offering a line that has become a favorite with his fans. “And even if we wouldn’t make those same choices for ourselves, we’ve got a golden rule: Mind your own damn business.”

Mr. Walz, who served 24 years in the Army National Guard, seems comfortable with an emphasis on patriotic language. But Republicans, [*led by Mr. Vance,*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) who served in the Marine Corps, have attacked him over his military record and how he has characterized his service.

Four veterans who investigate claims of fraudulent military service [*told The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) that they did not believe Mr. Walz engaged in “stolen valor,” but that he did misrepresent or speak imprecisely about his record at times. Mr. Walz has [*strongly defended*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/nicholas-nehamas) his record, saying on Wednesday night that he “proudly wore our nation’s uniform.”

In attacking Mr. Trump, Mr. Walz turned to the kind of prairie populism that helped propel him in Minnesota, saying that the former president’s agenda “serves nobody, except the richest and the most extreme amongst us” and did “nothing for our neighbors in need.”

And he echoed arguments made by Democrats throughout the convention that Americans had grown tired of Mr. Trump’s insults and brash aggression.

“Leaders don’t spend all day insulting people and blaming others. Leaders do the work,” Mr. Walz said, comparing Mr. Trump unfavorably to the high schoolers he had taught. “So I don’t know about you: I’m ready to turn the page on these guys.”

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting.

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota spoke Wednesday at the convention in Chicago. “We’re going to leave it on the field,” he said, invoking football metaphors for the campaign. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** August 23, 2024

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[***Republicans’ Electoral College Edge, Once Seen as Ironclad, Looks to Be Fading***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D20-5NW1-JBG3-653D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1914 words

**Highlight:** A review of the evidence that Donald Trump’s advantage relative to the national popular vote has declined significantly.

**Body**

A review of the evidence that Donald Trump’s advantage relative to the national popular vote has declined significantly.

Ever since Donald J. Trump’s [*stunning victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president) in 2016 — when he lost the popular vote by almost three million votes but still triumphed with over 300 electoral votes — many who follow politics have believed Republicans hold an intractable advantage in the Electoral College.

But there’s growing evidence to support a surprising possibility: His once formidable advantage in the Electoral College is not as ironclad as many presumed. Instead, it might be shrinking.

According to The New York Times’s [*polling average*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president), it does not seem that Kamala Harris will necessarily need to win the popular vote by much to prevail.

The simplest way to measure the advantage in the Electoral College is to take the difference between the national popular vote and the vote in the “tipping-point” state (the state that puts one candidate over the top in the Electoral College). Right now, Vice President Harris leads the polling in the national vote by 2.6 percentage points, and leads [*Wisconsin*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president) — the current tipping-point state — by 1.8 points, which makes Mr. Trump’s advantage less than a point.

By this measure, Mr. Trump’s advantage is only around one-fifth as large as it was four years ago, when President Biden fared 3.8 points better nationally than in Wisconsin (the tipping-point state in 2020).

How is it possible?

On the one hand, Ms. Harris is holding her own in [*Michigan*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president), [*Wisconsin*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president) and [*Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president). It’s worth noting this is tenuous: Together, these states help Ms. Harris win the Electoral College, with little room for error. Should the polls meaningfully underestimate Mr. Trump in any one of Michigan, Pennsylvania or Wisconsin, as they did in the last two presidential elections, much of his Electoral College advantage could return.

The second half of the explanation, oddly, is that Mr. Trump is gaining in noncompetitive states like New York, improving his position in the national popular vote without helping him in the most important states. In particular, he appears to be faring best in the states where Republicans excelled in the midterm election two years ago.

Electoral College Math 101

You might be under the impression that Republicans do so well in the Electoral College because of the disproportionate power afforded to small rural states, but that’s not really what’s behind the Electoral College’s skew in the Trump era. Instead, the most distorting feature is that it’s (almost entirely) winner-take-all: You get all of the electoral votes from a state if you win it by a single vote; conversely, you get zero additional electoral votes if you win a state by a lopsided margin.

In 2016, Mr. Trump narrowly prevailed in Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, winning all 75 Electoral College votes from those states, despite winning them by a combined average of less than one percentage point.

Hillary Clinton fared very well in several noncompetitive states; not just big blue states like California, but also a red state like Texas, where she gained seven points compared with Barack Obama. These gains helped her win the popular vote nationally, but they did nothing to help in the Electoral College.

Mr. Trump’s declining Electoral College gap today thus reflects some combination of his relative weakness in the core battlegrounds and relative strength in the noncompetitive states.

The core battlegrounds are clear enough: The polls show Ms. Harris leading in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan, states that would be enough for her to win the presidency provided she wins the more Democratic-leaning states and districts where she currently leads. On average, Ms. Harris is faring a hair better than Mr. Biden’s election results across these states.

The national polls, on the other hand, show Ms. Harris faring about two points worse than Mr. Biden’s results. Clearly, Mr. Trump is polling better in noncompetitive parts of the country, even as Ms. Harris shows resilience where it counts. Together, it reduces the size of Mr. Trump’s advantage in the Electoral College.

A midterm repeat?

The idea of Republicans faring better in the popular vote might seem a little odd, but it actually happened recently: the 2022 midterms.

No, the midterm election [*didn’t*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president) turn out to be a “red wave,” as had been prophesied. Democrats held firm in key battleground states. But a red wave really did materialize in many parts of the country.

Republicans ran far ahead of Mr. Trump’s 2020 performance in New York, Florida and much of the Deep South. They also ran well ahead of Mr. Trump — say, by 5 to 10 points in the House popular vote — in many less competitive states across the South and West, including California and Texas.

As a result, Republicans [*won the popular vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president) for U.S. House, even though Democrats were only a few seats away from retaining control of it.

While the evidence is inconclusive, there are signs that Mr. Trump is excelling in many of the places where Republicans won big in the midterms.

One piece of evidence: Times/Siena polling this year. If this year’s national surveys are aggregated together — including the polls when Mr. Biden was the nominee — there’s a clear relationship between Mr. Trump’s gains and how well Republicans fared in the midterms.

Although there’s less data from the three Times/Siena polls since Ms. Harris became the nominee, they nonetheless show the same pattern: Mr. Trump makes large gains where Republicans posted above-average results in the midterms, but he makes few or no gains elsewhere in the country.

Ideally, individual state polls — not subsamples from national polls — would be the basis for this analysis. Unfortunately, there’s very little state polling outside the battleground states. In New York, there’s plenty of evidence that Ms. Harris is struggling, relatively speaking, but that evidence mostly comes from our partners at Siena College. Their methodology is different from the Times/Siena poll, but not so different that it counts as independent corroboration. On the other hand, Ms. Harris holds up relatively well in most of the [*Texas*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president), [*Florida*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president) and [*California*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president) polling, so it’s not a straightforward picture.

There’s another issue with the state polling: By a two-to-one margin, the polls that you see nowadays are weighted by “recall vote.” This is a little wonky, but it means that the number of respondents who say they voted for Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump is adjusted to match the actual result of the last election. Whatever the [*merits of this approach*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president), it has the consequence of forcing many state polls into very close alignment with the 2020 result. The polls that do not weight by past vote, however, show results that correlate as much with the midterm vote as the last presidential election. (We’ll have more on this soon.)

Beyond the public polls, there’s the private polling, fielded by campaigns and other political groups, only a sliver of which is released to the public. I asked [*Dave Wasserman*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president) of the Cook Political Report what he was seeing and hearing lately, especially in the dozen or so potentially competitive races for U.S. House in California and New York. Here’s what he said:

It’s fair to say that in both parties’ polling, Harris is underperforming in New York and California districts (relative to Biden’s 2020 margin) more than in presidential battleground states. My sense is that the political environment in those states might be modestly better for Democrats than it was in the midterms, but that Harris isn’t on track to get Biden-type margins.

Alone, none of this data is conclusive. But together, there are a lot of hints that the 2024 electoral map might look a bit more like 2022 than many would have guessed. If so, it would narrow the gap between the popular vote and the decisive states in the Electoral College.

Demographics

Eight years ago, Mr. Trump’s advantage was built on demographics.

He made huge gains among white voters without a college degree, propelling his breakthrough in the disproportionately white ***working-class*** Northern battleground states. Yet at the same time, he alienated millions of highly educated voters, losing a lot of votes in fast-growing and well-educated metropolitan areas, without doing much damage to his chances in the key battlegrounds.

Over the last four years, the demographic foundations of Mr. Trump’s Electoral College advantage have eroded. He’s running ahead of usual Republican benchmarks among Black and Hispanic voters, but they tend to represent a below-average share of the electorate in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin — the three battleground states that represent Ms. Harris’s path of least resistance in the current state polling.

Mr. Trump’s gains among Black and Hispanic voters ought to have only a marginal effect on the electoral math. But in the 2022 midterms, one curious pattern was that Republicans made outsize gains among nonwhite voters in noncompetitive states, whether in the Deep South or in the big states like New York or California, even as they made relatively few gains in the battlegrounds, where it counts most.

A similar pattern seems evident in the Times/Siena data amassed over the last year, including in each of Texas, Florida, New York and California — but the samples are too small to represent especially strong evidence. Even so, the possibility that Mr. Trump’s gains among nonwhite voters might be greater in noncompetitive states would start to help make sense of several different electoral trends.

A lasting shift?

Why did the Republicans do so well in some places, but not others, back in 2022?

At the time, the best explanation seemed to be about the issues at stake. In many key battlegrounds, the Republicans nominated MAGA-backed stop-the-steal candidates and threatened to take away abortion rights. Where they did, Democrats excelled. Elsewhere, the story was often very different. In many blue states, abortion rights were safe and the threat of a stolen election seemed distant, but many voters were concerned by crime, housing shortages and homelessness, resentful of pandemic-era restrictions and frustrated by a perceived failure of Democratic governance. Many conservative and more religious states, meanwhile, weren’t so upset by the end of Roe and remained supportive of Mr. Trump; there, the “red wave” sloshed ashore, unimpeded.

None of this necessarily seemed likely to affect a national presidential election. But if the 2022 patterns really do hold in this year’s election, it might suggest that the shifts in the midterms weren’t just about the issues focused on by different campaigns in different states, but about how new issues altered people’s political allegiances.

It would suggest that the social, economic and political upheaval in the wake of the pandemic, inflation, Jan. 6 and the end of Roe left a lasting political impact — one that was felt very differently in different parts of the country and among different constituencies.

With the polling predictably focused on the battlegrounds, we may not have a great idea on this until the final results arrive in November. If the results wind up looking somewhat more like the midterms, I won’t be surprised. Much crazier things have happened.

Additional work by Ethan Singer.

Additional work by Ethan Singer.

PHOTO: In the Electoral College, it doesn’t matter if you win a state by one vote or a million. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Adriana Zehbrauskas for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 27, 2024

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[***The Black and White Southerners Who Changed the North; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:698B-SV11-DXY4-X18S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 27, 2023 Wednesday 23:18 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1402 words

**Byline:** Arlie Russell Hochschild

**Highlight:** As autoworkers strike across the country, “Hillbilly Highway” and “Black Folk” offer two views of the search for a better life by ***working-class*** migrants in the middle of the 20th century.

**Body**

As autoworkers strike across the country, “Hillbilly Highway” and “Black Folk” offer two views of the search for a better life by ***working-class*** migrants in the middle of the 20th century.

HILLBILLY HIGHWAY: The Transappalachian Migration and the Making of a White ***Working Class***, by Max Fraser

BLACK FOLK: The Roots of the Black ***Working Class***, by Blair LM Kelley

Between 1900 and 1970, millions of Americans left the South for the North, West and Midwest. Max Fraser’s “Hillbilly Highway” traces the movement of about eight million of them, poor whites from the “Upper South” — states such as Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky — to industrial parts of the Midwest, cities such as Detroit, Cincinnati and Chicago. In “Black Folk,” Blair LM Kelley ties the exodus of another six million or so to a moving memoir of Black family migration, as well as to the wider sweep of time from slavery to the present. Together, these two migrations have helped shape two sides of our current perilous political moment.

Fraser, a scholar of labor history at the University of Miami, corrects several misconceptions. The usual view is that Southern Black people moved north during the first half of the 20th century, but Southern whites stayed put or went west when the Dust Bowl came in the 1930s. Yet many poor white migrants left debt-burdened farms, dead-end jobs and shuttered mills and mines, and ventured north on the “hillbilly highway” to settle in poor white ghettos such as Chicago’s Uptown, Muncie’s Shedtown and Dayton’s East End. There, like Black migrants, most found better lives than those they left behind.

Fraser also challenges writers who blame poor white Southerners for the rise of the anti-union right in the North. “Transappalachian migrants were early and eager supporters of Midwestern industrial unions,” Fraser notes, “in both radical hotbeds like Detroit and provincial outposts like Muncie.” They initiated work stoppages and slowdowns with and without union leadership.

And the transplanted hillbilly did not always vote conservative. When the Alabama governor George Wallace, an arch-segregationist, ran for president in 1968, only 6 percent of Chicago’s hillbilly Uptown neighborhood voted for him — a much lower proportion than the citywide average of 12 percent or the second- and third-generation European immigrant turnout of 17 percent. White blue-collar workers have since moved farther to the right, Fraser says, but hillbillies were no more or less likely to do so than other groups of white voters.

Blair LM Kelley’s “Black Folk” also has a bone to pick. When we think of “the American ***working class***,” we think of whites, she notes. But much of that class is Black, and, compared with white laborers, a higher proportion of all Black people are part of it. Kelley, a professor of Southern studies at the University of North Carolina and the author of “[*Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/13/opinion/kavanaugh-activism-civil-rights.html),” tells the poignant story of her grandfather John Dee, the son of a Georgia sharecropper.

Seated in a wagon with his four siblings and the family’s belongings, Dee left behind a familiar place, a can’t-get-ahead life and a mountain of debt. The family landed in North Carolina. Dee married in 1938 and pressed on to Philadelphia, where he sought work as a carpenter and his wife, Brunell, a high school graduate — rare for rural Southerners of any race at the time — aspired to an office job.

But while the North offered Black migrants freedom to vote and a far lower risk of lynching, it didn’t offer a fair crack at the factory or clerical jobs on offer to white workers. Brunell, unable to find office work, earned money as a housekeeper.

What Black migrants badly needed was access to well-paying jobs and to real union support, and for the most part, until the 1960s, both were denied to them. Dee did manage to join a local branch of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, but found himself assigned to jobs in areas hostile to Black workers. Other Black workers were barred entirely from white-dominated unions; the 1918 charter of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors specified that workers should be white.

As Kelley shows, many Black workers formed their own unions. In 1905, a washerwoman’s union in Richmond, Va., boycotted streetcars with segregated seating, bankrupting the company. In the 1930s and ’40s, A. Philip Randolph won better pay and hours for Black workers through his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and pushed the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration to desegregate all federal jobs.

Both white and Black migrants were used by Northern business interests toward their own ends. In the 1910s and ’20s, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Akron, Ohio, sent recruiters into Appalachia to urge poor white people to move north to nonexistent jobs. “They were laying off men instead of hiring them,” one migrant reported. With a labor surplus, the company could undercut union activism, at least for a time, and spark antagonism between new migrants and white old-timers, who accused hillbillies of stealing jobs and undermining wages.

Some corporations also actively recruited Southern Black workers to break Northern white strikes, a fact missing from both books. In the nationwide steel strike of 1919, as the historian Stephen H. Norwood [*has written*](https://uncpress.org/book/9780807853733/strikebreaking-and-intimidation/), steel companies recruited 30,000 to 40,000 Black workers, including thousands of recent Southern migrants in Chicago, to undermine the steelworker unions. And what about those unions? Were such unions the same ones that Fraser’s poor white migrants could join but from which Kelley’s Black migrants were barred? Fraser does not discount the possibility.

By 1940, nearly 11 percent of Southern-born white people and more than 15 percent of Southern-born Black people had left the South. Though studded with obstacles, the migration of Black people out of the South infused Northern cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia and New York with energy and talent, helped to galvanize the civil rights movement and created solid support for the modern Democratic Party.

As for the migration of white people from the Upper South to the Midwest, Fraser suggests that at least some hillbillies brought union activism and left-leaning votes with them when they traveled north, but his story ends around 1970. In “The Americanization of Dixie” (1974), the journalist John Egerton, generalizing about whites from all over the South, argued that white migration helped “Southernize” the North. More recently, [*a group of American economists*](https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w29506/w29506.pdf) has argued that “the Southern white diaspora played an important role in shaping” the modern conservative constituencies that gave us the presidency of Donald Trump.

Of course, much depended on what Southern white migrants did after they came north. If they become highly educated or live in a city, and happen to be young (say, the migrant’s children), they’re more likely to be liberal. But, as political scientists such as Katherine Cramer point out, the ones who stay on the farm often vote Republican because they strongly resent an “urban elite” that they feel both ignores and controls them.

According to a revealing [*2020 Pew poll*](https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/2020/02/05/a-sore-subject-almost-half-of-americans-have-stopped-talking-politics-with-someone/), 45 percent of Americans have stopped talking about politics with someone because of something their interlocutor said — 45 percent of conservative Republicans and 60 percent of liberal Democrats say they’ve done this. White people are more likely to cut off conversation than Black people: 50 percent versus 37 percent.

The 2024 election cycle has barely begun, and Joe Biden and Donald Trump have [*already made their way to Detroit*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/09/26/us/biden-uaw-strike-detroit) to court ***working-class*** voters. Some foresee a replay of the North-South civil war, with Donald Trump playing to the Southernization of the North and Joe Biden to the Northernization of the South. Race is again central, and we’re having a hard time talking about it. The very human stories in these two books could be just the thing to break the ice.

HILLBILLY HIGHWAY: The Transappalachian Migration and the Making of a White ***Working Class*** | By Max Fraser | Illustrated | 320 pp. | Princeton University Press | $32

BLACK FOLK: The Roots of the Black ***Working Class*** | By Blair LM Kelley | Illustrated | 338 pp. | Liveright Publishing | $30

PHOTO: Employees working on radiators for the Ford Motor Company in Detroit in the 1920s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ULLSTEIN BILD VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page BR23.

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Hochul Allocates $54 Million to Continue Construction on Second Avenue Subway***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CM1-F0F1-JBG3-604C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 31, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 996 words

**Byline:** By Ana Ley

**Body**

Gov. Kathy Hochul said she had found the money to restart some work on the project. It had been expected to be funded by the congestion pricing program, which she suspended.

Gov. Kathy Hochul said on Tuesday that she had squeezed $54 million from state funds to revive work on a long-awaited extension of the Second Avenue subway line in Manhattan.

She celebrated the move as reflecting her commitment to the city's transit system. But transit advocates scoffed at what they described as a paltry sum for a single project.

The piecemeal approach, they added, fails to undo the damage caused by the governor's last-minute decision in June to cancel the congestion pricing program, which would have generated billions for subway improvements and helped pay for the subway extension.

The first phase of the Second Avenue subway opened in 2017 and stopped at East 96th Street on the Upper East Side. Politicians have promised for decades to bring the line to East Harlem in order to give a historically neglected community better transit access and shift passengers away from some of the country's most crowded train lines.

But the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which runs the subway, stopped working on the roughly $7.7 billion project when Ms. Hochul indefinitely suspended congestion pricing, which would have charged most drivers $15 to enter Manhattan below 60th Street. It had been expected to generate $3 billion to advance the second phase of the subway extension to East Harlem.

The governor's decision to stop the tolling program weeks before it was scheduled to begin has left the authority's budget in limbo, creating a budget gap of $16.5 billion in crucial upgrades to the subway and bus network.

In a statement, a spokesman for Ms. Hochul said that the governor intends to find the money to fully fund the M.T.A. He noted that last year, she helped to make the M.T.A.'s budget whole after years of fiscal uncertainty that were made worse during the pandemic.

''Governor Hochul has stated repeatedly that she is committed to funding the M.T.A. capital plan, including as recently as this morning,'' wrote John Lindsay, the spokesman. ''She is working with partners in government on funding mechanisms while congestion pricing is paused.''

On Tuesday, the governor's office said that the state would devote the $54 million from discretionary funds reserved for infrastructure upgrades to continue the subway project. That allocation, they said, would allow work to go on as scheduled. The M.T.A. awarded its first construction contract for the project in January. At the time, the authority expected to complete the project in the 2030s.

The money that Ms. Hochul allocated will let the M.T.A. continue to relocate utility lines along Second Avenue and nearby streets, but billions more will be needed from New York to carry the project to completion. In a statement on Monday night, the governor's office said she was ''putting the project in position to advance as scheduled while broader funding issues are resolved.''

But Lisa Daglian, executive director of the authority's Permanent Citizens Advisory Committee, a watchdog group, said the move was of limited help. ''Having it trickle in piecemeal doesn't help companies get ready to line up their construction contracts,'' she said. ''It's really a Band-Aid approach.''

Still, the money could help prevent the M.T.A. from losing $3.4 billion in federal spending for the extension. That grant is conditioned on a certain amount of local funding, said Representative Adriano D. Espaillat, a Democrat whose district includes East Harlem.

The project, he said, ''continues to have a heartbeat. That's important.'' Mr. Espaillat added, ''East Harlem is a ***working-class*** neighborhood and perhaps one of the biggest transportation deserts in the country.''

The neighborhood is served by the 4, 5 and 6 subway trains as well as bus lines, but there is no subway east of Lexington Avenue.

Ms. Hochul's announcement that she was postponing congestion pricing just weeks before it was to go into effect angered environmentalists, transit advocates and economists. It also forced the authority to plan for sweeping cuts to its capital budget.

Transit leaders had already entered into a $556 million contract for cameras, software and other tools to begin the tolls, and a watchdog group has estimated that the M.T.A. spent close to $1 billion to prepare for the program.

With the budget shortfall, Janno Lieber, the chair and chief executive of the M.T.A., said that the authority was reining in its ambitions, focusing on ''basic stuff to make sure the system doesn't fall apart.''

On Tuesday, Mr. Lieber thanked the governor for finding the money for work on the subway line extension to continue. Mr. Lieber has said that he takes the governor at her word when she says that she will eventually let the tolling plan move forward and in the meantime will find alternative funding sources for the M.T.A.

Congestion pricing had been expected to generate about $1 billion a year in revenue for the authority. A representative for the governor's office said there is still no timeline for implementing it.

The Second Avenue extension would add three new subway stops along the Q line between 96th Street and 125th Street, and is expected to serve about 123,000 daily riders, according to the transit agency.

In 2019, the median household income in East Harlem was $32,960, less than half the citywide median household income of $70,590, according to an analysis of Census Bureau data by N.Y.U. researchers. About 43 percent of East Harlem's population of roughly 111,000 identifies as Hispanic and 36 percent as Black.

In addition to helping fund the Second Avenue subway line, congestion-pricing-related revenue was expected to modernize the signals that keep subway trains running, add electric buses to the M.T.A.'s fleet and make more subway stations accessible for people with disabilities.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/30/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-expansion.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/30/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-expansion.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The M.T.A. stopped work on the project when New York's governor halted congestion pricing, which was supposed to pay for it. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE SEGAR/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** July 31, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In Venezuela, Shedding Light on Uncertainty***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CM1-F0F1-JBG3-603W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 31, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 2; TIMES INSIDER

**Length:** 1059 words

**Byline:** By John Otis

**Body**

Anatoly Kurmanaev, who lived in Venezuela for years, is in Caracas reporting on the protests that have erupted there after Nicolás Maduro was declared the winner of a flawed election.

Times Insider explains who we are and what we do and delivers behind-the-scenes insights into how our journalism comes together.

Early on Monday, the Venezuelan government declared that its authoritarian leader, Nicolás Maduro, who came to power in 2013, had won the presidential election. Mr. Maduro ostensibly defeated the opposition candidate, Edmundo González, by seven percentage points, a result incongruous with public polls and statistical estimates based on partial voting counts.

Widespread accusations of voter fraud and intimidation swiftly followed. Countries around the world, including the United States, denounced the results. And Venezuelans took to the streets of their country's capital, Caracas, in protest.

The New York Times reporter Anatoly Kurmanaev is in Caracas reporting on the fallout. Mr. Kurmanaev, based in Berlin, lived in Venezuela for eight years, until 2021, and has covered half a dozen local, regional and presidential elections. Though the Venezuelan government has reported bogus voting turnout figures in the past, the complete lack of transparency in this election is unlike anything Mr. Kurmanaev said he had seen before.

''The fact that the electoral council came out and just gave Maduro a massive victory without giving any breakdown of results, without following any of the normal procedures, was striking,'' Mr. Kurmanaev said in a phone interview on Monday.

Mr. Kurmanaev discussed the scene in Caracas, his expectations for the days ahead and the importance of sharing one country's election on a global scale. This interview has been edited and condensed.

What is the feeling in Venezuela right now?

There was an initial feeling of shock. There was a small celebration outside the presidential palace the night of the election, with a few thousand government activists and public employees dancing to government bands and listening to victory speeches. But the wider downtown area, a ***working-class*** part of Caracas that traditionally has been a hotbed of political activism, was quiet.

Now, we're seeing small, organic protests break out across the country. Unlike previous rounds of protests in previous years led by the opposition, they're not organized or emanating from middle-class areas. These are from shanty towns. Primarily, young people are coming out, blocking roads and marching. It's still pretty small. But it seems to be growing, coalescing into something bigger.

The government has not yet resorted to full-scale oppression, as it has done in the past. But I think it's a matter of time before it does.

How shocking was the result of this election?

Maduro's government has made up numbers in the past, for sort of unimportant referendum-type things, when they ran unopposed. When they ran against an opponent, they tilted the playing field heavily. But what came out of the ballot machines was more or less what people cast.

This time was different. The government has yet to release any detailed numbers, feeding growing accusations that they were simply made up.

How palpable is the fear of potential protracted unrest?

In the past, this country has experienced massive waves of protests against the Maduro government, which were followed by deadly repression. After each protest, you had a combination of people throwing in the towel and emigrating; those who stayed became increasingly cautious or disillusioned to change anything.

The people we see out on the street now -- people from the poorest neighborhoods who have so little to lose because they have so little already -- are clearly fed up. They saw this election as the best chance to improve their lives. They feel cheated. It's early days, even hours. What I'm seeing from the protests so far has been more than I expected, given the fear and disillusionment that has reigned here for so many years.

Having covered elections in Venezuela, how do you feel about narratives in the United States about tainted elections?

I lived in Venezuela for eight years, and I have lived through the country's worst economic crisis since its independence more than two centuries ago. I lived through a time when millions of people fled, when people faced extreme malnutrition, violence, unimaginable hardships, deep political polarization. Throughout those years, what remained constant was a deep commitment among Venezuelan people to the process of voting.

Every election, you could go into the polling stations and see the commitment of people lining up for hours, people from the richest neighborhoods to the poorest slums. I witnessed the same thing this time. I saw a real determination on people's faces to cast their ballots.

In covering Venezuelan elections for so many years, I do find it remarkable that so many millions of people in the United States put so little faith in the electoral system and democracy, and take it for granted.

Why is it so important for The Times to report on this election?

This is a country that had one of the most established democracies in Latin America until it was gradually undermined. There was a vibrant media culture that was gradually destroyed through a combination of repression and economic pressure from the government.

There are very few outlets left in the country able to do in-depth reporting. Not because of lack of talented journalists, but a lack of resources and freedom of speech. Therefore, the role played by international media is outsized in this country. Millions of Venezuelans, both at home and outside the country, are paying very close attention to international media for its ability -- a limited ability, but still an ability -- to report here and not face the same level of risk a local journalist would face. It is extremely important to tell the world and Venezuelans what is happening.

What do you expect in the coming days and weeks?

The government still hasn't released detailed results. The opposition has vowed to contest them, to fight and be heard. It's a very fluid news situation. We're just trying to keep our readers updated on what's happening. I hope to stay here as long as necessary, to keep shedding light on this period of great uncertainty.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/30/insider/in-venezuela-covering-the-fallout-of-a-tainted-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/30/insider/in-venezuela-covering-the-fallout-of-a-tainted-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Protests rage on in Caracas, Venezuela, after the government said that Nicolás Maduro had won the presidential election, a result many denounce. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEJANDRO CEGARRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A2.

**Load-Date:** July 31, 2024

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[***A Final Word About My Husband, Dan; Gail Collins***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJM-9KS1-DXY4-X0G6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 24, 2024 Wednesday 10:50 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 911 words

**Byline:** Gail Collins Gail Collins is a Times Opinion columnist focusing on domestic politics.

**Highlight:** One of the great joys of a long marriage is how the personal and pragmatic moosh together.

**Body**

My husband, Dan Collins, died this month. It was because of Covid and pneumonia. By the time he passed, Dan had been sedated for a while, and there’s a small controversy between me and my sisters over what was said the last time he and I actually exchanged words. It was either “I love you” or Dan’s claim that he was the one who ordered cans of salmon and vegetable for our dog.

Either one seems good. One of the great joys of a long marriage is how the personal and pragmatic moosh together.

We married in 1970, when we were living in Amherst, graduate students studying government at the University of Massachusetts. Dan, who had been drafted right out of college, always said that he’d signed up for the program because it would mean an early release from a deeply boring job processing forms for the Army.

My conservative parents were thrilled when I was home for vacation and received a picture of my new boyfriend in uniform and carrying a rifle, taken while he was finishing up some final piece of duty. They became less euphoric when they read his inscription: “Pfc. Daniel Collins awaits the next infringement of his civil liberties.”

We lived together for a couple of years, and I agreed to become “Gail Collins” while we were still single because our postal worker refused to deliver mail to a man and woman at the same address with different names.

Dan got a reporting job at The Evening Sentinel, a paper in Ansonia, Conn. He proposed when I told him I was not following him to the Lower Naugatuck Valley unless we were married.

We both eventually got hired by United Press International in New York. Dan’s specialty was big police stories. (Mine was making fun of politicians.) Back when Rudy Giuliani was a famous crime fighter, Dan negotiated with him about writing an authorized biography. It was exciting — until Rudy decided he wanted to run for mayor. Dan found the political Giuliani a much less attractive co-worker and dropped out of that project fast. But he eventually revisited the subject with “Grand Illusion,” a book he wrote with Wayne Barrett about Giuliani’s disastrous handling of Sept. 11.

Wayne was a legend in New York journalism for his incredible reporting and his, um, independent spirit. Dan was intent on getting equal control of their product. Eventually, Wayne’s wife, Fran, would call me every day and say something like “My client feels there should be a lot more emphasis on lack of preparedness at the Office of Emergency Management.”

“Well, my client feels that part’s gone on long enough,” I’d reply. Then we’d negotiate and report our decision to the two parties, who pretty much always abided by the outcome. I guess fighting with your co-author was less attractive when it spilled over to dinnertime at home.

Dan went on to other jobs — I think his favorite was senior producer at CBSNews.com. He didn’t love the internet, but he really enjoyed shepherding all the younger, relatively inexperienced reporters through their paces.

He was my editor, too — the at-home one who read all my columns before I turned them in, frequently pointing out places where the language could be a little better, the examples a little livelier. If I tried to slide past another revision to make dinner or watch TV, he’d cheerfully stop me and say, “Your work is our Job 1.” It became a kind of mantra.

We both wrote books. We even did one together back in 1990, a preview of the year 2000 called “The Millennium Book.” It wasn’t very deep, but we did enjoy getting friends to come up with lists like “The Top 10 Tunes of the Millennium” (ranging from “Ave Maria” to “Oh! Susanna”) and recommendations for a millennial wine cellar.

Dan, as his friends all knew, was deeply into wine. It wasn’t the sort of thing you might have anticipated for a guy from a ***working-class*** neighborhood in Boston, and early in our marriage we pretty much stuck to varieties of Blue Nun. But then we went on our first trip to Europe and our first trip to a serious restaurant, where the waiter suggested a couple of glasses of cabernet. Totally knocked our socks off, and Dan embarked on a hobby that would last the rest of his life.

He was a great party host, and even after we’d passed our — oh, Lord — 50th wedding anniversary, I always had a fine time with him. Dan loved going to restaurants, going to parties, going to a downtown hotel with great views of the river, where we’d spend a weekend admiring the Brooklyn Bridge. He liked the theater, too, but as many New Yorkers know, the seats in most Broadway houses are totally unsuited for patrons more than six feet tall.

Dan came down with respiratory problems this spring, and he seemed to be recovering just fine until we both caught Covid. It felt like a bad cold on my end, but Dan woke up one night unable to breathe at all. We went to the closest hospital’s intensive care unit, and he never recovered.

I visited, of course, all the time. On what turned out to be his last night, I found myself propelled back late in the evening. “Got a chance to say ‘I love you’ again,” I whispered. Kissed his forehead and went home.

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH VIA COLLINS FAMILY) This article appeared in print on page A19.

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**End of Document**



[***The Nation's Great Political Realignment Is On Display In Arizona***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0R8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 2923 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

One day each month, Charlie Kirk, one of the country's most influential Republican activists, holds an event called Freedom Night in America at Dream City Church, a Pentecostal megachurch on the outskirts of Phoenix. ''I truly believe that God has voted early in this election,'' he said on a Wednesday in early October, addressing well over 1,000 people from a stage bathed in red, white and blue lights. ''I believe that God voted early on July 13, when he spared the life of Donald Trump.''

Kirk was only 18 when he helped found the group Turning Point USA as a sort of youth wing of the Tea Party, and for years it was a secular, libertarian-leaning organization. But as the MAGA movement has grown more explicitly Christian nationalist, so has he. ''I do not believe that if you love the Lord, read the Bible and call yourself a Christian, that you can vote for Kamala Harris for president,'' he said at Dream City.

Today Turning Point has become a pillar of the Republican Party, especially in the swing state of Arizona, where Trump's campaign has outsourced much of its ground operation to the group. Its strategy, which it calls ''chase the vote,'' is to tap into new parts of the electorate by targeting what the campaign calls ''low-propensity voters,'' the sort of alienated, disconnected people, especially men, who'd presumably gravitate toward Trump if they could be bothered to cast ballots at all. ''We're going to make it too big to rig on Election Day,'' said Kirk.

This untested approach carries obvious risks for the Trump campaign. Movements sometimes imagine they can bring new people into the voting pool as a way of avoiding the compromises necessary to reach those who are already there, but it rarely succeeds. Just look at Bernie Sanders's primary campaign in 2020, which counted on mobilizing the politically disengaged with a fiery populist message, only to lose decisively in Michigan. Maybe the right-wing version of this game plan will work, but no one will know until after Election Day.

At Dream City, though, I started to understand why the Trump campaign feels that it needs to rely on irregular voters in Arizona to augment the traditional Republican electorate. Kirk's guest for October's Freedom Night was Ben Carson, the housing secretary in the Trump administration. Much of what they said was MAGA boilerplate. But a surprising subtext of their conversation was the problems that Trump's character and personality create for Republican turnout.

How is it, asked Kirk, that some Christians are voting for Harris? ''You know what they say, well, 'Donald Trump is mean,' and all these different things,'' said Kirk. He made the familiar argument that America needs a strongman, invoking the example of Samson, the biblical hero who massacred a Philistine army using only a donkey's jawbone.

But then he made a subtler point, stressing that it's not actually Trump whom conservatives are voting for but the 5,000 political appointees he'll sweep into office behind him. ''Those 5,000 people matter a lot more than whether or not, well, 'I don't like Trump because he's not very nice,''' said Kirk.

In this citadel of MAGA spirituality -- the ex-president himself spoke there at a Turning Point event in June -- I'd expected to hear Trump praised in exalted terms, not justified as the lesser of two evils. But Carson argued that unless Jesus Christ himself is on the ballot, the lesser evil is the choice in every election. ''There are certain individuals that some people just detest because they don't like their tweets and things like that,'' said Carson. He asked, ''But do you hate that person more than you love your children and your grandchildren?''

The Harris campaign's outreach to Republicans has created a fair bit of angst among some progressives. At their convention, Democrats refused activist entreaties to allow a Palestinian to speak, even as they highlighted Republicans backing Harris such as the former representative Adam Kinzinger and John Giles, the mayor of Mesa, Ariz. Harris's campaign has touted the endorsement of Dick Cheney, archvillain of the George W. Bush era. It's made the strict border bill co-written by the Oklahoma Republican senator James Lankford the center of its messaging on immigration. In Arizona last week, Harris announced plans to create a bipartisan council of advisers, saying, ''We have to have a healthy two-party system.''

''Gone today is that desire to broaden the horizon of political possibility -- less 'unburdened by what has been,' to borrow another of the vice president's mantras, than stubbornly chained to it,'' lamented New York magazine's Zak Cheney-Rice.

There are reasons to be skeptical of this approach. In 2016, Democrats hoped that Trump's evident indecency would spur a significant number of Republicans to vote for Hillary Clinton. ''For every blue-collar Democrat we lose in western Pennsylvania, we will pick up two moderate Republicans in the suburbs in Philadelphia,'' predicted Chuck Schumer, a Democratic senator from New York. It didn't work out that way. By trying to represent normality and stability, the Democratic Party threatens to become the party of the status quo in a country where the status quo feels increasingly untenable.

But on the ground in Arizona, it's clear why Harris thinks she can garner a potentially meaningful number of Republican votes. The dynamic Schumer identified in 2016 was real; it just wasn't far enough along to save Clinton. During the Trump years, as Republicans have improved their margins with ***working-class*** voters, Democrats have made gains with educated suburbanites and, more broadly, with those who fundamentally trust American civic institutions. This realignment is remaking politics in states such as Georgia, which is now a swing state, and Ohio, which used to be one but isn't anymore. But perhaps no place has undergone a partisan revolution quite like Arizona's.

Until recently, the Republican Party dominated Arizona, the home of Barry Goldwater, whose failed 1964 presidential run helped birth contemporary conservatism. From 1952 to 2016, Arizona voted Republican in every presidential election but one. When Trump took office, it had two Republican senators, John McCain, a towering figure and former presidential candidate, and the ultraconservative Jeff Flake, who had been the executive director of the Goldwater Institute, a right-wing think tank in Phoenix. Doug Ducey, a Republican who served as governor from 2015 to 2023, won his 2018 re-election by more than 14 points.

Today things look very different. Arizona voted for Joe Biden in 2020, albeit by the smallest margin of any state, fewer than 11,000 votes. The state has one Democratic senator, Mark Kelly, and one Democrat-turned-independent, Kyrsten Sinema, who is likely to be replaced by a Democrat, Representative Ruben Gallego. The governor and the attorney general are both Democrats. Republicans maintain a one-seat majority in both houses of the legislature, but Democrats could flip them both in this election. And the 2024 presidential race is in a dead heat.

Democratic Party organizers surely deserve some of the credit for Arizona's transformation. Demographic change has also played a role; Arizona is a fast-growing state with hundreds of thousands of new people moving there each year. But Arizona's G.O.P. wouldn't have lost its unilateral grip on the state without Trump and his acolytes.

Speaking in his office in Mesa, Arizona's third-largest city, Giles told me he's been active in the Arizona Republican Party for his entire adult life. ''There was always a strong right-wing element to the Republican Party, kind of the John Birch wing of the party,'' he said, referring to the John Birch Society, a far-right, conspiracy-ridden anti-Communist organization. ''I never felt particularly comfortable with those folks, but the Republican Party was a big tent, and you could be a John McCain-style Republican and feel at home in the Republican Party. That's no longer the case.''

The extremism of the current Arizona G.O.P. is hard to overstate. Kelli Ward, a former state party chair, was indicted in April along with 17 others over her efforts to overturn the 2020 election, and the conviction that the election was stolen pervades the party at every level. In 2022, Republicans nominated Mark Finchem, a onetime member of the Oath Keepers militia, to be secretary of state. Now running for State Senate, he recently retweeted a QAnon video accusing the Rothschild banking family of engineering the Civil War. Rusty Bowers, a very conservative former speaker of the Arizona House, has been driven out of Republican politics for refusing to go along with the ''stop the steal'' movement. He lost his last primary to David Farnsworth, a businessman who described the 2020 election as ''a real conspiracy headed up by the devil himself.''

Turning Point, which moved its headquarters to Phoenix in 2018, is fully committed to the notion that Biden's victory was illegitimate, and it's been effective in enforcing ideological discipline in Arizona. ''They have a bigger impact than any other Republican group I know,'' the Trump operative Jeff DeWit told The Washington Post in 2022, describing Turning Point as more powerful than the Republican National Committee.

Election conspiracy theories nullify any incentive for the party to moderate after its losses, since defeat only demonstrates the monstrous scale of the plot arrayed against it. But on some level, even Kirk must know that the Republican Party in Arizona has contracted, a process he's played an essential role in.

It was Turning Point, after all, that turbocharged the political campaign of Kari Lake, an extraordinarily unpopular Republican Senate candidate. In 2021, Lake, a former local TV anchor, was running a long-shot race for the Republican gubernatorial primary when she impressed Trump at a Turning Point event in Phoenix. His fulsome endorsement helped catapult her to victory in a crowded primary. As The Post reported, she staffed her campaign with former Turning Point employees.

Lake mimicked Trump's well-known antipathy to McCain, which probably endeared her to the former president; at one point she was seen as a possible Trump running mate. But building a political identity around contempt for McCain's wing of the party was an odd choice in a state where he's still widely revered. ''We drove a stake through the heart of the McCain machine,'' she boasted at a Conservative Political Action Conference in 2022. At a rally shortly before that year's election, she asked, ''We don't have any McCain Republicans in here, do we? Get the hell out!''

Many of them did. ''Two years ago, you had Kari Lake literally telling people like me to get the hell out of the party,'' said Giles. ''So they've been successful, you know, in rooting out people that don't align with a MAGA point of view.''

Giles is just one of several old-guard Republicans in Arizona who have endorsed Harris. Flake came out for her in September. Bettina Nava, McCain's former Arizona state director, told me that everyone she knows from McCain's operation is a Harris supporter. Harris and Tim Walz, she said, ''don't necessarily represent the Democratic Party. They just represent a path for possibility, because I think they have reached across the aisle.'' After Trump's campaign stunt in Arlington National Cemetery in August, McCain's youngest son, Jim McCain, both endorsed Harris and registered as a Democrat.

After Giles's Democratic convention speech, he was prepared for abuse from MAGA die-hards, and he got it. Mesa, after all, is a very conservative area; one of its congressmen is Andy Biggs, who was actively involved in trying to overturn the results of the 2020 election. But what surprised Giles were all the people in his right-leaning community who approached him in restaurants and grocery stores to thank him. Some of them were Democrats and independents, but there were Republicans as well. ''The negative reaction was expected and predictable,'' he said. ''The positive reaction was more than I expected.''

The Harris campaign clearly sees an opportunity in Arizona. Last Wednesday, the day early voting began, Walz campaigned there with Jim McCain and Gallego, Lake's opponent. Seven thousand people attended a Harris rally in Chandler, outside Phoenix, on Thursday. Jill Biden visited, as did a bevy of pro-Harris celebrities, including Jennifer Garner, Kerry Washington, Glenn Close and Jessica Alba. Barack Obama is headed there this week.

Democrats are hoping that a ballot initiative to enshrine abortion rights in the state Constitution will help drive turnout. ''Arizona, we need to fight this battle on every front,'' Harris said on Thursday. ''And in this election, you have the chance on the state level to vote yes on Proposition 139 and protect your right to make your own health care decisions.''

But while Proposition 139 is expected to pass handily, the vice president still faces strong headwinds. Many of the problems that have soured some voters on Biden's administration are particularly acute in Arizona. At one point in 2022, the Phoenix metro area had the highest inflation rate in America, driven in part by an explosion in housing prices during the pandemic, though it's since cooled off significantly. Arizona is a border state where many voters are deeply upset about illegal immigration; a ballot measure giving the state and local police authority to arrest undocumented immigrants is widely expected to pass.

Republicans still lead the state in voter registration, followed by independents. Democrats are just 29 percent of the state's voters. ''Look, the economy in Arizona does not favor Democrats, and Arizona is a conservative state,'' said the Republican strategist Barrett Marson. ''We're just not a Trump state.'' As Marson noted, even when Trump won Arizona in 2016, he did so with less than 50 percent of the vote. More than 7 percent of the vote that year went to third parties, led by the Libertarians. ''Nikki Haley, if she were atop the ticket, this wouldn't be a competitive state,'' he said.

Even if Trump wins Arizona in November, the damage he's done to the state's Republican Party could keep its candidates on the ropes for the foreseeable future. The party's MAGA-fueled erosion is perhaps most visible in the pitiful state of Lake's campaign. Observers have started comparing her to Mark Robinson, the Trump-endorsed Republican candidate for governor of North Carolina. The analogy feels a little unfair, given that Lake has never, at least to my knowledge, called herself a Nazi, expressed a wish to own slaves or fantasized about committing obscene acts with an in-law in the comments section of a porn site. But it gets at the depth of Lake's reputational collapse.

Recently, Emerson College released side-by-side surveys of Arizona and North Carolina. In Arizona it found Trump leading Harris by three percentage points, 50 to 47, but Gallego ahead of Lake by 11 points. As Emerson pointed out, 10 percent of Trump voters in Arizona said they were supporting Gallego, comparable with the 12 percent of Trump voters who were supporting the Democratic candidate for governor in North Carolina, Josh Stein, over Robinson.

Other polls show Arizona's Senate race tighter, but Gallego is ahead in almost all of them. In some ways, it's hard to understand why Arizonans appear to dislike Lake so much more than they do Trump, since she's worked so hard to fashion herself in his image. Misogyny surely plays a role, as does the distinct appeal that Gallego, a Latino Marine veteran, has to other Latino men.

Then there's the fact that Lake made Republican enemies in a reality-TV-style feud with DeWit, the former Trump staff member who became chair of the state party in 2023. Seeing Lake as unelectable, he offered her a lucrative job in exchange for stepping aside. She was recording the conversation, and after it leaked, DeWit had to resign. ''I liken it to an unsanctioned mob hit against a Trump insider,'' said Marson.

But ultimately, Republicans are probably going to lose the Arizona Senate race for the same reason they lost it in 2022, when they nominated the MAGA venture capitalist and gun fetishist Blake Masters, or the Georgia Senate race that year, when they chose the accused domestic abuser Herschel Walker. Trump, who cares only for praise and fealty, has a natural affinity for grifters and fanatics. He elevates figures who share many of his faults but not his Mephistophelean charisma.

I kept asking people if they thought there would be a reckoning among Arizona Republicans if Trump lost. Few said yes.

''There's part of me that is pessimistic, that thinks that the Republican Party might be a lost cause,'' said Giles. He wondered if a new conservative party could emerge. ''Maybe we have three parties for a while in our country. But we need to have more than one strong party, and we don't have that now,'' he said.

We still don't know how Trump's reshuffling of our political coalitions is going to shake out. Right now, though, Harris sees an opportunity, and she's trying to seize it.

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Far left, a Trump supporter at a Turning Point USA event at the Dream City Church in Phoenix in June. Top, the Arizona delegation's seating area at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee in July. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CARLOS BARRIA/REUTERS

LANDON NORDEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (SR6

SR7) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

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[***Hochul Allocates $54 Million to Continue Work on Second Avenue Subway***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKV-9XN1-JBG3-602J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1021 words

**Byline:** Ana Ley Ana Ley is a Times reporter covering New York City&amp;#8217;s mass transit system and the millions of passengers who use it.

**Highlight:** Gov. Kathy Hochul said she had found the money to restart some work on the project. It had been expected to be funded by the congestion pricing program, which she suspended.

**Body**

Gov. Kathy Hochul said she had found the money to restart some work on the project. It had been expected to be funded by the congestion pricing program, which she suspended.

Gov. Kathy Hochul said on Tuesday that she had squeezed $54 million from state funds to revive work on a long-awaited extension of the Second Avenue subway line in Manhattan.

She celebrated the move as reflecting her commitment to the city’s transit system. But transit advocates scoffed at what they described as a paltry sum for a single project.

The piecemeal approach, they added, fails to undo the damage caused by the governor’s last-minute decision in June to cancel the congestion pricing program, which would have generated billions for subway improvements and helped pay for the subway extension.

The first phase of the Second Avenue subway opened in 2017 and stopped at East 96th Street on the Upper East Side. [*Politicians have promised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) for decades to bring the line to East Harlem in order to give [*a historically neglected community*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) better transit access and shift passengers away from [*some of the country’s most crowded train lines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html).

But the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which runs the subway, stopped working on the roughly $[*7.7 billion project*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) when Ms. Hochul indefinitely suspended congestion pricing, which would have charged most drivers $15 to enter Manhattan below 60th Street. It had been expected to generate $3 billion to advance the second phase of the subway extension to East Harlem.

The governor’s decision to stop the tolling program weeks before it was scheduled to begin has [*left the authority’s budget in limbo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html), creating a budget gap of [*$16.5 billion in crucial upgrades*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) to the subway and bus network.

In a statement, a spokesman for Ms. Hochul said that the governor intends to find the money to fully fund the M.T.A. He noted that [*last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html), she helped to make the M.T.A.’s budget whole after years of fiscal uncertainty that were made worse during the pandemic.

“Governor Hochul has stated repeatedly that she is committed to funding the M.T.A. capital plan, including as recently as this morning,” wrote John Lindsay, the spokesman. “She is working with partners in government on funding mechanisms while congestion pricing is paused.”

On Tuesday, the governor’s office said that the state would devote the $54 million from discretionary funds reserved for infrastructure upgrades to continue the subway project. That allocation, they said, would allow work to go on as scheduled. The M.T.A. [*awarded its first construction contract*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) for the project in January. At the time, the authority [*expected to complete*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) the project in the 2030s.

The money that Ms. Hochul allocated will let the M.T.A. continue to relocate utility lines along Second Avenue and nearby streets, but billions more will be needed from New York to carry the project to completion. In a statement on Monday night, the governor’s office said she was “putting the project in position to advance as scheduled while broader funding issues are resolved.”

But Lisa Daglian, executive director of the authority’s Permanent Citizens Advisory Committee, a watchdog group, said the move was of limited help. “Having it trickle in piecemeal doesn’t help companies get ready to line up their construction contracts,” she said. “It’s really a Band-Aid approach.”

Still, the money could help prevent the M.T.A. from losing [*$3.4 billion in federal spending*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) for the extension. That grant is conditioned on a certain amount of local funding, said Representative Adriano D. Espaillat, a Democrat whose district includes East Harlem.

The project, he said, “continues to have a heartbeat. That’s important.” Mr. Espaillat added, “East Harlem is a ***working-class*** neighborhood and perhaps one of the biggest transportation deserts in the country.”

The neighborhood is served by the 4, 5 and 6 subway trains as well as bus lines, but there is no subway east of Lexington Avenue.

Ms. Hochul’s announcement that she was postponing congestion pricing just weeks before it was to go into effect angered environmentalists, transit advocates and economists. It also forced the authority to [*plan for sweeping cuts to its capital budget*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html).

Transit leaders had already entered into a $556 million contract for cameras, software and other tools to begin the tolls, and a watchdog group has estimated that the M.T.A. spent [*close to $1 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) to prepare for the program.

With the budget shortfall, Janno Lieber, the chair and chief executive of the M.T.A., said that the authority was reining in its ambitions, focusing on “basic stuff to make sure the system doesn’t fall apart.”

On Tuesday, Mr. Lieber thanked the governor for finding the money for work on the subway line extension to continue. Mr. Lieber has said that he takes the governor at her word when she says that she will eventually let the tolling plan move forward and in the meantime will find alternative funding sources for the M.T.A.

Congestion pricing had been expected to generate about $1 billion a year in revenue for the authority. A representative for the governor’s office said there is still no timeline for implementing it.

The Second Avenue extension would add three new subway stops along the Q line between 96th Street and 125th Street, and is expected to serve about 123,000 daily riders, according to the transit agency.

In 2019, the median household income in East Harlem was $32,960, less than half the citywide median household income of $70,590, [*according to an analysis of Census Bureau data by*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/nyregion/second-avenue-subway-harlem.html) N.Y.U. researchers. About 43 percent of East Harlem’s population of roughly 111,000 identifies as Hispanic and 36 percent as Black.

In addition to helping fund the Second Avenue subway line, congestion-pricing-related revenue was expected to modernize the signals that keep subway trains running, add electric buses to the M.T.A.’s fleet and make more subway stations accessible for people with disabilities.

PHOTO: The M.T.A. stopped work on the project when New York’s governor halted congestion pricing, which was supposed to pay for it. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE SEGAR/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** July 31, 2024

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[***A Candidate's Immigrant Success Story Omits a Few Things***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C1C-PR61-DXY4-X0MK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1810 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman, Patricia Mazzei and Simón Posada

**Body**

Bernie Moreno, the Republican challenging Senator Sherrod Brown in Ohio, tells a riches-to-rags-to-riches tale. But the reality isn't so tidy.

He is running for the Senate as an immigrant who made good, reaching out to Ohio voters with a stirring, only-in-America bootstraps story: arriving as a child from Colombia, taking a risk on a struggling business, and then turning it into a smashing success and himself into a millionaire 100 times over.

Running under the banner of Donald J. Trump's populist political movement, Bernie Moreno, the Republican challenging Senator Sherrod Brown, humbly calls himself a ''car guy from Cleveland'' and recounts the modest circumstances of his childhood, when his immigrant family started over from scratch in the United States.

''We came here with absolutely nothing -- we came here legally -- but we came here, nine of us in a two-bedroom apartment,'' Mr. Moreno said in 2023, in what became his signature pitch. His father ''had to leave everything behind,'' he has said, remembering what he called his family's ''lower-middle-class status.''

But there is much more that Mr. Moreno does not say about his background, his upbringing and his very powerful present-day ties in the country where he was born.

Mr. Moreno was born into a rich and politically connected family in Bogotá, a city that it never completely left behind, where some members continue to enjoy great wealth and status.

While his parents left Colombia in 1971 to start over in the United States, where Mr. Moreno fully transplanted, some of his siblings eventually returned. One of his brothers served as Bogotá's ambassador to the United States. Another founded a development and construction empire that stretches across the Andes from the Colombian interior to its Caribbean shores.

Political candidates seeking office for the first time necessarily engage in a calculated process of self-creation, carefully sifting through their past and deciding what to emphasize, what to minimize, what to be ready to explain and, in many cases, what they hope no one will find out. Needless to say, it helps to give voters as much as possible to find relatable and as little as possible to find alienating or hard to understand.

For Mr. Moreno, the way he has framed his biography -- and the material that he has omitted from the frame -- reflects a keen awareness of the political reality in the Trump-era Republican Party, in Ohio, and in a contest with the rumpled Mr. Brown, a Democrat (and a doctor's Yale-educated son) who has survived in an increasingly red state by holding himself out as a champion of the ***working class***.

In an Ohio hit hard by economic globalization and the decline of heavy manufacturing, a candidate from the South American elite might feel like a stretch. Instead, Mr. Moreno describes how he bet his life savings in 2005 on a small, underperforming Mercedes-Benz dealership on Cleveland's West Side, turning what could be a liability in courting the ***working class*** -- fabulous wealth, with assets valued up to $105.7 million and yearly income nearing $6 million -- into proof of his own hard work and entrepreneurial street smarts.

As such political autobiographies go, it is powerful in a state where Republican successes of late have come from the drift of former steel towns in Northeast Ohio, the coal belt of Appalachia and heavy industries of Northern Ohio toward Mr. Trump. For the broader G.O.P., his journey also bolsters the party's appeal to Latino voters and to first-generation immigrants striving for a better life.

But the Morenos' story is not a typical American immigrant's tale.

Roberto Moreno, one of the candidate's brothers, is president and chief executive of Amarilo Holdings, a major development and construction conglomerate in Bogotá.

Another brother, Luis Alberto Moreno, after serving as Colombia's ambassador to the United States, was elected president of the Inter-American Development Bank with the backing of George W. Bush's administration. His wide circle of friends speaks to a bipartisan, internationalist bent that shares little in common with the Trumpist worldview: It includes the music impresario Quincy Jones, the actress Salma Hayek, Bill and Hillary Clinton, former Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida and Tom Daschle, the former Democratic Senate majority leader.

The Morenos' immigration narrative is also atypical in that they were not strangers to the country when they arrived: The candidate's father, Bernardo Moreno Sr., had studied gastroenterology, earned a master's degree in surgery and had done his medical residency all at the University of Pennsylvania, where Bernie Moreno's eldest three siblings were born. His mother, Marta Moreno, had earned a degree from Stanford.

In Colombia, Dr. Moreno had been the country's equivalent of the secretary of health, and he and his wife enjoyed what Bernie Moreno described as considerable generational wealth on both sides: multiple properties, farms, servants, staff and a house in Bogotá so prominent that it was later converted to the German ambassador's residence.

Roberto Moreno said their father was a physician for the Colombian president, Misael Pastrana Borrero, from 1970 to 1974. He was also the doctor to Dorita Salive, wife of the industrialist Rómulo Lara Borrero, which fostered a relationship between the rich and powerful Lara family and the Morenos.

The Morenos weren't the richest family in Colombia, but they were among the best connected. And their story of emigrating to the United States is familiar to the South American elite.

''Colombian millionaires don't leave Colombia to live the American dream or to prevent their children from growing up with privileges,'' said Federico Gómez Lara, editor in chief of Cambio Colombia, a magazine of current affairs and politics, and a grandson of Dorita Salive. ''They leave Colombia because they have enough money to throw away. Colombia seems like a village to them, and they want their children to be educated and mingle with the real rich.''

In a friendly interview in Colombia earlier this year with the journalist Patricia Lara Salive, Mr. Gomez's mother and the heiress to one of the nation's largest fortunes, Bernie Moreno's brother Roberto said that his parents had intended to stay in Florida only briefly while the children learned English, but Dr. Moreno's rapid ascent at Holy Cross Hospital in Fort Lauderdale, coupled with their daughter's marriage to an American, changed their plans.

''I want my children to learn English and get to know another culture,'' Roberto Moreno quoted his mother as saying. ''Let's go to Florida for a while.''

''A while was supposed to be one or two years,'' added Roberto Moreno, who studied engineering at the University of Florida. But their father joined them after four months and took the medical board exams to practice medicine in Florida. ''And so we stayed there.''

Mr. Moreno, as a candidate for office, speaks often of the cramped, two-bedroom apartment in Florida where his parents and their seven children first took up residence. That first home, purchased in 1971 with a mortgage worth more than $300,000 in today's dollars, was a three-bedroom condominium in a new, 15-story high-rise on the ocean in Lauderdale-by-the-Sea.

Moreno campaign aides say he did not intend to leave the impression that he climbed from abject poverty, or that his family's struggles were protracted. But, they said, the Morenos did face lean times. His campaign declined to make the candidate available for an interview.

Marta Moreno, a businesswoman, preceded her husband to the United States by several months, helping him secure an H1 visa, for highly skilled immigrants, in 1972. (Mr. Moreno's campaign declined to say what visa Mrs. Moreno held before her husband joined her.) Her name was on the deed to the condominium, along with those of her mother, Tila de Obando, and her stepfather, Jorge Obando.

The building was advertised as having ''300 feet of your own private beach,'' a ''wide deck for sunning,'' a pool, a putting green and a sauna.

Within two months, Bernie Moreno's step-grandfather had lent the family the money to move to a four-bedroom house in Pompano Beach with a pool on a canal, ocean access and a two-car garage.

Dr. Moreno got his medical license in late 1973 and was hired as a surgeon on Nov. 8 of that year. His daughter was engaged to an American in 1976.

''At first, our parents weren't on the same page, as our father wanted to stay in Colombia,'' explained Vicky Stockamore, Bernie Moreno's older sister. ''So while he was hopeful it would be a temporary move, our mother was committed that she wanted to raise her family here.''

Setting the memories of a 5-year-old aside, they said, the two-bedroom apartment of Mr. Moreno's recollections had a third bedroom only in the generous parlance of a real-estate brochure. A floor plan showed an open room separated from the living room by an accordion door. Even the four-bedroom house was no lap of luxury for a family of nine.

The job of surgical assistant that Memorial Hospital in Hollywood, Fla., offered almost apologetically to Dr. Moreno as he studied for his Florida physician's license paid $10,920 a year, or $80,440 today. That may not be poverty wages, but it is not a lot on which to raise seven children.

''He was making $5 an hour as a surgical assistant,'' Mr. Moreno has told voters, accurately. ''My mom would have us at the flea market, selling Colombian trinkets on Saturdays.''

Their mother believed in hard work, Roberto Moreno said. When he and his two older siblings wanted to buy a boat to water-ski, their mother made them save up for part of it. He bagged groceries, another brother delivered newspapers and sold vacuum cleaners, and their sister worked at a bank.

But by October 1973, Dr. Moreno, the candidate's father, had re-established himself with full privileges as a South Florida surgeon. He was president of the medical staff at Holy Cross Hospital when Mr. Moreno was a teenager, chief of surgery by 1989 and a member of the board of governors of the American College of Surgeons. Marta Moreno quickly became a successful real estate agent.

''When we first arrived, it took a lot of hard work for our family to establish ourselves,'' Ms. Stockamore said. ''I couldn't be more proud of how my mother and father both restarted their lives.''

In past interviews, Mr. Moreno has captured the contradictions of his childhood. In a podcast before his political career took off, he alluded to just how wealthy his family had been in Colombia and why his mother decided to give up that privilege.

''We were being raised in an entitled way, and she didn't want us to be raised that way,'' he said in the podcast. ''So she packed up 23 suitcases, seven kids, and flew to Fort Lauderdale.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/12/us/politics/bernie-moreno-ohio.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/12/us/politics/bernie-moreno-ohio.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Bernie Moreno, above center, with, behind him from left, Representative Jim Jordan and Senator J.D. Vance, both of Ohio, at a rally for former President Donald J. Trump in Dayton, Ohio, in March. Mr. Moreno, who identifies himself closely with Mr. Trump, calls himself a ''car guy from Cleveland.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Senator Sherrod Brown, left, a Democrat seeking re-election to a fourth term in increasingly red Ohio, has survived by holding himself as a champion of the ***working class***. Center, former President Bill Clinton with Luis Alberto Moreno, Bernie Moreno's brother. Right, campaign brochures. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

KENA BETANCUR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** May 14, 2024

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[***In Venezuela, Covering the Fallout of a Tainted Election; Times Insider***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKW-VN91-JBG3-6085-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** INSIDER

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**Byline:** John Otis

**Highlight:** Anatoly Kurmanaev, who lived in Venezuela for years, is in Caracas reporting on the protests that have erupted there after Nicolás Maduro was declared the winner of a flawed election.

**Body**

Anatoly Kurmanaev, who lived in Venezuela for years, is in Caracas reporting on the protests that have erupted there after Nicolás Maduro was declared the winner of a flawed election.

[*Times Insider*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider) explains who we are and what we do and delivers behind-the-scenes insights into how our journalism comes together.

Early on Monday, the Venezuelan government declared that its authoritarian leader, Nicolás Maduro, [*who came to power in 2013*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider), had won the presidential election. Mr. Maduro ostensibly defeated the opposition candidate, Edmundo González, by seven percentage points, a result incongruous with public polls and statistical estimates based on partial voting counts.

Widespread accusations of [*voter fraud and intimidation swiftly followed*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider). Countries around the world, including the [*United States, denounced the results*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider). And Venezuelans took to the streets of their country’s capital, Caracas, in protest.

The New York Times reporter Anatoly Kurmanaev is [*in Caracas*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider) reporting on the fallout. Mr. Kurmanaev, based in Berlin, lived in Venezuela for eight years, until 2021, and has covered half a dozen local, regional and presidential elections. Though [*the Venezuelan government has reported bogus voting turnout figures in the past*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider), the complete lack of transparency in this election is unlike anything Mr. Kurmanaev said he had seen before.

“The fact that the electoral council came out and just gave Maduro a massive victory without giving any breakdown of results, without following any of the normal procedures, was striking,” Mr. Kurmanaev said in a phone interview on Monday.

Mr. Kurmanaev discussed the scene in Caracas, his expectations for the days ahead and the importance of sharing one country’s election on a global scale. This interview has been edited and condensed.

What is the feeling in Venezuela right now?

There was an initial feeling of shock. There was a small celebration outside the presidential palace the night of the election, with a few thousand government activists and public employees dancing to government bands and listening to victory speeches. But the wider downtown area, a ***working-class*** part of Caracas that traditionally has been a hotbed of political activism, was quiet.

Now, we’re seeing small, organic protests break out across the country. Unlike previous rounds of protests in previous years led by the opposition, they’re not organized or emanating from middle-class areas. These are from shanty towns. Primarily, young people are coming out, blocking roads and marching. It’s still pretty small. But it seems to be growing, coalescing into something bigger.

The government has not yet resorted to full-scale oppression, as it [*has done in the past*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider). But I think it’s a [*matter of time before it does.*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider)

How shocking was the result of this election?

Maduro’s government has [*made up numbers in the past*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider), for sort of unimportant referendum-type things, when they ran unopposed. When they ran against an opponent, they tilted the playing field heavily. But what came out of the ballot machines was more or less what people cast.

This time was different. The government has yet to release any detailed numbers, feeding growing accusations that they were simply made up.

How palpable is the fear of potential protracted unrest?

In the past, this country has experienced massive waves of protests against the Maduro government, which were followed by deadly repression. After each protest, you had a combination of people throwing in the towel and [*emigrating*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/times-insider); those who stayed became increasingly cautious or disillusioned to change anything.

The people we see out on the street now — people from the poorest neighborhoods who have so little to lose because they have so little already — are clearly fed up. They saw this election as the best chance to improve their lives. They feel cheated. It’s early days, even hours. What I’m seeing from the protests so far has been more than I expected, given the fear and disillusionment that has reigned here for so many years.

Having covered elections in Venezuela, how do you feel about narratives in the United States about tainted elections?

I lived in Venezuela for eight years, and I have lived through the country’s worst economic crisis since its independence more than two centuries ago. I lived through a time when millions of people fled, when people faced extreme malnutrition, violence, unimaginable hardships, deep political polarization. Throughout those years, what remained constant was a deep commitment among Venezuelan people to the process of voting.

Every election, you could go into the polling stations and see the commitment of people lining up for hours, people from the richest neighborhoods to the poorest slums. I witnessed the same thing this time. I saw a real determination on people’s faces to cast their ballots.

In covering Venezuelan elections for so many years, I do find it remarkable that so many millions of people in the United States put so little faith in the electoral system and democracy, and take it for granted.

Why is it so important for The Times to report on this election?

This is a country that had one of the most established democracies in Latin America until it was gradually undermined. There was a vibrant media culture that was gradually destroyed through a combination of repression and economic pressure from the government.

There are very few outlets left in the country able to do in-depth reporting. Not because of lack of talented journalists, but a lack of resources and freedom of speech. Therefore, the role played by international media is outsized in this country. Millions of Venezuelans, both at home and outside the country, are paying very close attention to international media for its ability — a limited ability, but still an ability — to report here and not face the same level of risk a local journalist would face. It is extremely important to tell the world and Venezuelans what is happening.

What do you expect in the coming days and weeks?

The government still hasn’t released detailed results. The opposition has vowed to contest them, to fight and be heard. It’s a very fluid news situation. We’re just trying to keep our readers updated on what’s happening. I hope to stay here as long as necessary, to keep shedding light on this period of great uncertainty.

PHOTO: Protests rage on in Caracas, Venezuela, after the government said that Nicolás Maduro had won the presidential election, a result many denounce. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEJANDRO CEGARRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A2.

**Load-Date:** July 31, 2024

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[***Tech Bro Elegy: How Did JD Vance Get Here?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKT-Y9J1-DXY4-X01K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 995 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

There are talented politicians, there are untalented politicians, and then there's JD Vance -- I mean, he tried to calm the furor over his ''childless cat ladies'' remarks by feebly deadpanning that he's ''got nothing against cats.''

Now he's just gaslighting, claiming that Kamala Harris called for an end to the child tax credit, even though as part of the Biden administration, she of course supported a major expansion of the tax credit that greatly reduced child poverty but expired in 2022 in the face of unified Republican opposition.

So how did this guy end up as the Republican vice-presidential nominee? Who's his constituency? Despite the ''Handmaid's Tale'' vibe of his views on women and reproductive rights, he doesn't have deep roots in the religious right. And he's a late adopter of the MAGA worldview, having once fretted that Donald Trump could wind up being ''America's Hitler.''

Vance's ascent has, to a significant degree, been powered by a small group of technology billionaires with Peter Thiel, who poured millions into Vance's 2022 Senate race, at the center.

There's clearly overlap between this coterie and the tech types who a year ago briefly swooned over Robert Kennedy Jr. Their enthusiasm for Kennedy seems to have waned as they've realized the obvious -- that he's a crank who could still play the role of spoiler, but not a serious presidential contender in his own right. On the other hand, the elevation of Vance -- who seems to be a worse politician than even his detractors realized, looks harder to reverse. While it's technically still possible to replace Vance on the G.O.P. ticket, Trump is probably stuck with him.

In any case, you really want to think of Vance as an avatar, not of hillbillies -- as the title of his memoir would have you believe -- but of tech bros.

Now, it would be misleading to suggest that Vance represents all of Silicon Valley. His boosters -- and in general, the tech billionaires who strongly support the Trump-Vance ticket -- are a relatively small if immensely wealthy group. So, what do they have in common?

To start, right-wing political leanings. Some used to present themselves as libertarians, but they've now made their peace with Trump, who, with his promises of mass deportations and his hints that he will prosecute political opponents, is anything but libertarian.

Some right-wing techies have also descended into conspiracism. Leading the pack, Elon Musk has taken to promoting false claims that Democrats refuse to deport illegal immigrants because they expect to receive their votes.

In general, as I've noted in the past, paranoid politics comes surprisingly naturally to the ultrawealthy, and not just in the tech sector. Partly that's because it's hard for some billionaires to avoid surrounding themselves with people unwilling to tell them when they're talking nonsense. Partly it's because some seem to feel a peculiar sense of grievance over the things money can't buy: If I'm so rich, why can't I shape the world to my liking?

Tech-bro support for Trump and Vance also seems to have a lot to do with one specific issue: cryptocurrency. In 2017, the pro-Trump tech mogul David Sacks -- who had a prime speaking slot at the Republican National Convention this month -- told CNBC that ''Bitcoin is fulfilling PayPal's original vision to create 'the new world currency.''' Last year, Thiel's Founders Fund invested $200 million in two cryptocurrencies. Also last year, Politico reports, Vance ''introduced a bill that would shield banks from regulatory pressure to cut off crypto customers.'' This year, he circulated ''industry-friendly'' draft legislation that would ''overhaul how the S.E.C. and the C.F.T.C. police the crypto market.''

What is crypto? On Saturday, Trump, addressing a Bitcoin conference, declared, ''Most people have no idea what the hell it is'' -- which is true, and almost surely applies to Trump himself, who once dismissed Bitcoin as ''a scam'' against the dollar but now says that the ''attacks on crypto'' are coming from ''left-wing fascists.''

The truth is that Bitcoin, which was introduced 15 years ago, an eon in tech time, remains economically useless: A 2022 survey found that transactions involving crypto assets ''are seldom used for payments outside the crypto ecosystem.'' A couple of exceptions to its uselessness are money laundering and extortion.

But many crypto boosters now appear to believe that with Trump, they have crucial political support. They've already managed to get key parts of their wish list inserted into the 2024 Republican Party platform: ''Republicans will end Democrats' unlawful and unAmerican Crypto crackdown and oppose the creation of a Central Bank Digital Currency.'' (Strange stuff to include in a fairly short document presumably aimed at voters, when I'm sure only a tiny handful of voters have the slightest idea what any of that is about.)

At Saturday's conference, Trump appeared to go even further than his party's platform, calling for the creation of some form of national Bitcoin reserve -- a government bailout for a scandal-ridden, value- and environment-destroying industry.

Oh, and on Monday, Vance is slated to headline a fund-raiser at the home of Mike Belshe, the chief executive of BitGo, a digital asset company.

Anyway, the backing of tech billionaires is a key reason we ended up with Vance as a vice-presidential contender. He pitches himself as a champion of ***working-class*** America. But behind his cynical culture-warring -- behind his professed allegiance to Everyman totems like Mountain Dew -- he's closely tied to a tech-sector ethos that's anything but populist.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JULIA NIKHINSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A19.

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[***6 Common Campaign Themes of Democrats Leading Polls***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C5G-2571-JBG3-603R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 2, 2024 Sunday

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**Byline:** By David Leonhardt

**Body**

Recent polls contain a surprising combination of results: Democrats appear to be leading in six tough Senate races even as President Biden trails former President Donald J. Trump in the same states.

What are these Democratic Senate candidates doing right? To answer that question, I studied their campaigns, looking at advertisements, social media posts and local news coverage.

It's still early in the campaign, obviously, and some candidates who are leading now may lose in November. Still, most of the Democrats in these races aren't merely ahead in the polls; they also have a track record of winning tough races by appealing to voters who are skeptical of the Democratic Party.

Here are six themes that emerge from the six campaigns:

Populism

Successful campaigns, like movies and novels, tend to have both heroes and villains. Republicans are comfortable with this idea. Their bad guys in recent years have included criminals, illegal immigrants and cultural elites. Democrats are sometimes squeamish about naming antagonists (other than Republicans) and prefer a higher-minded version of politics.

This year's swing-state Democrats are not squeamish. All six senate candidates -- in Arizona, Montana, Nevada, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin -- are basing their campaigns around a populism that harshly criticizes both big business and China.

The criticism of business focuses on the parts of corporate America that the candidates say have made life hard on working families.

''I'll never stop fighting to crack down on corporate greed,'' Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio says in one ad. Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania talks about corporate ''greedflation'' and ''shrinkflation.'' One Casey ad, set to ''Pink Panther''-style music, shows fictional C.E.O.s sneaking around a supermarket at night to shrink product sizes.

In an ad for Senator Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin, workers talk about how ''Wall Street greed'' slashed their pensions and say that Ms. Baldwin ''fought like hell'' to restore them. A Brown ad includes a truck driver who says Wall Street tried to ''screw Ohio workers.''

An ad for Senator Jacky Rosen of Nevada boasts that she ''took on the big drug companies -- and won.'' In an ad introducing Ruben Gallego, an Arizona congressman running for Senate, he says, ''The rich and the powerful -- they don't need more advocates.'' Mr. Gallego adds, ''It's the people that are still trying to decide between groceries and utilities that needs a fighter for them.''

The other villain is China, which the candidates portray as using unfair trade tactics to undermine American jobs.

The first television ad by the campaign of Senator Jon Tester of Montana described China as ''the greatest threat facing our nation.'' Senator Baldwin, in one of her ads, says, ''We can't let China steal Wisconsin jobs.'' In one Brown ad, workers at a washing-machine maker joke about his reputation for looking rumpled, disheveled and wrinkled -- and say they don't care because he fights to protect their jobs.

Mr. Brown's blue-collar reputation is central to his uncommon electoral success in Ohio. He is the only Democrat to have won a Senate, governor or presidential race in the state over the past decade. He, Senator Tester and Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia (who's retiring) are the only Democratic senators who represent states that Trump won in 2020.

This kind of populism, in which politicians promise to fight for ordinary people against the powerful, was once core to the Democratic Party. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman were more populist than many people now remember. Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign was notably populist, too, as was Barack Obama's 2012 re-election campaign.

It's true that almost all elected Democrats today favor some populist policies, like raising taxes on the rich. But as the party has become dominated by college graduates, it has tended to emphasize issues that fail to resonate with ***working-class*** Americans. Remember, most Americans don't have a bachelor's degree.

Not the Campus Left

Climate change. Student debt. Diversity, equity and inclusion. The war in Gaza.

These topics are central to progressive politics today. They are the subject of campus protests and online debates. They are also almost completely absent from these six Democratic campaigns.

Why? The campaigns avoid the issues that are important to highly educated progressives but that matter little to most voters, especially ***working-class*** voters.

Student debt and housing costs make for a useful comparison. Student debt, a subject that the Biden administration has emphasized, may seem like the ultimate pocketbook issue. In reality, it's more niche: Only 18 percent of U.S. adults have any federal student debt.

That helps explain why, in a recent Harvard University survey of U.S. residents between 18 and 29 years old, student debt ranked dead last when the pollsters asked respondents which of 16 issues mattered to them. Israel and Palestine ranked 15th of 16. Climate change was 12th -- and, again, this was a poll of Americans under 30. The top three issues were inflation, health care and housing.

No wonder that student debt is largely missing from these Democratic campaigns, while housing -- a cost almost every family faces -- is a focus. Ms. Rosen has devoted an entire ad to housing costs in Nevada. Mr. Tester's campaign lists the ''housing crisis'' as one of Montana's biggest problems.

A clarifying point about American politics is that people who follow it closely are very different from swing voters.

Bipartisanship

As polarized as the country is, many voters still hunger for bipartisanship. In their ads, the six Democrats generally treat Republicans with respect and celebrate collaboration.

Mr. Brown boasts about working with Republicans to pass a semiconductor law. Ms. Baldwin shows videos of Mr. Trump and President Biden in one ad, and a narrator explains that she worked with both to crack down on Chinese imports. Ms. Rosen brags of being ''named one of the most bipartisan senators.''

The issue on which the Democrats try hardest to distance themselves from their own party is immigration, which polls show is a major Biden weakness. Senator Rosen tells voters that she ''stood up to my own party to support police officers and get more funding for border security.'' A Tester ad says that he ''fought to stop President Biden from letting migrants stay in America instead of remain in Mexico.''

Abortion

This is the issue on which the Republican Party is out of step with public opinion and Democrats are on the offensive.

Ms. Rosen describes her likely Nevada opponent, Sam Brown, as ''another MAGA extremist trying to take away abortion rights.'' Mr. Tester, when listing the ways he fights for Montanans, says, ''We've got folks who want to take away women's right to choose.''

That said, abortion remains a secondary issue in most of these campaigns.

Patriotism

''Growing up poor, the only thing I really had was the American dream,'' Mr. Gallego says in the opening line of an ad. ''It's the one thing that we give every American no matter where they are born in life.''

That sentiment is typical of the six campaigns' unabashed patriotism. Mr. Gallego highlights his Marine service in Iraq. Veterans' health care is a theme of a few campaigns. An ad for Mr. Casey that is focused on Pennsylvania steel includes the line ''Take that, China.''

Diversity, but Subtly

The candidates' ads portray a diverse America. When Senator Rosen talks about housing, she shows a racially mixed group of young couples. A Brown campaign ad about the Ohio steel industry stars both Black and white workers. In a Baldwin ad, a Wisconsin businesswoman with a European accent praises the senator for fighting against federal rules about cheese making. Mr. Gallego talks about his mother's struggles as an immigrant.

But the campaigns treat diversity as a natural part of American life, rather than as a political project. They emphasize the commonalities of Americans with different backgrounds. It's a different approach from an identity politics that centers race.

Mr. Gallego has even achieved some notoriety for mocking the term Latinx. It disrespects the Spanish language, he has said, and is ''largely used to satisfy white liberals.'' He barred his congressional office from using the term.

It reminds me of a point that Steve Bannon, the far-right political strategist, has made: When American politics focus on race, Republicans -- like Mr. Bannon and former President Trump -- tend to benefit.

The flip side is that when campaigns focus on economic class, Democrats have the chance to benefit. You can see that lesson in these six populist campaigns.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/us/politics/02morning-newsletter-dems-print.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/31/us/politics/02morning-newsletter-dems-print.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, whose blue-collar reputation has been a political asset, is running on populist economic messages against corporate greed. He and other Senate Democrats have found success by appealing to voters who are skeptical of the party. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** June 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Number of New Yorkers Under the Age of 20 Fell by 9% Since 2020, Census Shows***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CC0-CYC1-JBG3-60CH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 28, 2024 Friday

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**Byline:** By Winnie Hu and Troy Closson

**Body**

New census numbers show the steepest drop in the city's youngest age group in at least a decade as many families have left to live elsewhere.

New York City has significantly fewer children and teenagers than it did before the coronavirus pandemic spurred an exodus of families to the suburbs and other states, according to an analysis of new census data released Thursday.

The number of New Yorkers under the age of 20 fell by 9 percent -- or more than 186,000 people -- to 1.8 million in 2023 from just three years earlier, according to Social Explorer, a data research company that analyzed the census estimates.

It was the biggest drop in at least a decade in the city's under-20 population. The decrease could potentially affect the city's education policies and public school system, which is the largest in the United States, and could eventually help shape the city's work force and economy. That age group has been steadily shrinking in the city since at least 2010 even as older age groups have been growing.

Though the census estimates do not offer an explanation for the demographic changes, many families with children, including many Black families, have moved out of the city in recent years because of a shortage of affordable housing, a shift to work-from-home policies, concerns about school quality and crime and a desire for more parks and open spaces, among other reasons.

All five boroughs lost residents under the age of 20, with Brooklyn losing 66,000 younger residents; Queens losing 53,000; the Bronx 41,000; Manhattan 22,000; and Staten Island nearly 4,000.

The suburbs surrounding New York City also lost younger residents, but those drops were more modest. Long Island lost nearly 18,000 residents under age 20, while New Jersey suburbs lost nearly 40,000 younger residents.

Andrew A. Beveridge, a former sociology professor at Queens College and president of Social Explorer, said the decline in younger residents in New York City is likely to be offset in part by the influx of more than 200,000 migrants since the spring of 2022, which includes many families with children.

Still, he added, the city is facing a major demographic shift that could have far-reaching consequences, including fewer students in the schools. ''It means that people in New York are less likely to be families with kids and that has all sorts of implications,'' he said.

The drop was steepest among the city's youngest residents, with the number of children under the age of 5 falling by 17 percent -- or more than 92,000 people -- to 445,000 from more than 537,000 in 2020, according to the analysis.

City planning officials said that the decrease in the under-5 population most likely reflected a decline in the number of births in the city and the country since the pandemic.

Officials also cautioned against drawing exact conclusions from the latest census estimates, saying that it was difficult to precisely estimate the populations of age groups and that these particular figures were based on a blend of 2010 and 2020 census numbers, in part because of the added challenge of collecting data during the pandemic and because of privacy concerns when measuring smaller groups.

The New York City public school system has shrunk to roughly 915,000 students from 1.1 million a decade ago. In the 2021-22 school year alone, nearly 58,000 students left the system to attend schools outside the city, according to Education Department data -- by far the highest number in more than a decade.

Asian students were more likely to move to Long Island, children in poverty were more likely to head to Pennsylvania and many Black families left for the South, the data shows.

The decline in children has hit urban public school districts across the nation, and has profound ramifications for New York. Many principals will grapple with tough decisions over their budgets in the coming years. Some face the prospect of school mergers or consolidations -- one of the most painful issues for families.

And as Mayor Eric Adams cuts millions from the city's popular free prekindergarten initiative, many City Council members have worried that the uncertainty could drive even more families away. Dozens of parents have said in interviews in recent months that steep rents and the costs of raising children are prompting them to rethink their futures in New York.

The City Council speaker, Adrienne Adams, said last month that the troubles in the city's child care sector were pushing ***working-class*** and middle-income families ''to the brink'' and ''leaving many to feel they have no choice but to leave the city to provide their children with a better life.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/27/nyregion/nyc-census-children-teens.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/27/nyregion/nyc-census-children-teens.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The decrease of New York City's youngest residents could potentially affect the city's education policies and public school system. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NOAM GALAI/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** June 28, 2024

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[***15 Swing State Voters On Harris and Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-C9N1-DXY4-X2PX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Body**

F OR all the Democratic Party energy behind Kamala Harris, she is in a dead heat in all seven swing states against Donald Trump, despite his low favorability ratings and divisive policies like tax cuts for the wealthy and opposition to abortion rights. What would it take for her to build a lead in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin -- states where Democrats have been winning state elections and where Joe Biden prevailed in 2020 -- as well as the four other battlegrounds, like North Carolina, where polls suggest some Democratic momentum? In our latest Times Opinion focus group, we gathered 15 voters who have some particular insight: They all voted for Mr. Biden in 2020, and most of them have somewhat favorable views of Ms. Harris, yet they are soft in their support of her or have yet to fully commit. The participants felt torn about whether America's best days were ahead or in the past and had seen some modest improvements in the economy -- especially the job and housing markets -- but felt worried personally about inflation and the future. Perhaps most intriguing of all: None of them wanted Mr. Biden to still be in the race, but their enthusiasm for Ms. Harris was low, too -- the sort of middling feelings that come from not knowing someone well or long enough. The participants reviled Mr. Trump; this group wasn't undecided in the sense that most would swing to him.

(A few praised him on the economy.) Rather, the group's low enthusiasm for Ms. Harris is a warning sign that with barely a month to go before Election Day, she has not persuaded the winning Biden coalition in the swing states to a degree that she can bank on. The participants didn't know a lot about her policies on the economy, Israel and Gaza, climate change, transgender kids, housing and immigration. Several didn't think a Harris presidency would change much for them or the country. Listening to these voters, you get the sense that they felt she was not giving them enough reason to vote for her -- aside, of course, from stopping Mr. Trump's return to power. Will that be enough in the end? It's an open question. The tight polls in the swing states make more sense after listening to these 15 voters. Fill in the blank: The thing that worries me right now is \_\_\_\_. Miranda: Inflation. Especially from a singlemom standpoint. At what point does it stop? Brian: The price of everything. Lenita: Not being able to live a relaxing, calm, happy life if I reach 60-plus. I feel like I'll run out of money. George: Gas prices in Arizona fluctuate. It was cheap yesterday. And groceries. I've got a 7-year-old boy. I want him to be well fed, and it's hard nowadays, you know? Amy: Yeah. Taurean: Same thing. Inflation. Ken: Health insurance. I have a chronic condition, and I'm worried about access to care. Moderator: What's going well? Ken:My job. I make more now than I ever did. I work from home, so I don't have travel costs. And I have a future at the place that I work at. Taurean:I recently moved to a new job where I like the work culture. Things are looking up for me. At the same time, I'm seeing a lot of layoffs in the software side among my friends, so that's kind of concerning. Barbara: The stock market is doing well, so I feel comfortable retirement-wise for investments I have. Beren: I would say my job and the Raleigh housing market. I feel a lot of job security, and my house's value has gone up since we purchased three years ago, so we could see a nice little bump when we sell. Moderator: Are America's best days ahead of us, behind us or happening now? Prince:I believe they're behind us. It's stressful keeping a job at times. You never know what's going to happen to you when you walk out your door. There's a lot of corruption, a lot of police brutality and police killings. Katelyn: If you look at the ratios of yearly income to average housing cost, I don't think affordability is going to come back. The school shootings, teen-on-teen violence, global warming. I think we've set off a runaway train that we won't be able to pull back. Lenita:I like to stay optimistic. Some changes just need to be made with the economy. Bill: I'm excited about the potential for technology to improve our lives. Moderator: How would you define the choice between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump? What is this election about to you? Ken: The Constitution, why it was written, why we have the Bill of Rights. When a person says Article II says, ''I can do anything I want,'' that's a threat to our democracy. Nivedida: It's between some educated, sensible, moderate person who's going to do policy wise versus a very strong, opinionated person. Prince: They can't read the Bible in schools, but you can have transgenders come to the schools and read transgender books to our kids. Trump is towards cutting it out, and Kamala isn't. But at the same time, there's things about Trump I don't like, and there's things that I would want to vote for Kamala for. Personality is one thing, but what are you going to actually do for our country? That's more what I'm concerned about. Stephanie: I think Trump's a disgusting human being, but I don't really know anything that's all that great about Kamala. Taurean: It is between an educated, sensible, moderate person -- what she's going to do policy-wise? -- versus a very strong, opinionated person. Brian: For me, it's probably more voting against one person. Trump's too old and too demeaning to people. Moderator: How would you describe Trump's vision for America's future? Amy: I've watched the debates. I've seen the back and forth. And I really don't feel like he has a plan. It was mostly just arguing and just coming back at Kamala with insults. Bill: Trump has been quite articulate about mass deportations of people he doesn't think should be here. His perspective runs totally contrary to the way this country developed. Miranda: I think Trump's good for the economy, truthfully. But I don't agree with his behavior. He kind of scares me a little bit. I'm still undecided. Moderator: What scares you about Trump? Miranda: The hate in him and how he spreads all this negative energy. My two boys are biracial. So I think about how he is. He's not careful or considerate towards others. Lenita: He is probably going to continue the tax cuts from last time, helping the 1 percent. Ms. Kamala, she wants them to pay more. I just think Trump is heartless in a sense, with abortion rights, for example. How would you describe Harris's vision for America's future? Barbara: She's going to stand up for women's rights, for the right to choose. She is focused on uniting the country. Instead of going down the rabbit hole of what Project 2025 could be, she'd be the opposite of that. Katelyn: A country where it doesn't matter your gender. You still have bodily autonomy. It's not something that can be taken away from you. There'd be more opportunity. Beren: Her policies sound good on one hand, but they don't seem like they are necessarily going to solve issues. I know she's talked about providing a $25,000 benefit for people to purchase houses if they're, like, a first-time home buyer. But to me, there's a supply issue, not so much the demand issue. She and Trump have both talked about not taxing tips, but that seems like a pretty overall small impact. Biden came in with a plan to reach across the aisle. I'm not hearing that as much from Kamala, and that makes me worried, going forward, that it's going to be maybe the farther left, more progressive side of the Democratic Party that's ultimately going to have more say. George: I think that if she's elected, she'll place a good amount of money into social services, which will benefit me and benefit others that I work with. Moderator: When deciding who to vote for, does it come down more to issues or values? Taurean: For me, Trump is a very self-centered person, and Kamala at least has some goals for the country. It's like giving her a chance, whereas for Trump, it's going to be a second chance. We saw what happened in those four years. Katelyn: Trump having the megaphone of the presidency for four more years and using it to be as divisive as he is now, if not more -- I'm just not willing to live with that. Bill:I feel very much the same. I think Kamala is open to different people and different perspectives. Trump's already made up his mind on virtually everything. Moderator: Beren, you said issues were more important to you. What did you have in mind? Beren: The ability to work across the aisle. I don't see either candidate's policies right now as easy to enact, with tight control of the House and Senate. I want to see things that are actually going to get passed versus maybe pie-in-the-sky type of ideas. Prince: I said issues matter more to me, because at my job, for example, there are certain people that I don't like, that have bad attitudes, that I don't get along with. But they're a hell of a worker, and they get the job done. Nobody's perfect. Stephanie: As a human being, Trump is not a good one. But as far as the economy, I think he's got decent ideas. But there's abortion rights, which I think I would side with Kamala on. And who's going to work with people who have different opinions rather than having four years of no progress? How would you describe Trump in a word or two? Barbara: Unstable. Aaron: Kind of a clown. George: Patriotic. Ken: Idiot. Taurean: Self-centered. Bill: Know-it-all. Beren: Self-centered but focused. Amy: Egomaniac. Brian: Condescending. Lenita: Wealthy, jerk, narcissist. Taurean: Money-hungry. Stephanie: Aspiring dictator. Miranda: Explosive. Moderator: If you saw Donald Trump at a cookout or a barbecue, what would he be like? Taurean: He'd be very loud. Lenita: He'd just be complaining about everything because it's not up to his standards. Ken: It would be the greatest cookout ever in the history of the world. It would be 20,000 people at this cookout. George: He'd give me a couple of minutes to talk about the economy or immigration before he went back to eating or talking to his staff. Moderator: How would you describe Kamala Harris in a word or two? George: Unpredictable. Barbara: Tough and intelligent. Bill: Curious. Amy: Down-to-earth. Brian: Friendly. Taurean: Relatable, ***working-class*** woman. Lenita: I believe she has a heart, so ''heartfelt,'' maybe. Ken: I wonder what she's like when she's mad. She's a former prosecutor. Aaron: Really determined. Miranda: Wishy-washy. To be honest, I feel like I have an unpopular opinion, but technically, she's been the vice president for four years, and we haven't necessarily seen all the changes that were promised, and now she's promising more. Beren: Optimistic but inexperienced. Katelyn: Driven and ethical. Stephanie: Approachable. Prince: Boring. Before Biden stepped down, she wasn't really doing any interviews. She wasn't really talking about anything. It was just like she was just taking up space at the White House, just keeping the name of vice president. Moderator: If you saw Kamala Harris at a cookout or a barbecue, what would it be like? Taurean:I feel as though she would be bougie and not really answering questions. I want to know more about what she wants to do with the state of the country. Brian: She'd be neighborly, easy to talk to. Lenita: She may even chip in, helping prepare the food, maybe getting the plates out and asking anybody if they need anything, that type of thing. Regardless of who you're voting for, who do you think will win the election? [Ten say Harris, three say Trump.] Bill: She has momentum. Her message is more inspiring to people, whereas his is appealing to people's baser instincts. Moderator: Is there any opinion you've held this year or in recent years that you decided you were wrong about? Brian: Trump really lost me when he talked about eating cats and giving abortions after the child's been born already. Aaron:I thought Roe v. Wade was a bad thing at one point in time, and I'm still very pro-life. But I just don't think that the government really should be legislating one way or another. I think that choice is important, whereas in the past, I wasn't so sure that the government shouldn't make it for women. Moderator: What do you want to see happen now with abortion rights? Aaron: I think there's a middle ground. I mean, something after a number of weeks nationally, 20 weeks maybe, something that gives plenty of time but also not after viability. But I think what's more important to me is that we build communities of support for people who choose to have kids and put people in a position to succeed and make sure that child tax credits and whatever support we can put in place to encourage people to build communities and build families -- those things are important to me. Taurean:I was initially of the impression that Kamala was not very approachable or had that connection with the people initially. Once she came out of the shadow of Biden, I see a different Kamala. Moderator: What do you want to hear from either Trump or Harris that you think could seal the deal to win your vote? Beren: I don't know that there's much that Trump could say, because we already know what he's like. I think for Harris, if she came out with a more specific outline of some of her policies and if I heard some policies that aren't too good to be true, like the $25,000 homebuyer tax credit. Prince:I need to hear more from Kamala Harris in terms of what she wants to do. I hear a lot from Trump, and I agree with some of his policies, but I don't like his character. And I think I need to hear a little bit more from her for her to win my vote.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/business/06swingvoters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/business/06swingvoters.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR12.

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[***Tech Bro Elegy: How Did JD Vance Get Here?; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKP-59S1-JBG3-600N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 29, 2024 Monday 17:41 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 999 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 hiding who he really represents behind a can of Mountain Dew.

**Body**

There are talented politicians, there are untalented politicians, and then there’s JD Vance — I mean, he tried to calm the furor over his “childless cat ladies” remarks by feebly deadpanning that he’s “[*got nothing against cats*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/).”

Now he’s just gaslighting, [*claiming*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) that Kamala Harris called for an end to the child tax credit, even though as part of the Biden administration, she, of course, supported a [*major expansion*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) of the tax credit that greatly reduced child poverty but expired in 2022 in the face of unified Republican opposition.

So how did this guy end up as the Republican vice-presidential nominee? Who’s his constituency? Despite the [*“Handmaid’s Tale” vibe*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) of his views on women and reproductive rights, he doesn’t have deep roots in the religious right. And he’s a late adopter of the MAGA worldview, having once fretted that Donald Trump could wind up being “[*America’s Hitler*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/).”

Vance’s ascent has, to a significant degree, been [*powered*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) by a small group of technology billionaires, [*with Peter Thiel*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/), who [*poured millions*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) into Vance’s 2022 Senate race, at the center.

There’s clearly overlap between this coterie and the tech types who a year ago [*briefly swooned*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) over Robert F. Kennedy Jr. Their enthusiasm for Kennedy seems to have waned as they’ve realized the obvious — that he’s a crank who could still play the role of spoiler, but not a serious presidential contender in his own right. On the other hand, the elevation of Vance — who seems to be a worse politician than even his detractors realized, looks harder to reverse. While it’s technically [*still possible*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) to replace Vance on the G.O.P. ticket, Trump is probably stuck with him.

In any case, you really want to think of Vance as an avatar, not of hillbillies — as the title of his memoir would have you believe — but of tech bros.

Now, it would be misleading to suggest that Vance represents all of Silicon Valley. His boosters — and in general, the tech billionaires who strongly support the Trump-Vance ticket — are a [*relatively small*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) if immensely wealthy group. So, what do they have in common?

To start, right-wing political leanings. Some used to present themselves as libertarians, but they’ve now made their peace with Trump, who, with his promises of mass deportations and his hints that he will [*prosecute*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) political opponents, is anything but libertarian.

Some right-wing techies have also descended into conspiracism. Leading the pack, Elon Musk has taken to [*promoting false claims*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) that Democrats refuse to deport illegal immigrants because they expect to receive their votes.

In general, as I’ve [*noted*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) in the past, paranoid politics comes surprisingly naturally to the ultrawealthy, and [*not just in the tech sector*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/). Partly that’s because it’s hard for some billionaires to avoid [*surrounding themselves*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) with people unwilling to tell them when they’re talking nonsense. Partly it’s because some seem to feel a peculiar sense of grievance over the things money can’t buy: If I’m so rich, why can’t I shape the world to my liking?

Tech-bro support for Trump and Vance also seems to have a lot to do with one specific issue: cryptocurrency. In 2017, the pro-Trump tech mogul David Sacks — who had a [*prime speaking slot*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) at the Republican National Convention this month — told CNBC that “Bitcoin is fulfilling PayPal’s original vision to create ‘the new world currency.’” Last year, Thiel’s Founders Fund [*invested $200 million*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) in two cryptocurrencies. Also last year, Politico [*reports*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/), Vance “introduced a bill that would shield banks from regulatory pressure to cut off crypto customers.” This year, he circulated “industry-friendly” draft legislation that would “overhaul how the S.E.C. and the C.F.T.C. police the crypto market.”

What is crypto? On Saturday, Trump, addressing a Bitcoin conference, [*declared*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/), “Most people have no idea what the hell it is” — which is true, and almost surely applies to Trump himself, who once dismissed Bitcoin as “[*a scam*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/)” against the dollar but now says that the “attacks on crypto” are coming from “[*left-wing fascists*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/).”

The truth is that Bitcoin, which was introduced 15 years ago, an eon in tech time, remains economically useless: A 2022 [*survey*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) found that transactions involving crypto assets “are seldom used for payments outside the crypto ecosystem.” A couple of exceptions to its uselessness are [*money laundering*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) and [*extortion*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/).

But many crypto boosters now appear to believe that with Trump, they have crucial political support. They’ve already managed to get key parts of their wish list inserted into the 2024 [*Republican Party platform*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/): “Republicans will end Democrats’ unlawful and unAmerican Crypto crackdown and oppose the creation of a Central Bank Digital Currency.” (Strange stuff to include in a fairly short document presumably aimed at voters, when I’m sure only a tiny handful of voters have the slightest idea what any of that is about.)

At Saturday’s conference, Trump appeared to go even further than his party’s platform, calling for the creation of some form of national Bitcoin reserve — a government bailout for a scandal-ridden, value- and [*environment-destroying*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) industry.

Oh, and on Monday, Vance is slated to [*headline*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) a fund-raiser at the home of Mike Belshe, the chief executive of BitGo, a digital asset company.

Anyway, the backing of tech billionaires is a key reason we ended up with Vance as a vice-presidential contender. He pitches himself as a champion of ***working-class*** America. But behind his cynical culture-warring — behind his [*professed allegiance*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) to Everyman totems like Mountain Dew — he’s closely tied to a tech-sector ethos that’s anything but populist.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2024/07/25/jd-vance-cat-ladies-comment-celebrity-reactions/74549457007/).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JULIA NIKHINSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A19.

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[***Biden, Vying With Trump to Be Tough on China, Calls for Steel Tariffs***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BTV-J441-JBG3-602N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 18, 2024 Thursday

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

**Length:** 1125 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas and Jim Tankersley

**Body**

Speaking to the United Steelworkers union in Pittsburgh, the president urged major increases to some tariffs on steel and aluminum products from China.

President Biden on Wednesday called for major increases to some tariffs on steel and aluminum products from China, speaking to members of a national steelworkers union in Pittsburgh as he vies with former President Donald J. Trump for votes in Northern industrial states.

''These are strategic and targeted actions that are going to protect American workers and ensure fair competition,'' Mr. Biden told a crowd of about 100 union members at the United Steelworkers, which endorsed him last month. ''Meanwhile, my predecessor and the MAGA Republicans want across-the-board tariffs on all imports, from all countries, that could badly hurt American consumers.''

The Biden administration has argued that a flood of low-cost exports from China is undermining American-made products -- jeopardizing Mr. Biden's push to expand U.S. manufacturing, a central focus of his economic agenda.

In his speech, Mr. Biden said he would ask the U.S. trade representative, Katherine Tai, to increase tariffs to what White House officials said would be 25 percent on certain Chinese products that now face tariffs of 7.5 percent, or none at all, pending the outcome of an administration review of the China tariffs initially imposed under Mr. Trump.

''I want fair competition with China, not conflict,'' Mr. Biden said, flanked by supporters and signs that read, ''President Joe Biden: Standing With Workers.'' ''And we're in a stronger competition to win the economic competition of the 21st century with China or anyone else because we're investing in America, and American workers, again.''

The move is another effort by Mr. Biden to put up new barriers to trade with China in some industries. It could help him compete with Mr. Trump in a ''tough on China'' context with swing voters, though administration officials said elections did not motivate the move.

A day earlier, Mr. Biden began a three-day swing through Pennsylvania, a crucial battleground state, by giving a speech in Scranton in which he focused on the tax code but repeatedly attacked Mr. Trump and accused him of favoring billionaires over the ***working class***.

Mr. Biden's plans on Chinese trade are more targeted than Mr. Trump's, though. The former president has called for sweeping and steep new tariffs on imports from China and elsewhere, in a potential effort to fracture trade lines between the countries. Mr. Biden's administration is reviewing existing tariffs and is expected to propose raising some rates on Chinese products while reducing others.

At a morning stop for breakfast on his way to Pittsburgh from Scranton, Mr. Biden was asked by reporters if he was worried about a trade war with China. ''No trade war,'' he replied.

Before Mr. Biden's remarks, Ms. Tai announced that her office had begun an investigation into China's aggressive support for shipbuilders and other related industries, in response to a union complaint.

''The American commercial shipbuilding industry is a shell of its former self,'' the unions wrote in a filing with the trade representative. They added, ''The biggest obstacle to the industry's recovery is the unfair trade practices of the world's largest shipbuilding nation: China.''

In the complaint, the unions cite ''hundreds of billions'' of dollars in Chinese government support for the shipbuilding industry. Those include supplying steel from government-owned companies at below-market rates, along with a variety of efforts to steer low-cost loans and other financing to shipbuilders from state-run companies. Ms. Tai called the allegations ''serious and concerning.''

The moves threaten to deepen a trade dispute with Beijing, which has criticized Mr. Biden for his own efforts to subsidize American manufacturing -- including tax credits in the Inflation Reduction Act that are meant to increase production of solar panels, electric vehicles and other technologies aimed at reducing fossil fuel emissions.

China's Commerce Ministry sharply criticized the investigation in a release, saying it was ''filled with a large number of false accusations, misinterpreting normal trade and investment activities as harming U.S. national security and corporate interests, and blaming China for its own industrial problems.''

In his speech, Mr. Biden also reaffirmed his support for the steelworkers union in a dispute over the proposed sale of the Pittsburgh-based U.S. Steel to Nippon Steel of Japan.

Nippon officials have vowed to invest billions in American manufacturing facilities, to keep U.S. Steel's headquarters in Pittsburgh and to honor existing labor contracts. But the attempted purchase has drawn fire from the union and a bipartisan group of senators, largely from industrial states, who say it could compromise national security.

Mr. Biden has signaled opposition to the deal, which his administration is scrutinizing on security and antitrust grounds. He has said repeatedly that he will stand with steelworkers in the dispute over the sale, though administration officials have not specified exactly what that means in policy terms. In Pittsburgh, the president appeared to promise a worker that he would not allow the company to leave the United States -- a move that no one is discussing currently.

''Let's keep U.S. Steel in America,'' one woman told Mr. Biden as he met with steelworkers before his speech.

''Guaranteed,'' the president replied to cheers and applause.

David McCall, the international president of the steelworkers union, praised Mr. Biden before his speech.

''President Biden promised U.S.W. members that he had our backs,'' Mr. McCall said. ''And it's clear he does.''

Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump are fighting for ***working-class*** votes in industrial swing states like Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. Earlier on Wednesday, the Biden campaign released an ad featuring a steelworker promoting Mr. Biden's economic record and attacking Mr. Trump.

This week, Mr. Trump's case over falsified business records began in Manhattan, the first of the four criminal cases he faces to go to trial. Mr. Biden generally refrains from commenting directly on the trial. But his tour of Pennsylvania is meant to provide voters with a contrast to Mr. Trump's legal troubles.

In his speech in Pittsburgh, Mr. Biden did take a veiled swipe at Mr. Trump, referring to him as ''my predecessor, who's busy right now.''

The crowd laughed, seeming to get the joke about Mr. Trump's whereabouts, although the former president does not actually have to appear in court on Wednesdays.

Alexandra Stevenson contributed reporting.Alexandra Stevenson contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/17/us/politics/biden-trump-china-tariffs.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/17/us/politics/biden-trump-china-tariffs.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Biden spoke to about 100 people at the United Steelworkers, which has endorsed him. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AL DRAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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[***How Lesbians Found One Another, From the Softball Field to the Sex-Toy Shop; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C8W-2NS1-DXY4-X4T8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 18, 2024 Tuesday 15:22 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 718 words

**Byline:** Anne Hull

**Highlight:** In “A Place of Our Own,” June Thomas considers “six spaces that shaped queer women’s culture.”

**Body**

In “A Place of Our Own,” June Thomas considers “six spaces that shaped queer women’s culture.”

A PLACE OF OUR OWN: Six Spaces That Shaped Queer Women’s Culture, by June Thomas

June Thomas’s ability to resurrect the past in “A Place of Our Own: Six Spaces That Shaped Queer Women’s Culture” is a testament to her meticulous research. But it’s her voice — charming, irreverent, tender — that makes the journey through lesbian history so worthwhile.

The book starts in the lesbian bars of the 1960s, and travels on to feminist bookstores, rural separatist communities, women’s sex-toy shops, vacation destinations and, yes, the softball field. (A longtime Slate editor and podcaster born in England, Thomas confesses to this last phenomenon as a gap in her “sapphic scholarship.”)

Thomas doesn’t tap gently on the glass at these spaces; she flings herself in, starting (metaphorically) in their basements and working up. She scours accounting records, tax receipts and lawsuits going back decades. She reviews the minutes of softball league meetings. She tracks down the women who helped create places that transcended to spaces.

None of these pioneers were in it for the money. They drained their savings and dodged creditors. Purists scoffed at the merch for sale in feminist bookstores, but the refrigerator magnets and Lavender Menace pins kept the lights on. Lesbian bars had the misfortune of a customer base that drank a fraction of what men drank in gay bars, so they had to get creative, like serving a complimentary buffet lunch or sponsoring teams in sports leagues. Go Tower Lounge Hotspots!

Why are queer people so tribal in their need for gathering places? “Unlike other minority groups,” Thomas suggests, “where parents teach their children about family history, religious traditions and systemic prejudice, our birth families are generally ignorant of queer codes and culture. We have to work out their rules, rituals and rich history for ourselves.”

In her chapter on the lesbian land movement of the ’70s and ’80s, Thomas writes about the idealism that pushed women to sleep in a frozen shack in Oregon, and what it took to survive. “We were creating a new women’s culture, living our dreams and visions, and pushing ourselves to our limits,” one says.

They also argued over who got to use the chain saw; most preferred the outdoorsy jobs to domestic work, especially dishes. They rejected traditional women’s responsibilities on principle, until a chore list had to be made.

Historians will owe Thomas for the sprawling and rich record she’s created. But readers owe her most for grappling with the flaws and glories of protected spaces that feel like home. She weaves in her own story, and personal meditations, throughout: the crushes, the intellectual fulfillment at bookstores, the dykes with Alison Bechdel key rings.

Sanctuaries can be messy, exclusionary and cruel. Thomas describes the caste system in lesbian bars, the dismissive attitude professional lesbians showed toward ***working-class*** women. [*Jacqueline Woodson,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/19/magazine/jacqueline-woodson-red-at-the-bone.html) a future winner of the National Book Award for young people’s literature, who is Black, describes being kept outside on the sidewalk at a chic lesbian bar in Manhattan while white women brushed past to enter.

The book is a Who’s Who of interviews — Susie Bright, the retail godmother of vibrators; Ginny Z. Berson, a member of the Furies, a famous early-70s collective lesbian household; and Elaine Romagnoli, who ran the most storied lesbian bars in New York for four decades.

Thomas is aware she’s catching these pioneers in their twilight, and rushes to nail their stories to the page. She notes that three of the six spaces she writes about are nearly gone — the lesbian bar is a dinosaur, women’s bookstores have been crushed by Amazon and feminist sex-toy stores have been superseded by online merchants.

But “this book isn’t a lament for those lost locations,” Thomas insists. “Rather it is a joyful celebration of the dream palaces queer women have built: places to meet, share ideas, form teams, create utopias, find G-spots and get away from it all.”

A PLACE OF OUR OWN: Six Spaces That Shaped Queer Women’s Culture | By June Thomas | Seal Press | 304 pp. | $30

Anne Hull is the author of “Through The Groves: A Memoir.”

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR16.

**Load-Date:** June 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***J.D. Vance Says He Would Accept the Election Results, With a Caveat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C11-B3D1-JBG3-6022-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 12, 2024 Sunday 12:58 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 473 words

**Byline:** Neil Vigdor Neil Vigdor covers politics for The Times, focusing on voting rights issues and election disinformation.

**Highlight:** The Republican senator from Ohio is on former President Donald J. Trump’s short list of running mates.

**Body**

The Republican senator from Ohio is on former President Donald J. Trump’s short list of running mates.

Senator J.D. Vance, the Ohio Republican who is a contender to be former President Donald J. Trump’s running mate, hedged on Sunday when he was asked whether he would accept the results of the November election.

“If we have a free and fair election, I will accept the results,” Mr. Vance told CNN’s Dana Bash during an appearance on the show “[*State of the Union*](https://x.com/CNNSOTU/status/1789669846126359025).”

Mr. Vance, 39, whom the Trump campaign has enlisted as a surrogate, signaled that Republicans were preparing for the prospect of election disputes.

“We have to be willing, as Democrats did in 2000, as Democrats have done in the past, and certainly as Republicans did in 2020, is if you think they were problems, you have to be willing to pursue those problems and try to prosecute your case,” he said.

Mr. Vance is expected to join Mr. Trump on Wednesday in Cincinnati at a fund-raiser, a possible audition to be Mr. Trump’s running mate. He also attended a recent event at Mar-a-Lago, Mr. Trump’s club in Florida, with several other vice-presidential contenders and Republican donors.

Mr. Vance has appeared eager to demonstrate his loyalty to Mr. Trump, telling [*ABC News*](https://x.com/CNNSOTU/status/1789669846126359025) in February that if he had been vice president on Jan. 6, 2021, he would have allowed Congress to consider fraudulent slates of pro-Trump electors before certifying the election.

Mike Pence, who was vice president at the time, rebuffed Mr. Trump’s calls to disrupt the transfer of power after Joseph R. Biden Jr. won the presidency.

During Mr. Vance’s interview with CNN on Sunday, he also defended Mr. Trump’s recent comments that “any Jewish person” who had voted for Mr. Biden “[*should be ashamed of themselves*](https://x.com/CNNSOTU/status/1789669846126359025).”

“We have to remember, Donald Trump is very direct here,” Mr. Vance said. “And he hasn’t singled out Jewish Americans. He singled out a lot of people for voting for Joe Biden.”

Mr. Vance [*has not always been an unflagging acolyte of the former president*](https://x.com/CNNSOTU/status/1789669846126359025).

Before the 2016 election, Mr. Vance, a venture capitalist and the author of “[*Hillbilly Elegy*](https://x.com/CNNSOTU/status/1789669846126359025),” his best-selling memoir, called Mr. Trump a “[*cultural heroin*](https://x.com/CNNSOTU/status/1789669846126359025)” and a demagogue who was “[*leading the white* ***working class***](https://x.com/CNNSOTU/status/1789669846126359025) to a very dark place.”

But his candidacy for the Senate in 2022 garnered the backing of one of the most influential figures in the “Make America Great Again” world: the former president’s eldest son, Donald Trump Jr., who vouched for Mr. Vance on social media during a crowded Republican primary. It would open a door to an endorsement from the former president himself.

PHOTO: Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, who had been critical of former President Donald J. Trump but is now in consideration to be his running mate, spoke on Sunday about accepting election results. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrew Harnik/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Can Democrats Win Back Latino Voters by Treating Them Like Everyone Else?; Campaign Memo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CV3-8YD1-JBG3-600N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 28, 2024 Wednesday 01:37 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1447 words

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

**Highlight:** Democrats seem to be recognizing that Latinos have the same hodgepodge mix of priorities as other voters. Will that help them make up ground lost to Donald J. Trump?

**Body**

Democrats seem to be recognizing that Latinos have the same hodgepodge mix of priorities as other voters. Will that help them make up ground lost to Donald J. Trump?

When the Harris campaign released its first [*television ad targeting*](https://youtu.be/eENrgCtFDUU) Latino voters, one word was conspicuously absent: Latinos.

Instead, the ad included subtle cues to voters that Vice President Kamala Harris, the child of immigrants, is one of them and cares about their issues. In 60 seconds, there are pictures of young brown-skinned children and families playing in parks, while a narrator with a slight Spanish accent tells Ms. Harris’s family story.

Both Democrats and Republicans acknowledge that attracting Latino voters will be key to winning the White House this year. Latinos remain one of the fastest-growing groups of voters. They are disproportionately young and have less partisan loyalty than many other groups.

So it is especially notable that Democrats, four years after hemorrhaging Latino support, have not been offering a slew of overt appeals. Rather than ads filled with promises about immigration reform and Spanish phrases, Democrats have been focusing on economic messages, talking about the cost of housing and medication, or relentlessly hammering the promise of the American dream. In short, they are courting Latino voters by treating them like everyone else.

The change represents both a shifting political strategy and an evolving view of Latino identity. Rather than approach Latino voters as if they are an enigmatic niche group with a narrow set of interests, Democrats seem to be recognizing that Latinos have the same hodgepodge mix of priorities as other voters. With more than 36 million Latinos eligible to vote this year, they are firmly in the mainstream.

The approach is exemplified by one of the party’s biggest Latina stars, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, who, after repeatedly emphasizing economic class, did so again in her nationally televised speech during the Democratic National Convention last week, as she spoke about growing up as the daughter of a domestic worker, finishing her homework at other people’s dining room tables.

“This, to me, is an enormous part of the fabric that makes up the Latino experience in America,” she said in an interview. “Many of us either are or grew up in a certain kind of either service class or underclass. So I believe that messaging to the concerns and experiences of that life is what it means to connect with the Latino community.”

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said that she considered using a Spanish phrase or two in her speech, but that she ultimately decided against doing so in part because she believed it was unnecessary and would come across as pandering. At the same time, she said that she was encouraged that her name was correctly pronounced in Spanish ahead of her speech, and that many of her Latino supporters had noticed.

“I had been frustrated for a very long time about what I had perceived as a laziness around talking to the Latino community with like, oh, if you throw in Spanish, then you talk about immigration, like, you’ve checked off the Latino box,” she said.

For years, many Latino Democrats have criticized their party for taking those voters for granted or simply pandering to misconceptions. They argued that Latinos were not a monolith and that a one-size-fits-all approach to outreach could not cut it.

“It’s the same message forever — everyone got the same stuff,” said Representative Maxwell Frost, an Afro-Cuban Democrat from Central Florida who is the youngest member of Congress. “But now we’re really understanding that there are all these communities, and there’s different, more strategic ways to learn and reach them. We don’t just have to say the same anti-Trump stuff again and again.”

[*Polls show*](https://youtu.be/eENrgCtFDUU) that Latinos’ top policy concerns largely mirror those of other voters. They often prioritize jobs and the economy over immigration. The Harris campaign is still doing a blitz of advertising in Spanish, releasing an ad earlier this week promising “immigration reform” alongside a border security bill.

During the last two election cycles, many Democrats presumed that Latinos would be repelled by former President Donald J. Trump, largely because of his harsh immigration rhetoric and policies. Instead, Mr. Trump made inroads with Latino voters in many parts of the country, partly by appealing to their [*patriotism*](https://youtu.be/eENrgCtFDUU) and religious beliefs, while playing up his [*macho image*](https://youtu.be/eENrgCtFDUU).

“We always knew that Hispanics cared most about the economy, the American dream, getting opportunities,” said Daniel Garza, the president of Libre, which has focused on conservative Hispanic outreach for years.

The Trump campaign has only increased those efforts in the last four years, deepening ties to Hispanic evangelical churches and rebranding the campaign’s outreach to [*Latino Americans*](https://youtu.be/eENrgCtFDUU).

And Democrats are taking notice.

During their convention, there were fewer direct appeals to identity politics, which in the past have come across as so blunt as to be comical. (President Biden holding out his phone to a microphone to play “Despacito,” the Latin pop hit, comes to mind, along with the proliferation of mariachi bands.)

Still, what some see as cringe-worthy pandering, others see as an appealing rallying cry, such as when Eva Longoria, the actress turned liberal activist, led the crowd last week in a chant of “She se puede!” It was a play on “Sí, se puede” or “Yes, we can,” which became a slogan of the 2008 Obama campaign but has its roots in farmworker unions of the 1970s.

In many ways, Democrats had been slow to update their perceptions of Latino voters since 2008, when Barack Obama reached a record level of support with a more than two-to-one margin over his Republican opponent, John McCain. But the universe has dramatically changed since then, as far more Latino voters are American-born and more likely to consume information in English than Spanish. The number of Latinos eligible to vote increased by more than four million just since the last presidential election in 2020, when Mr. Trump improved from his 2016 race.

“They don’t want to be invited to some separate party. They want to be at the same party as everyone else,” said Carlos Odio, a founder of Equis, a Democratic leaning research group that focuses on Latino voters. “Latinos want to be embraced as fully American.”

Latinos have also shown far less allegiance to the Democratic Party than strategists once expected and hoped for. And Mr. Biden was particularly unpopular, according to polls, with Latino voters even more likely than the overall population to view him as too old to serve. Now, with Ms. Harris as the Democratic candidate, Equis estimates that roughly 15 percent of Latino voters can still be persuaded, and that at least a third of them did not vote in 2020.

“This is the swingiest element — irregular voters who don’t have loyal partisan identities,” Mr. Odio said. “They may or may not vote, and they are the hardest to pin down.”

But those same polls show that Latino voters are more optimistic than voters overall, which could point to a reason for the spike in enthusiasm for the Harris campaign. The campaign said it would continue to take a targeted approach, sending surrogates like Ms. Ocasio-Cortez to campaign in Nevada and focus on the economy.

Perhaps the biggest shift is in approaching Latino voters not as an automatic part of the Democratic coalition but as swing voters.

Representative Ruben Gallego, a Democrat from Arizona now running for Senate, loudly criticized his party four years ago for adopting “Latinx,” a gender neutral term embraced by the left but rarely used by Hispanics. Mr. Gallego saw it as a symbol of the party’s disconnect from the voters they were trying to court.

Now, he said, there is “an understanding that Latinos are very much integrated into the fiber of this country.”

When he stepped onstage at the Democratic convention last week, he focused more on his identity as a military veteran than as a Latino politician, as other veterans of many ethnicities lined up behind him.

As Ms. Ocasio-Cortez did, he said his upbringing had convinced him that focusing on class was the most effective way to reach Latino voters.

“I spent so much of my time trying to calculate how to get to 40 hours’ worth of work that would actually pay a living wage,” he said in an interview. “That’s why we do what we do on this campaign to basically talk to what is very much a Latino and ***working-class*** voter.”

PHOTO: A Latinos con Kamala watch party in Los Angeles during the Democratic National Convention last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jenna Schoenefeld for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***He’s Running for Senate With an Immigrant’s Origin Story. Here’s the Rest.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C10-4MW1-JBG3-600H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 12, 2024 Sunday 13:19 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1923 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman, Patricia Mazzei and Simón Posada Jonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago. Patricia Mazzei is the lead reporter for The Times in Miami, covering Florida and Puerto Rico.

**Highlight:** Bernie Moreno, the Republican challenging Senator Sherrod Brown in Ohio, tells a riches-to-rags-to-riches tale. But the reality isn’t so tidy.

**Body**

Bernie Moreno, the Republican challenging Senator Sherrod Brown in Ohio, tells a riches-to-rags-to-riches tale. But the reality isn’t so tidy.

He is running for the Senate as an immigrant who made good, reaching out to Ohio voters with a stirring, only-in-America bootstraps story: arriving as a child from Colombia, taking a risk on a struggling business, and then turning it into a smashing success and himself into a millionaire 100 times over.

Running under the banner of Donald J. Trump’s populist political movement, Bernie Moreno, the Republican challenging Senator Sherrod Brown, humbly calls himself a “car guy from Cleveland” and recounts the modest circumstances of his childhood, when his immigrant family started over from scratch in the United States.

“We came here with absolutely nothing — we came here legally — but we came here, nine of us in a two-bedroom apartment,” [*Mr. Moreno said in 2023*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc), in what became his signature pitch. His father [*“had to leave everything behind,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc) he has said, remembering what he called his family’s “lower-middle-class status.”

But there is much more that Mr. Moreno does not say about his background, his upbringing and his very powerful present-day ties in the country where he was born.

Mr. Moreno was born into a rich and politically connected family in Bogotá, a city that it never completely left behind, where some members continue to enjoy great wealth and status.

While his parents left Colombia in 1971 to start over in the United States, where Mr. Moreno fully transplanted, some of his siblings eventually returned. One of his brothers served as Bogotá’s ambassador to the United States. Another founded a development and construction empire that stretches across the Andes from the Colombian interior to its Caribbean shores.

Political candidates seeking office for the first time necessarily engage in a calculated process of self-creation, carefully sifting through their past and deciding what to emphasize, what to minimize, what to be ready to explain and, in many cases, what they hope no one will find out. Needless to say, it helps to give voters as much as possible to find relatable and as little as possible to find alienating or hard to understand.

For Mr. Moreno, the way he has framed his biography — and the material that he has omitted from the frame — reflects a keen awareness of the political reality in the Trump-era Republican Party, in Ohio, and in a contest with the rumpled Mr. Brown, a Democrat (and a doctor’s Yale-educated son) who has survived in an increasingly red state by holding himself out as a champion of the ***working class***.

In an Ohio hit hard by economic globalization and the decline of heavy manufacturing, a candidate from the South American elite might feel like a stretch. Instead, Mr. Moreno describes how he bet his life savings in 2005 on a small, underperforming Mercedes-Benz dealership on Cleveland’s West Side, turning what could be a liability in courting the ***working class*** — fabulous wealth, with [*assets valued up to $105.7 million and yearly income nearing $6 million*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc) — into proof of his own hard work and entrepreneurial street smarts.

As such political autobiographies go, it is powerful in a state where Republican successes of late have come from the drift of former steel towns in Northeast Ohio, the coal belt of Appalachia and heavy industries of Northern Ohio toward Mr. Trump. For the broader G.O.P., his journey also bolsters the party’s appeal to Latino voters and to first-generation immigrants striving for a better life.

But the Morenos’ story is not a typical American immigrant’s tale.

[*Roberto Moreno, one of the candidate’s brothers, is president*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc) and chief executive of [*Amarilo Holdings*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc), a major development and construction conglomerate in Bogotá.

Another brother, Luis Alberto Moreno, after serving as [*Colombia’s ambassador to the United States*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc), was [*elected president of the Inter-American Development Bank*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc) with the backing of George W. Bush’s administration. His wide circle of friends speaks to a bipartisan, internationalist bent that shares little in common with the Trumpist worldview: It includes the music impresario Quincy Jones, the actress Salma Hayek, Bill and Hillary Clinton, former Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida and Tom Daschle, the former Democratic Senate majority leader.

The Morenos’ immigration narrative is also atypical in that they were not strangers to the country when they arrived: The candidate’s father, Bernardo Moreno Sr., had studied gastroenterology, earned a master’s degree in surgery and had done his medical residency all at the University of Pennsylvania, where Bernie Moreno’s eldest three siblings were born. His mother, Marta Moreno, had earned a degree from Stanford.

In Colombia, Dr. Moreno had been the country’s equivalent of the secretary of health, and he and his wife enjoyed what Bernie Moreno described as considerable generational wealth on both sides: multiple properties, farms, servants, staff and a house in Bogotá so prominent that it was later converted to the German ambassador’s residence.

Roberto Moreno said their father was a physician for the Colombian president, Misael Pastrana Borrero, from 1970 to 1974. He was also the doctor to Dorita Salive, wife of the industrialist Rómulo Lara Borrero, which fostered a relationship between the rich and powerful Lara family and the Morenos.

The Morenos weren’t the richest family in Colombia, but they were among the best connected. And their story of emigrating to the United States is familiar to the South American elite.

“Colombian millionaires don’t leave Colombia to live the American dream or to prevent their children from growing up with privileges,” said Federico Gómez Lara, editor in chief of [*Cambio Colombia*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc), a magazine of current affairs and politics, and a grandson of Dorita Salive. “They leave Colombia because they have enough money to throw away. Colombia seems like a village to them, and they want their children to be educated and mingle with the real rich.”

In a friendly [*interview in Colombia*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc) earlier this year with the journalist Patricia Lara Salive, Mr. Gomez’s mother and the heiress to one of the nation’s largest fortunes, Bernie Moreno’s brother Roberto said that his parents had intended to stay in Florida only briefly while the children learned English, but Dr. Moreno’s rapid ascent at Holy Cross Hospital in Fort Lauderdale, coupled with their daughter’s marriage to an American, changed their plans.

“I want my children to learn English and get to know another culture,” Roberto Moreno quoted his mother as saying. “Let’s go to Florida for a while.”

“A while was supposed to be one or two years,” added Roberto Moreno, who studied engineering at the University of Florida. But their father joined them after four months and took the medical board exams to practice medicine in Florida. “And so we stayed there.”

Mr. Moreno, as a candidate for office, speaks often of the cramped, two-bedroom apartment in Florida where his parents and their seven children first took up residence. That first home, purchased in 1971 with a mortgage worth more than $300,000 in today’s dollars, was a three-bedroom condominium in a new, 15-story high-rise on the ocean in Lauderdale-by-the-Sea.

Moreno campaign aides say he did not intend to leave the impression that he climbed from abject poverty, or that his family’s struggles were protracted. But, they said, the Morenos did face lean times. His campaign declined to make the candidate available for an interview.

Marta Moreno, a businesswoman, preceded her husband to the United States by several months, helping him secure an H1 visa, for highly skilled immigrants, in 1972. (Mr. Moreno’s campaign declined to say what visa Mrs. Moreno held before her husband joined her.) Her name was on the deed to the condominium, along with those of her mother, Tila de Obando, and her stepfather, Jorge Obando.

The building was advertised as having “300 feet of your own private beach,” a “wide deck for sunning,” a pool, a putting green and a sauna.

Within two months, Bernie Moreno’s step-grandfather had lent the family the money to move to a four-bedroom house in Pompano Beach with a pool on a canal, ocean access and a two-car garage.

Dr. Moreno got his medical license in late 1973 and was hired as a surgeon on Nov. 8 of that year. His daughter was engaged to an American in 1976.

“At first, our parents weren’t on the same page, as our father wanted to stay in Colombia,” explained Vicky Stockamore, Bernie Moreno’s older sister. “So while he was hopeful it would be a temporary move, our mother was committed that she wanted to raise her family here.”

Setting the memories of a 5-year-old aside, they said, the two-bedroom apartment of Mr. Moreno’s recollections had a third bedroom only in the generous parlance of a real-estate brochure. A floor plan showed an open room separated from the living room by an accordion door. Even the four-bedroom house was no lap of luxury for a family of nine.

The job of surgical assistant that Memorial Hospital in Hollywood, Fla., offered almost apologetically to Dr. Moreno as he studied for his Florida physician’s license paid $10,920 a year, or $80,440 today. That may not be poverty wages, but it is not a lot on which to raise seven children.

“He was making $5 an hour as a surgical assistant,” Mr. Moreno has told voters, accurately. “My mom would have us at the flea market, selling Colombian trinkets on Saturdays.”

Their mother believed in hard work, Roberto Moreno said. When he and his two older siblings wanted to buy a boat to water-ski, their mother made them save up for part of it. He bagged groceries, another brother delivered newspapers and sold vacuum cleaners, and their sister worked at a bank.

But by October 1973, Dr. Moreno, the candidate’s father, had [*re-established himself with full privileges as a South Florida surgeon*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc). He was president of the medical staff at Holy Cross Hospital when Mr. Moreno was a teenager, chief of surgery by 1989 and a member of the board of governors of the American College of Surgeons. Marta Moreno quickly became a successful real estate agent.

“When we first arrived, it took a lot of hard work for our family to establish ourselves,” Ms. Stockamore said. “I couldn’t be more proud of how my mother and father both restarted their lives.”

In past interviews, Mr. Moreno has captured the contradictions of his childhood. In [*a podcast before his political career*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTTLCRgrHcc) took off, he alluded to just how wealthy his family had been in Colombia and why his mother decided to give up that privilege.

“We were being raised in an entitled way, and she didn’t want us to be raised that way,” he said in the podcast. “So she packed up 23 suitcases, seven kids, and flew to Fort Lauderdale.”

PHOTOS: Bernie Moreno, above center, with, behind him from left, Representative Jim Jordan and Senator J.D. Vance, both of Ohio, at a rally for former President Donald J. Trump in Dayton, Ohio, in March. Mr. Moreno, who identifies himself closely with Mr. Trump, calls himself a “car guy from Cleveland.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Senator Sherrod Brown, left, a Democrat seeking re-election to a fourth term in increasingly red Ohio, has survived by holding himself as a champion of the ***working class***. Center, former President Bill Clinton with Luis Alberto Moreno, Bernie Moreno’s brother. Right, campaign brochures. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; KENA BETANCUR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** May 20, 2024

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[***Harris’s Economic Plan Isn’t Perfect, but It’s Better Than Trump’s; Peter Coy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS4-WTT1-JBG3-603J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 19, 2024 Monday 15:00 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1285 words

**Byline:** Peter Coy Peter Coy is a writer for the Opinion section of The Times, covering economics and business. Email him at , [*coy-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com)

**Highlight:** She’s right to focus on the high cost of living, even if the details could use some tweaks.

**Body**

Old joke: If you teach a parrot to say “supply” and “demand,” you’ve got yourself a fine economist. I imagined I had a parrot economist on my shoulder when I listened to Vice President Kamala Harris’s economic speech on Friday in Raleigh, N.C.

As Harris went through her plan to help ordinary Americans with the high cost of living, I asked the parrot whether it would increase the supply of goods and services, thus bringing down prices.

Harris’s plan to give tax incentives to builders who make starter homes sold to first-time buyers got an enthusiastic bawk-bawk-bawk from the parrot economist because it increases the supply of housing. Same with the proposed $40 billion innovation fund to “empower local governments to fund local solutions to build housing.”

More homes are badly needed after years of [*insufficient construction*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com). “The simple fact is there are not enough homes in this country, and that’s pushing homeownership out of reach for too many families,” Orphe Divounguy, a senior economist at Zillow, [*stated*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) in June. (One unfortunate side effect: Boosting construction could push inflation up in the short term by worsening shortages of building materials and workers.)

Harris’s proposal for down payment assistance, in contrast, is less useful. Her plan, which is more generous than President Biden’s, would make it easier for first-time buyers to become homeowners by giving them up to $25,000 each toward a down payment. But it does nothing to increase the supply of homes, only the demand for them. Sellers surely would take advantage of the increased demand by raising their prices. So a big portion of the taxpayer money that was intended for home buyers would wind up in the pockets of sellers.

Interestingly, in her Raleigh speech and an accompanying fact sheet, Harris didn’t bring up the cap on annual rent increases that Biden [*proposed*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) last month when he was still running for re-election. Such caps can relieve pressure on renters in the short run but, like down payment assistance, they do nothing to increase the supply of housing. Done wrong, rent caps can actually inhibit housing supply by suppressing the profit potential of construction. Biden’s proposed cap would exempt new construction and renovation, which is good, but I’m still glad that Harris doesn’t seem to be throwing her weight behind the idea at this point.

Going after corporate price gouging, in supermarkets and elsewhere, is another measure touted by Biden and now Harris that does nothing to increase the supply of goods and services that are in demand. The government is already empowered to go after genuine cases of price gouging, such as withholding the supply of a vital commodity to drive up its price in an emergency.

There’s nothing criminal about raising prices in response to ordinary imbalances of supply and demand, even if the price increases temporarily raise profit margins. Economists at the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco this year [*concluded*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) that “markup fluctuations have not been a main driver of the ups and downs of inflation during the post-pandemic recovery.”

The opportunity to profit from high prices is what brings in more supply and pulls prices back down. As economists and my parrot like to say: The cure for high prices is high prices.

When companies are able to raise prices far above costs and keep them there, it’s usually because of a lack of competition. The Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission are empowered to restore competition through trustbusting and other measures. They’ve been aggressively doing so during the Biden administration, and Harris wants that to continue. I agree.

The bottom line: By all means go after true cases of illegal price gouging, but don’t screw up the workings of the market by painting every price increase as a possible crime.

I’m more sympathetic to Harris and Biden in their fight against high drug prices. The Biden administration [*negotiated*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) lower prices on 10 big-selling prescription drugs covered by Medicare. That would seem to annoy the parrot because lower profits on prescription drugs could discourage pharmaceutical companies from researching and developing new drugs, decreasing their supply. That, in fact, is precisely what the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America trade group [*argues*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com). But the profits the drugmakers have been earning on those medicines are so high that even after the price cuts, they will still be profitable and the companies will [*still have incentives*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) to innovate.

On taxes, Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, are proposing to reduce financial pressure on ordinary Americans by restoring the pandemic-era expansion of the child tax credit, giving further relief to families during the first year of childhood and extending the earned-income tax credit to people without children at home, among other measures. Those are the most expensive parts of the plan that Harris unveiled on Friday. According to the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, the child tax credit expansion alone would [*cost*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) $1.2 trillion over 10 years. Harris said she intends to reduce federal budget deficits, partly by letting some of the 2017 tax cuts expire, but hasn’t fully explained how.

Those tax measures wouldn’t do anything to increase the supply of goods and services. If anything, by putting more money into the hands of people who are living paycheck to paycheck, they could increase demand for goods and services and marginally add upward pressure on their prices.

That’s no reason to be against the tax breaks, though. Not every intervention has to be about increasing the supply of goods and services. Protecting people from the ravages of inflation is good politics and, as long as it’s not outright harmful to supply, potentially good economics as well. Reducing inequality is a legitimate objective of government.

In any case, the Harris-Walz agenda for the economy is much better than Donald Trump’s. Trump wants to extend all of the tax cuts in the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, including those benefiting the wealthiest Americans. For years he called for repealing the Affordable Care Act, although lately [*he has said*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) he’ll keep it unless he can come up with something better and less expensive. His plan for [*across-the-board tariffs*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) would raise prices for all kinds of imported goods. Trump has been professing himself a friend of the ***working class***, but he showed his stripes recently in a livestreamed conversation with Elon Musk when he [*praised*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com) the idea of firing workers who go on strike.

I think the parrot economist, who cares only about supply and demand, is well worth listening to when it comes to assessing the effects of economic policy on inflation and the cost of living. Measures that increase the supply of goods and services are generally good, while those that suppress it are generally bad. The Harris-Walz plan, while containing some of each, is for the most part on the right track.

Elsewhere: Americans Like Tariffs Up Until …

How people feel about tariffs depends on how you ask the question. That’s clear from a recent survey by the free-market Cato Institute, which brought up various drawbacks to tariffs. (In fairness, a pro-tariff group could have elicited different answers with a different set of questions.)

Quote of the Day

“If you give a normal person a choice of reading a Fed statement or watching a Fed press conference or watching cat videos on YouTube, they’re going to choose the cat videos almost every time.”

— Michael McMahon, an Oxford University economist, at a Brookings Institution conference ([*June 14*](mailto:coy-newsletter@nytimes.com))

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; Images by CSA-Images, via Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2024

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[***New York City Has 186,000 Fewer Children and Teens Than It Did in 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBS-GMP1-JBG3-60VP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 27, 2024 Thursday

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk

**Length:** 778 words

**Byline:** By Winnie Hu and Troy Closson

**Body**

New census numbers show the steepest drop in the city's youngest age group in at least a decade as many families have left to live elsewhere.

New York City has significantly fewer children and teenagers than it did before the coronavirus pandemic spurred an exodus of families to the suburbs and other states, according to an analysis of new census data released Thursday.

The number of New Yorkers under the age of 20 fell by 9 percent -- or more than 186,000 people -- to 1.8 million in 2023 from just three years earlier, according to Social Explorer, a data research company that analyzed the census estimates.

It was the biggest drop in at least a decade in the city's under-20 population. The decrease could potentially affect the city's education policies and public school system, which is the largest in the United States, and could eventually help shape the city's work force and economy. That age group has been steadily shrinking in the city since at least 2010 even as older age groups have been growing.

Though the census estimates do not offer an explanation for the demographic changes, many families with children, including many Black families, have moved out of the city in recent years because of a shortage of affordable housing, a shift to work-from-home policies, concerns about school quality and crime and a desire for more parks and open spaces, among other reasons.

All five boroughs lost residents under the age of 20, with Brooklyn losing 66,000 younger residents; Queens losing 53,000; the Bronx 41,000; Manhattan 22,000; and Staten Island nearly 4,000.

The suburbs surrounding New York City also lost younger residents, but those drops were more modest. Long Island lost nearly 18,000 residents under age 20, while New Jersey suburbs lost nearly 40,000 younger residents.

Andrew A. Beveridge, a former sociology professor at Queens College and president of Social Explorer, said the decline in younger residents in New York City is likely to be offset in part by the influx of more than 200,000 migrants since the spring of 2022, which includes many families with children.

Still, he added, the city is facing a major demographic shift that could have far-reaching consequences, including fewer students in the schools. ''It means that people in New York are less likely to be families with kids and that has all sorts of implications,'' he said.

The drop was steepest among the city's youngest residents, with the number of children under the age of 5 falling by 17 percent -- or more than 92,000 people -- to 445,000 from more than 537,000 in 2020, according to the analysis.

City planning officials said that the decrease in the under-5 population most likely reflected a decline in the number of births in the city and the country since the pandemic.

Officials also cautioned against drawing exact conclusions from the latest census estimates, saying that it was difficult to precisely estimate the populations of age groups and that these particular figures were based on a blend of 2010 and 2020 census numbers, in part because of the added challenge of collecting data during the pandemic and because of privacy concerns when measuring smaller groups.

The New York City public school system has shrunk to roughly 915,000 students from 1.1 million a decade ago. In the 2021-22 school year alone, nearly 58,000 students left the system to attend schools outside the city, according to Education Department data -- by far the highest number in more than a decade.

Asian students were more likely to move to Long Island, children in poverty were more likely to head to Pennsylvania and many Black families left for the South, the data shows.

The decline in children has hit urban public school districts across the nation, and has profound ramifications for New York. Many principals will grapple with tough decisions over their budgets in the coming years. Some face the prospect of school mergers or consolidations -- one of the most painful issues for families.

And as Mayor Eric Adams cuts millions from the city's popular free prekindergarten initiative, many City Council members have worried that the uncertainty could drive even more families away. Dozens of parents have said in interviews in recent months that steep rents and the costs of raising children are prompting them to rethink their futures in New York.

The City Council speaker, Adrienne Adams, said last month that the troubles in the city's child care sector were pushing ***working-class*** and middle-income families ''to the brink'' and ''leaving many to feel they have no choice but to leave the city to provide their children with a better life.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/27/nyregion/nyc-census-children-teens.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/27/nyregion/nyc-census-children-teens.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: New York City has been losing its youngest residents at the fastest pace in at least a decade. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Noam Galai/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 27, 2024

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[***John Fetterman Says Trump Is Stronger Than Ever***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB9-R021-JBG3-60H9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 11; THE INTERVIEW

**Length:** 3526 words

**Byline:** By Lulu Garcia-Navarro

**Body**

Whatever the result of this election, Democrats will be in a moment of transformation afterward. For nearly a decade, the party's energies have been devoted to defeating Donald Trump. That common goal caused most Democrats to rally around Kamala Harris as soon as Joe Biden stepped aside. But their united front has masked real fissures in the party, and at the intersection of many of them sits John Fetterman.

Fetterman, Pennsylvania's junior Democratic senator, gained early political fame as the towering and tattooed mayor of a ***working-class*** town, Braddock, Pa., and then became lieutenant governor of the state in 2019. Three years later, he defeated the Trump-endorsed celebrity doctor Mehmet Oz in a tight Senate race, despite suffering a stroke just months before the election.

But Fetterman's time in the Senate has been bumpy. On the personal front, his stroke caused him difficulties with auditory processing -- which you might notice a bit in our conversation. He uses an iPad and transcription software to help with his listening comprehension. He has also been very public about seeking inpatient treatment for depression early in his term.

And on the political front, his position in the party has become complicated. As an early advocate of the $15 minimum wage and criminal-justice reform, he was seen as a rising national figure and progressive champion with blue-collar street cred. But over the past two years, he has irritated both wings of his party. He was one of President Biden's staunchest defenders, arguing for him to stay in the race when Democratic leaders were working to get him out. At the same time, he has been one of the most vocal supporters of Israel's war in the Gaza Strip, which has pitted him against many progressives, some of whom now feel betrayed by him. (''I'm not a progressive,'' he told NBC News late last year.) We talked about all of this and also the dynamics of the presidential election in his crucial state, where he says Trump is stronger than ever.

You've gotten a lot of attention for some of your positions since joining the Senate. Why do you no longer define yourself as a progressive? Well, I haven't done that for years and years, and I wanted to take this opportunity to say that that was never new news. You know, even before my election, it's like, hey, the label leaved me. I didn't leave it. And what was originally progressive eight years ago have been co-opted by the mainstream. And [progressives] continued to adopt really extreme kinds of views. And that's why I was like, Hey, I'm just a Democrat. And then there was a lot of, Is that going to be the next Manchin or Sinema or anything? No. That's ridiculous. I'm not leaving my party. I just happen to have reasonable views.

You said just now that progressives have adopted extreme positions, which you don't agree with anymore. What would you say those are? Like defund the police, those kinds of things. That was a huge gift to the Republicans. And now, just some of these protesting right now. They're openly being supportive of Hamas, or they're now calling for the infantada [intifada] and these kinds of extreme absurd things. And they are supporting the kinds of regimes that live and impose the kind of values that are antithetical to the progressive kinds of way that they would live.

I want to talk about your positions on Israel, but first I want to stick with the idea of where you sit in the party. What do you say to progressives who funded your campaigns initially and supported you and now say that they feel burned by you? Well, gosh, that wasn't loaded. It's like, I don't know why they decided to support me. And if they can't follow me because I'm very fully supportive of the police, or that I'm fully supportive about Israel, and now you choose not to vote for me, that's a choice that you have. And I would remind anyone, my seat is the only reason why it's mathematically possible that we could even retain the majority in this cycle because we were the only ones that flipped in that cycle.

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You were born and raised in Pennsylvania. Well, yes. Reading -- the same hospital as Taylor Swift.

Wow. When did you decide to become a politician? I don't consider myself a politician.

Is that true? I'm not trying to avoid using the label. I just think I'm an advocate for certain issues or perspectives or things. And that just happens to be the job that you're in. It wasn't a path. I don't feel differently, behave differently. I don't dress differently. I still live in Braddock. I'm a family guy. I remain a family guy. I haven't really changed as a person.

It's interesting that you said you don't see yourself as a politician. What does a politician seem like to you? That it's a track. Everybody's constantly looking for the next job, and it's incredibly cynical and transactional and, now, dysfunctional. I've been disappointed on the reality of that part of it. And it's just also astonishing. I can't understand why there's people that are willing to spend tens of millions of their own money to try to hold that office. 'Cause then you can get there and be like, Hmm, look at the glamour: I'm sitting in a 500-square-feet apartment, and I'm on Grubhub and watching bad TV on Netflix or whatever. I like to ask all of my colleagues, Hey, is there some kind of secret society or like a social life or something glamorous? Even [Mitt] Romney, I mean, he's incredibly wealthy, and he has a nice house, but I read that he sits on his nice chair and watches Netflix and eats salmon from his friend, and actually puts ketchup on it. So I haven't met that one person that's having that quintessential glamorous life. It's been elusive for me, but it's not one that would even appeal to me. I think people all think life is like ''The West Wing'' or something, where it's snappy dialogue. But a lot of it comes down to just really bad performance art.

One of the things that has been very distinctive about you: You dress differently. You use language differently. Is that important to you? Not changing your demeanor to fit into this idea of this politician that you seem to reject? It would be exhausting to be anything other than that. And let's be practical. I dress like a bum because it's terrible to try to find clothes. I can't find a suit. I truly can't afford custom, tailored suits, so it's just practical. And most normal people in Pennsylvania dress like that. And definitely in Western Pennsylvania, people wear shorts through the year.

Your legs never get cold? Well, yeah. But again, a lot of that comes back to practical: It's just easier to wear shorts. I'm not making a statement.

I want to understand a little bit about how you've been navigating some of the currents in the Democratic Party. After the Biden-Trump debate, at a moment when other Democrats were turning on Biden for his cognitive decline, you went up against them in private and in public, and you tweeted that you weren't going to join the ''Democratic vultures.'' Why did you feel so strongly at the time that the party should have stood behind the president? I actually didn't see that debate. I was flying back from Israel, so I just started seeing some messages about that. But I really thought what Joe Biden has done for our nation was remarkable. And I lived through my own personal, that kind of a crucible of having hundreds of millions of dollars just destroying you, tearing you apart. But he held every line throughout all of that. I have to respect the strength there, and it may not be traditional kinds of strength, but it's a quiet dignity kind of strength. He's been an amazing president. And I'm not saying that as a partisan; I think objectively. To throw away a man and a 50-year career on a debate -- and I always believe that he had a path, and it is going to be the blue wall. And here we are now, the blue wall remains to be the quickest way to just put Trump out.

It sounds as if you still perhaps regret the fact that Joe Biden is not the candidate. No, no, no. I don't regret that. Harris has run a magnificent campaign. Things couldn't have possibly gone any better, truly, truly. But what I've been saying then is like, I'd like to remind America that this is the only living person that's beat Trump. And that means a lot.

You've said that Trump has a special connection with the people of Pennsylvania. One hundred percent.

Why? What is it that you see that he appeals to in your state? There's a difference between not understanding, but also acknowledging that it exists. And anybody spends time driving around, and you can see the intensity. It's astonishing. I was doing an event in Indiana County. Very, very red. And there was a superstore of Trump stuff, and it was a hundred feet long, and it was dozens of T-shirts and hats and bumper stickers and all kinds of, I mean, it's like, Where does this all come from? It's the kind of thing that has taken on its own life. And it's like something very special exists there. And that doesn't mean that I admire it. It's just -- it's real. And now [Elon] Musk is joining him. I mean, to a lot of people, that's Tony Stark. That's the world's richest guy. And he's obviously, and undeniably, a brilliant guy, and he's saying, Hey, that's my guy for president. That's going to really matter.

What do you think it does? I was truly alarmed about that when he started showing up. I mean, I've been there, not at that rally [in Pennsylvania], but when they were having the A.I. conference in Washington, he showed up at my building at Russell, and senators were like, [Fetterman's voice gets very high] Ooh, ooh. They were like, I got to have two minutes, you know, please. So if senators are all like ooh! Then can you imagine what voters in Scranton or all across Pennsylvania -- you know, in some sense, he's a bigger star than Trump. Endorsements, they're really not meaningful often, but this one is, I think. That has me concerned.

Pennsylvania is a place with a lot of union workers. Did it make you nervous that the Teamsters, for example, didn't back a Democrat for president? Well, I think that's finally making the grass roots more official. I'll never forget, I live directly across the street from the steel mill, and we were doing an event there for [Hillary] Clinton, and I asked the union president, Hey, where are we on Trump? And he's like, Yeah, probably half or 60 percent to two-thirds are voting for him. And I was like, Oh, that sucks. And then immediately there was a guy, he had a truck, and he had truck nuts on it. You know what truck nuts are?

Do I look as if I know what truck nuts are? It's balls hung on the hitch of a truck, and he honked, and he was like, ''Go Trump!'' as he drove by, and it's like, Hey, we're in trouble and it's undeniable. And some unions like [S.E.I.U.] and the government kinds of unions are still very, very Democratic. But those others, I think a lot of their membership, for a lot of people, Trump has that kind of a connection. That's real. I witnessed that. And that's why I'm concerned, and that's why polls were inaccurate. And that's why now I'm saying we got to fight for every last vote. It's going to matter.

Do you think the polls are inaccurate this time? My polls in my race all said I was going to lose by one or two points, and I carried it by five points. And everybody thought that Clinton was going to just kill him. And of course, no. And people thought that in 2020 Biden was going to have like five points. And I'm like, No, this isn't going to be a five-point race here. And it wasn't, and it was incredibly close. And that same thing has been replicated. And the only thing that's changed is he's more popular. And you have Elon Musk standing right next to him. So I'm not sure what else has changed, except if anything, Trump has become more capable to withstand whatever, you know, whether it was the trials or the assassination or all of those things, but here he is.

You were outspoken during the 2020 election ballot counting and challenges. Election officials in Pennsylvania are warning now that the ballots could take days to count. Is that something you're worried about? I'm very hopeful, and I do think that four years later, Philadelphia can now process those votes quickly, just like the same thing that Allegheny County has done. That huge, how many days of like wondering? That allows people to pound, pound, pound, you know, it's rigged, it's rigged, it's rigged, for people to set the stage saying, bad things happen in Philadelphia. And it's kind of a dog whistle, and that allows it to stir the [expletive] storm. So as long as, if Philadelphia's able to do the kind of quick round, just like Allegheny, then I think you'll have a lot less opportunity. And then also Trump was the sitting president at that time, and now he's just a private citizen. So he has less ability to change the weather.

You mentioned Israel earlier. You've become one of the most pro-Israel Democrats in the Senate, where there has been some division within the party over what's been happening in the Middle East. I would love to understand where your affinity with the state of Israel actually comes from. Can you explain its origin to me? I can't say that there is an origin. I think it's really about, that's our ally. There's a special relationship. And now if anyone that studies history realized that if you aren't willing to stand and protect and support the Jewish community, that can end in incredibly terrible, awful ways. That's what history has taught us. And now to anybody that doesn't follow the history and not even aware of a lot of it: Err on the side of democracy. And that is the only democracy in the middle of that region. And I've had the chance to visit there. And that's the kind of society that have those same kinds of values that we live and what we aspire to, especially, ironically, progressives, especially for women and members of the L.G.B.T.Q. communities. And that's why, for me, it's an easy choice.

In January, you were one of two Senate Democrats, the other was Joe Manchin, who didn't sign on to support a measure endorsing the creation of a Palestinian state. This was part of a national-security package that included military aid to Israel. Can you explain that vote to me? I really used to believe that it should be a done deal for a two-state solution. That became part of the boilerplate for Democrats. And I assume that must be true. But the way things have evolved and where we're at now -- I mean, that would be ideal. I wish there could be peaceful two states. But the way things continue to evolve, I'm unsure if that's even possible. I'm hopeful, but I'm not convinced that's even viable. But what seems to be true and one of the enduring truths through this is that Israel continues to confront the kinds of singular evil that really manifest its way in Oct. 7. And they have the right to destroy Hamas, and now Hezbollah. You know, everybody, experts describe Hezbollah as like the ultimate badass, and Israel demolished them. And there's no leadership left. And those are the kinds of hard things that needed to finally be confronted if they're ever going to have some more enduring peace.

I think there are two things going on. One is the destruction of Hamas and Hezbollah, which are deemed terrorist organizations by the United States. And then there's how you go about doing that and what is the cost. And people would look at the cost of how many people have been killed, civilians in Gaza, and say that the cost is too high. So I guess I'm struggling to understand a little bit of the nuance there from you. There isn't any nuance.

You think that the price that's been paid is fair? The price is terrible. It's awful. That's history. And that's war. And Israel was forced to fight an enemy that are cowardly. They hide in tunnels. They hide in schools and in refugee camps. And they're in those kinds of places and that forces them to reach them. They have to go through these civilians. That's why they're so evil. And that's why that's designed. The death and destruction and the misery was designed by Hamas. They understood that that's going to happen. They don't care. So we can both agree that the misery and the deaths in Gaza is terrible. And, you know, some people blame Israel. Well, I blame Hamas.

As you mentioned, you visited Israel for the first time in June. You met with Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, who thanked you for your courage and your support of Israel. How do you see his leadership during this conflict? I thought it was really curious that Democrats felt like they needed politically to criticize Israel, but that would be difficult, so they found that, well, we're going to just focus on Netanyahu. And you can think he's a bad leader or a bad person or anything, but that happens to be the democratically [elected] leader of Israel. And he's on our side. That's our ally. And if you had to pick who you want to criticize, you should be criticizing Hamas. You should be calling out Iran, or you should be calling out Hezbollah. Certainly not, you know, our ally. I think it was incredibly unhelpful.

Are you concerned that Netanyahu is working to get Trump elected? I don't believe that. I don't. And if you think that might be, I don't know why it's helpful to say that publicly. I have to believe all of those college protesting and a lot of those other things, they would give Hamas opportunity to rejoice a lot of this division. But now there's not much left of them anymore to celebrate.

I am curious, on that trip you made to Israel, if you went to the West Bank at all and met any Palestinians there? I didn't. I didn't go to the West [Bank]. I didn't have unlimited time to see all the things that I wish I could. But I would love to go back.

I guess what I'm asking is if you've tried to understand the other side of this conflict. Well, I've talked to a lot of people. I would visit, and I would discuss [with] members of the Arab and Muslim [community] from Pennsylvania. I would have open dialogue. I entertain that. I would be happy to, to really understand the other side.

Last month, the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh chapters of the Council on American Islamic Relations issued a joint statement where they condemned you for saying that you loved Israel's pager attacks targeting Hezbollah in Lebanon. I do. Absolutely.

They said, ''When our elected officials start condoning the civilian loss of life, our collective moral compass is irreparably harmed.'' It was targeted for members of Hezbollah. You know, no one uses beepers in that situation other than they were a member of Hezbollah.

There was a young child who was killed. Unfortunately, tragically, because Daddy was a member of Hezbollah. He brought that danger and evil into their home. And that's what tragically resulted in that poor child's death. And that's what's so terrible. She paid the price because her father was a terrorist for Hezbollah.

I want to ask you about one other place where you've been at odds with your party, which is on immigration. You understood that it was something that was going to affect people in your state and beyond. It's a huge issue.

The party has now embraced enforcement at the border, but comprehensive immigration reform means legalization as well. What posture do you think the party should be adopting? How can the Democratic Party really deal with what has become a very, very divisive issue within it? It's like, why is it controversial to say that we're going to need a secure border? And when you started looking at the numbers that were showing up, and at some months that's the population of Pittsburgh. And so, I mean, that's a real issue. Trying to tell people, well, don't believe your eyes, it's going to be OK, it's all working out. It's not. And I'm the most pro-immigration guy there is. But that has to be compatible with a secure border, and I will never listen to anyone's other side until you can explain, like, how? How do we take care of them? Where did those resources come from? And where do they go? Nobody could provide a serious answer to that.

Do you think if the Democratic ticket loses this election, it will be off the back of issues like immigration? I don't. I just describe that as ''the choice.'' Two incredibly stark choices. It's not about a certain policy. And it's definitely not going to be about fracking or some of these obscure things. It's about that stark choice, and it's really much more -- it's visceral. And that's why the people that are left that haven't made up their decision are going, you know, what do I want for the next four years? And I do believe enough people will choose Harris. But it's going to be much, much closer than anyone would want.

This interview has been edited and condensed. Listen to and follow ''The Interview'' on Apple Podcasts, Spotify, YouTube, iHeartRadio, Amazon Music or the New York Times Audio app.

Director of photography (video): Zackary Canepari

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/magazine/john-fetterman-interview.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/magazine/john-fetterman-interview.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP MONTGOMERY) (MM11)

Top: John Fetterman announcing his Senate candidacy in 2015. Bottom: In Israel with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in June. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KEITH SRAKOCIC/ASSOCIATED PRESS

GPO/AMOS BEN GERSHOM) (MM12)

Fetterman and his wife, Gisele Barreto Fetterman, with Vice President Kamala Harris in Johnstown, Pa., in September. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARNIK/GETTY IMAGES) (MM13) This article appeared in print on page MM11, MM12, MM14.

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2024

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[***A Harris Economy Could Prove More Progressive Than ‘Bidenomics’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJ0-1FB1-DXY4-X334-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Alan Rappeport Alan Rappeport is an economic policy reporter, based in Washington. He covers the Treasury Department and writes about taxes, trade and fiscal matters.

**Highlight:** As a presidential candidate in the past, the former California senator pushed for higher taxes and bigger housing investments.

**Body**

As a presidential candidate in the past, the former California senator pushed for higher taxes and bigger housing investments.

At the first Democratic presidential debate in 2019, Kamala Harris, then a senator from California, unleashed a scathing critique of the Trump economy.

The future vice president billed President Donald J. Trump’s tax cuts as a giveaway to the rich, argued that the booming stock market was leaving the middle class behind and warned that his reckless trade agenda was hurting farmers in the heartland.

“Frankly, this economy is not working for working people,” Ms. Harris said. “For too long the rules have been written in the favor of the people who have the most and not in favor of the people who work the most.”

As Ms. Harris [*prepares to potentially replace President Biden atop the Democratic ticket*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/kamala-harris.html), she now faces the challenge of articulating her own vision for steering a U.S. economy that is still grappling with inflation while drawing sharp distinctions with Mr. Trump, who has promised more tax cuts and tariffs.

Ms. Harris has been an ardent defender for the White House’s economic agenda during the Biden administration, promoting the benefits of legislation such as the American Rescue Plan of 2021 and the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022. But as an attorney general and a senator, she was at times more progressive than the president, pushing for universal health care while calling for more generous tax benefits for ***working-class*** Americans and paying for them with bigger tax increases on companies.

In recent weeks, Ms. Harris has embarked on an economic “opportunity tour,” making the case that wage increases have been outpacing inflation, that manufacturing jobs are growing and that Democrats have been fighting to forgive student loan debt. Those arguments now foreshadow the case she will be making to voters as she runs against Mr. Trump.

“Sometimes we get a bum rap as Democrats,” [*Ms. Harris said at an event in San Francisco this month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/kamala-harris.html), adding, “But we have also addressed longstanding issues that are obstacles to the creation of wealth.”

Here’s a look at positions Ms. Harris has taken on the economy.

Taxes

As a presidential candidate, Ms. Harris proposed replacing Mr. Trump’s 2017 tax cuts with a monthly [*refundable tax credit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/kamala-harris.html) worth up to $500 for people earning less than $100,000. The policy, known as the LIFT the Middle Class Act, was unveiled in 2018 and aimed to address the rising cost of living by providing middle-class and working families with money to help pay for everyday expenses. She framed it as a way to close the wealth gap in the United States.

In 2019, Ms. Harris proposed increasing estate taxes on the wealthy to pay for a $300 billion plan to raise teacher salaries. In what was billed as the “largest federal investment in teacher pay in U.S. history,” the plan would have [*given the average teacher in America a $13,500 pay increase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/kamala-harris.html).

Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris did have some differences when vying for the Democratic nomination. Notably, Ms. Harris wanted to raise the corporate tax rate from 21 percent to 35 percent, which is higher than the 28 percent that Mr. Biden had proposed.

Housing

Last week, the Biden administration proposed a plan to compel corporate landlords to cap rent increases at 5 percent and called on Congress to back investments in more affordable housing units.

Ms. Harris made affordable housing a priority during her tenure in the Senate and her presidential campaign, but took a different approach. She proposed the Rent Relief Act, which would have provided refundable tax credits allowing renters who earn less than $100,000 to recoup housing costs in excess of 30 percent of their incomes.

To help the poorest, Ms. Harris also called for providing emergency relief funding for the homeless and for spending $100 billion in communities where people have traditionally been unable to get home loans because of discrimination.

Trade

During a Democratic primary debate in late 2019, Ms. Harris called Mr. Trump “erratic” on trade policy and said his tariff wars had hurt soybean farmers in Iowa, who faced foreign retaliation. Ms. Harris said she would be focused on bolstering American exports and declared, “I am not a protectionist Democrat.”

When it came to China, Ms. Harris said Beijing needed to be held accountable for stealing intellectual property and dumping heavily subsidized exports into foreign markets.

Last week, Ms. Harris echoed her earlier criticism of Mr. Trump when discussing his plan to impose 10 percent tariffs on all imports into the United States. She said such a policy would inflate the cost of gas, groceries and clothing.

“His tariffs would increase the cost of everyday expenses for families,” Ms. Harris said at an event in North Carolina.

Regulation

Ms. Harris, who served as California’s attorney general from 2011 to 2017, has also focused heavily on consumer protection. In 2016, she [*threatened Uber with legal action*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/kamala-harris.html) if the company did not remove driverless cars from the state’s roads.

After the 2008 financial crisis, she pulled California out of a national settlement with big banks, [*leveraging her power to wrest more money from major mortgage lenders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/kamala-harris.html). She later announced that California homeowners would receive $12 billion in mortgage relief under the settlement.

However, Ms. Harris has faced criticism for failing to prosecute OneWest Bank or its chief executive at the time, Steven T. Mnuchin, after California’s Justice Department found that it had committed “widespread misconduct” in its foreclosure practices. Mr. Mnuchin went on to become Mr. Trump’s Treasury secretary.

This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2024

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[***Mike Lynch, U.K. Tech Mogul, Is Acquitted of Fraud***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C6C-FNW1-JBG3-601M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 6, 2024 Thursday 12:53 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; dealbook

**Length:** 615 words

**Byline:** Michael J. de la Merced Michael J. de la Merced has covered global business and finance news for The Times since 2006.

**Highlight:** Mr. Lynch, who was accused of defrauding Hewlett-Packard after it paid $11 billion for his software company, spent a decade working to clear his name.

**Body**

Mr. Lynch, who was accused of defrauding Hewlett-Packard after it paid $11 billion for his software company, spent a decade working to clear his name.

Mike Lynch, a British software mogul who was once one of his country’s most celebrated chief executives, was acquitted of fraud on Thursday in San Francisco federal court, clearing him of charges that he had led one of the biggest frauds in the technology industry.

A jury found him not guilty of falsely inflating revenue at Autonomy, the company he founded and led, when he sold it to Hewlett-Packard for $11 billion in 2011.

Mr. Lynch, 58, who faced decades in prison, had initially been charged with 16 counts of fraud and conspiracy, though one fraud charge was eventually dismissed.

Thursday’s verdict, after a trial that began in mid-March, is a milestone in Mr. Lynch’s [*decade-long odyssey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/16/business/dealbook/lynch-hp-autonomy-trial.html) to clear his name.

[*HP acquired Autonomy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/16/business/dealbook/lynch-hp-autonomy-trial.html), paying a 60 percent premium over its stock price, in a bid to transform itself into a high-growth software provider. But questions soon arose about Autonomy’s figures, and before long the California-based tech pioneer took an [*$8.8 billion accounting charge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/16/business/dealbook/lynch-hp-autonomy-trial.html) on the acquisition, citing “serious accounting improprieties.” HP’s stock price plummeted.

The company subsequently accused Mr. Lynch and his lieutenants of providing misleading information about the company’s finances.

At the time, investors called the Autonomy acquisition [*one of the worst deals in history*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/16/business/dealbook/lynch-hp-autonomy-trial.html) and a key point in the decline of HP as a leader of the tech industry.

It also tarnished the reputation of Mr. Lynch, who rose from ***working-class*** origins outside London to the heights of British industry. A maker of data analytics software, Autonomy became one of Britain’s biggest technology success stories. Mr. Lynch in 2011 was named a scientific adviser to David Cameron, the prime minister at the time, and a director of the BBC.

Mr. Lynch argued that HP executives including the chief executive, Meg Whitman, who fired him, were blaming him for their own mismanagement of Autonomy.

In 2018, American federal prosecutors charged Mr. Lynch with fraud, accusations that the executive consistently denied.

The odds of an acquittal only diminished over the years. Autonomy’s chief financial officer, Sushovan Hussain, was convicted of similar charges and served prison time. And in 2022, a London judge overseeing a civil trial against Mr. Lynch — a case described as “amongst the longest and most complex in English legal history” — found him liable for defrauding HP. (HP has sought some $4 billion in damages; Mr. Lynch has argued he owes nothing.)

Last year, Mr. Lynch lost a fight to avoid extradition to the United States. He was taken to San Francisco and confined to a townhouse under 24-hour surveillance and court-mandated private security, on his dime.

At the California trial, prosecutors argued that Mr. Lynch was the “driving force” behind a complicated fraud in which hardware sales were improperly classified as software ones to bolster revenue, and contracts were backdated. Stephen Chamberlain, a former Autonomy vice president of finance, was also on trial on similar charges.

Mr. Lynch testified that he had not been involved in Autonomy’s day-to-day financial operations and had delegated many tasks.

Jurors took about two days to reach their verdict, finding Mr. Lynch and Mr. Chamberlain not guilty on all charges.

“I am elated with today’s verdict and grateful to the jury for their attention to the facts over the last 10 weeks,” Mr. Lynch said in a statement. “I am looking forward to returning to the U.K. and getting back to what I love most: my family and innovating in my field.”

This article appeared in print on page B4.

**Load-Date:** June 8, 2024

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[***The Mystery of JD Vance Is Unraveling; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CM1-THR1-DXY4-X0N4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 31, 2024 Wednesday 14:23 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2400 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:** Even so, despite his early stumbles, it’s too early to know whether Vance will turn out to be a boon or a bust for the Trump campaign.

**Body**

JD Vance embodies the pros and cons of political competition in a divided America. He helps, and he hurts.

[*GZero*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) Media broke this out neatly in [*a piece*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) it posted on his “pluses and minuses” during the Republican National Convention:

Vance strengthens Donald Trump’s “champion of the working man” message — a Republican rebranding away from its strongly pro-business past. We also saw that emphasis in the striking first-night convention speech from Sean O’Brien, president of the Teamsters, a labor union with 1.3 million members, who accused business and corporate lobbyists of “waging a war against American workers.” That’s not a speech you would have heard at any Republican National Convention of the past century. Vance’s reputation as defender of the globalization-battered ***working class*** can help Trump in the electorally [*crucial Midwest industrial belt states*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan.

But Vance is also an absolutist on restricting abortion, the Republican’s biggest current weakness, according to polls. He has adopted Trump’s line that abortion rules should be left to the states, but his voting record is striking. He favors banning abortions, even if the mother is a [*victim of rape or incest*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/), as well as laws that allow [*police to track women*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) who have crossed state lines for an abortion. He has opposed legislation that would protect in vitro fertilization. A poll earlier this month showed that [*61 percent of U.S. adults*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) want their state to allow abortion for any reason, and [*62*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) percent support protections for access to IVF.

During the 2022 Ohio Republican Senate primary race, the Republican pollster Tony Fabrizio warned Vance that many Republican voters hold “the perception that he is anti-Trump” because, up until that time, he had been willing to describe the 2020 contest only as “unfair.”

“I think the election was stolen from Trump,” Vance [*declared*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) in a Republican Senate debate two months later.

In an interview with The Youngstown Vindicator, an Ohio newspaper, Vance contended that there was extensive fraud in 2020, including a “big tech” conspiracy directed by Mark Zuckerberg, the chief executive of Facebook.

Vance told The Vindicator that Zuckerberg spent $420 million “buying up local boards of elections in battleground states of mostly Democratic areas” to “tilt” the vote in Biden’s favor.

Vance didn’t stop there. “We have a fake country right now,” he said. “If a billionaire can go and buy up votes in our biggest geographies and tilt an election, transform who can be president, it’s really, really dangerous stuff.”

Just two paragraphs of a July 15 Reuters [*article*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) by [*Gram Slattery*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) and [*Helen Coster*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) captured the sheer scope of Vance’s turnabout on Trump, succinctly describing Vance’s conversion:

Eight years ago, in the lead-up to the 2016 presidential election, JD Vance was a bitter critic of Donald Trump. Publicly, he called the Republican presidential candidate an “idiot” and said he was “reprehensible.” Privately, he compared him to Adolf Hitler.

But by the time the former president tapped Vance to be his running mate on Monday, the Ohio native had become one of Trump’s most ardent defenders, standing by his side even when other high-profile Republicans declined to do so.

Tom Nichols, a Never Trumper writing in The Atlantic, targeted Vance’s character in his 2021 article “[*The Moral Collapse of JD Vance*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/).”

“What do we call a man who turns on everything he once claimed to believe?” Nichols asked.

For a practitioner of petty and self-serving duplicity, we use “sellout” or “backstabber.” (Sometimes we impugn the animal kingdom and call him a rat, a skunk or a weasel.) For grand betrayals of weightier loyalties — country and faith — we invoke the more solemn terms of “traitor” or “apostate.”

Vance, Nichols wrote,

is hardly the most offensive Republican out there. He is no Louie Gohmert, the Republican congressman from Texas, or Marsha Blackburn, the senior Republican senator from Tennessee, people who create an electrostatic field of stupidity around themselves when they speak. Nor is he even the most craven candidate in Ohio; his primary rival Josh Mandel recently filmed himself burning a surgical mask in the name of freedom.

But, Nichols continued, “what makes Vance so awful is that he knows better. His intentional distancing from his earlier views shows that he is fully cognizant of what a gigantic fraud he’s become.”

Despite this grand strategizing, Vance’s offhand remarks are getting him in trouble.

Take that arbiter of conservative political correctness, The Wall Street Journal. A July 26 editorial, “[*JD Vance’s Basket of Deplorables*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/),” faulted Vance on two counts.

The first is based on Vance’s now infamous 2021 statement to Tucker Carlson on Fox News “that the U.S. is being run by ‘a bunch of childless cat ladies who are miserable at their own lives and the choices that they’ve made, and so they want to make the rest of the country miserable, too.’”

The comment, the Journal editorial board wrote, “is the sort of smart-aleck crack that gets laughs in certain right-wing male precincts. But it doesn’t play well with the millions of female voters, many of them Republican, who will decide the presidential race.”

The editorial continued: “The remark has gone viral on social media and is being portrayed as an example of male chauvinist views. They’re mocking it on TMZ, a sure sign that this is Mr. Vance’s first big cultural impression, and not a good one.”

As if that were not enough, [*Ben Shapiro*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/), a conservative podcaster, jumped on the anti-Vance bandwagon:

If you had a time machine, if you go back two weeks, would you have picked JD Vance again? I doubt it. I think he probably would have picked somebody like Glenn Youngkin from Virginia in an attempt to broaden out his base.

Instead, he went with JD Vance, feeling because he was right that at the time he had a very solid advantage in the race against Joe Biden.

I agree that our country has moved away from caring about the future because too few Americans care about having children. I totally agree with that. However, this description that JD Vance is using, is that politically smart, or is it politically damaging?

With that said, Democrats are, of course, using this as a club with which to beat Donald Trump and JD Vance.

In a New Yorker article, “[*JD Vance’s Radical Religion*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/),” [*Paul Elie*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) wrote that in all the commentary about Vance,

one aspect of his biography that could prove of major consequence has received scant attention: his religion. He became a Catholic in 2019, and since then he has aligned himself with conservative-Catholic currents of thought that have already had profound effects on the Supreme Court — and, through the court’s [*overturning of Roe v. Wade*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/), on American life broadly.

Should Vance become the vice president, Justices Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito, Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett — all conservative Catholics — would have a Catholic ally of like mind in the executive branch.

Where does this lead?

Were the Trump-Vance campaign to prevail in November, the postliberals who hope for a state informed by Catholic principles could perhaps have a channel to get their ideas into the West Wing. With Vance’s nomination, that process may already be underway.

For John Ganz, the author of the book “[*When the Clock Broke*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/): Con Men, Conspiracists, and How America Cracked Up in the Early 1990s,” the selection of Vance meshes with the personalized institution that the Republican Party has become under Trump:

Trump’s G.O.P. was never about a coherent policy regime or even ideology; it’s a structure of feeling, and Vance embodies that: anger, wounded pride, resentment, contempt and ultimately, hatred and despair. More than anyone else on offer, perhaps he is the New Republican Man. This is why he was picked.

In an essay published on his Substack, “[*The Meaning of JD Vance: The Politics of National Despair Incarnate,”*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) Ganz wrote:

Vance always wanted to run with hares and hunt with the hounds. He wants to hold fast to his wounded Scots-Irish machismo while simultaneously rising to heights of both American capitalism and cultural success. He took his background to be both an advantage and a handicap, a countersnobbery that served him well as he entered the halls of power and wealth.

How well is this all resonating for Vance? [*Data for Progress*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/), a liberal think tank that conducts opinion surveys, polled 1,230 likely voters on July 17 and 18, asking their views on some of Vance’s resurfaced statements. It found:

* “The childless left has no physical commitment to the future of the country” — 30 percent agree; 47 percent disagree.

1. “We are effectively run in this country by a bunch of childless cat ladies who are miserable at their own lives and the choices they have made and so they want to make the rest of the country miserable, too” — 30 percent agree; 56 percent disagree.
2. “Trump should fire every single midlevel bureaucrat, every civil servant in the administrative state” — 25 percent agree; 60 percent disagree.

In a July 24 Politico opinion essay, “[*JD Vance Has a Bunch of Weird Views on Gender*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/),” [*Laura K. Field*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/), a writer based in Washington, argued that “the one instinct that Vance and the rest of the New Right share is a deep skepticism about modern feminism and gender equality — or what the New Right calls ‘gender ideology.’”

Vance, Field wrote, “appears to be a decent family man — someone who supports traditional conservative values and is even [*willing to buck*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) conventional G.O.P. norms by supporting strong pro-family policies. But a quick perusal of his thoughts on women and gender reveal some unusual opinions that lie outside the American mainstream.”

Field made the following case:

Vance is staunchly opposed to abortion, and has [*suggested*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) that it is wrong even in cases of rape and incest. He has compared the evil of abortion to that of slavery, and opposed the Ohio ballot measure ensuring the right to abortion in 2023. He also was one of only 28 members of Congress who [*opposed a new HIPAA rule*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) that would limit law enforcement’s access to women’s medical records.

He [*has promoted*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) Viktor Orban’s pronatalist policies in Hungary, which offer paybacks to married couples that scale up along with the number of children. Vance [*opposes same-sex marriage*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/). During his 2022 Senate campaign, [*he suggested*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) the sexual revolution had made divorce too easy (people nowadays “shift spouses like they change their underwear”).

What about the plus side?

In Vance’s favor is that he is willing and able to fill the traditional role of vice-presidential attack dog, [*posting on X*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) on July 13, the day of the failed attempt on Trump’s life: “The central premise of the Biden campaign is that President Donald Trump is an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs. That rhetoric led directly to President Trump’s attempted assassination.”

After citing the Vance post, Benjamin Wallace-Wells wrote in his July 15 New Yorker article, “[*Why Donald Trump Picked JD Vance for Vice President*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/)”:

Vance’s selection as Trump’s running mate on Monday makes sense. Vance is the most conservative of the three finalists for the nomination, the most outspokenly loyal and the most pugnaciously partisan — qualities that fit a candidate who is increasingly leading in the polls and looking ahead at fights to come.

Vance, Wallace-Wells added, will not only lead the drive to demonize Democrats; “he is also something more emergent and interesting: He is the fuse that Trump lit.” Vance’s inclusion on the ticket “represents a different idea of how Trump can engage the party’s elite than Pence’s elevation did in 2016: less piety, more cultural war, a willingness to push economic nationalism a step further. In other words, it shows which direction the conservative elites are moving, and how much the Trump years have transformed them, too.”

Vance, in this context, according to Wallace-Wells, “has given the Trump campaign something small but invaluable: the chance to credibly suggest that Trumpism has a future beyond him.”

Despite the populist, anti-big-business tenor of Vance’s language, he brings to the Trump ticket new ties to Silicon Valley, long a Democratic bastion, and to the crypto-Bitcoin industry, in particular.

[*Finextra*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/), a financial website, [*interviewed*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) a range of tech executives, all of whom were lavish in their praise of the Vance selection. [*Nigel Green*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/), the chief executive of the deVere Group, told Finextra:

Vance, an outspoken supporter of Bitcoin and other digital currencies, represents a significant and strategic move in the evolving political landscape where crypto has become a major issue. This decision is not only smart but also a potentially transformative masterstroke. By choosing Vance, Trump taps directly into this zeitgeist, aligning his campaign with the future-oriented aspirations of a significant voter base.

[*The Tech Buzz*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/), an industry web publication, joined the chorus. A story headlined “Trump’s Ex-VC, Pro-A.I. &amp; Pro-Crypto V.P. Pick,” declared:

Vance is a former venture capitalist, lawyer and author with close ties to Silicon Valley and is pro-crypto, and pro-open-source A.I. His addition to the ticket brings much-needed tech savvy and experience to a presidential race currently decidedly lacking in it. He could significantly influence policies affecting the startup and V.C. ecosystem if the Trump-Vance ticket is elected.

In Vance, Trump clearly sought as his running mate someone young enough, aggressive enough and engaging enough to mobilize a collection of millennials, ***working-class*** Midwesterners, families wrecked by opioid abuse, a subset of Ivy League lawyers, Marines, crypto bros, conservative progressives and centrist liberals, among others — an emerging populist coalition designed to beat Trump’s adversaries by nibbling at or even swiping away huge chunks of the traditional Democratic electorate.

His obvious talent notwithstanding — and despite his early stumbles — it’s too early to know whether Vance will turn out to be a boon or a bust for the Trump campaign.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.gzeromedia.com/).

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

**Load-Date:** August 2, 2024

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[***Small World***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRW-TG11-DXY4-X02V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 18, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; T: Women's Fashion Magazine; Pg. 122

**Length:** 1053 words

**Byline:** By Zoey Poll

**Body**

IN A QUIET studio on Skeppsholmen, the small, wooded island in central Stockholm, the Swedish artist Christopher Robin Nordström spends hours immersed in a miniature version of Tokyo. He tracks the slow deterioration of the Japanese city's more nondescript storefronts and homes via Google Maps: the way awnings fade, the path that water damage takes across a facade. His work consists of remaking these buildings, with their mundane imperfections, at sizes that mean they could fit neatly into his bike basket. ''It intrigues me that Tokyo is a megacity built up of mini houses,'' says Nordström, 44, who designed accessories for a major fast-fashion brand before shifting his attention to scale-model making during the pandemic.

He fell in love with the city on his first visit, in 2018, and recently spent over a year creating a knee-high likeness of a three-story apartment block in the Taito Ward, which he was drawn to for what he calls its ''very normal'' residential quality. The walls are stuccoed in fine-grained sand repurposed from nesting materials for guinea pig habitats, and the frosted windows were cut from the plastic of translucent three-ring binders. Peering through the panes, you can make out a stack of thimble-like ramen bowls, each one formed with the help of a machine used to cast molds of teeth.

Hyperrealist structures like Nordström's -- often compact enough to sit on a mantel and depicting unassuming buildings, sometimes in a state of minor disrepair -- have multiplied across social media and in galleries in recent years. It's an art form perfect for our trompe l'oeil-obsessed digital age: pieces so detailed they require a spare coin or USB drive for scale to prove their true, tiny size. The work owes a debt to older miniaturist traditions, including the making of hobbyists' model kits -- think polystyrene replicas of World War II planes -- professional architectural models and, of course, dollhouses, which evolved from 16th-century Bavarian baby houses, shrunken versions of real grand dwellings. But today's practice upends the expectations of preciousness that often come with these child-friendly dimensions, swapping out fantasy for grime. Indeed, if the style has a birthplace, it's New York, where fine artists, including the sculptor Alan Wolfson and the mixed-media duo Lori Nix and Kathleen Gerber, have long paid tribute to the city's streetscapes, down to tiny effigies of trash cans.

This new generation of makers works in scales ranging from 1:24 to the sometimes ceiling-grazing heights of the painted cardboard sculptures by the Philadelphia-based artist Kambel Smith, 37, known for recreating monumental structures that he measures entirely by sight. His nearly 27-foot-tall version of the Burj Khalifa in Dubai -- at 2,717 feet, the world's tallest skyscraper -- breaks into five interlocking towers. At any size, the work can be tedious and time-consuming; makers may spend weeks handcrafting seemingly unromantic items like air-conditioners. But for many, including the Canadian set designer and miniatures artist Tracy Ealdama, 45, the satisfaction of problem solving makes up for the frustrations, much like, she says, ''completing a thousand-piece puzzle.'' Resourceful by necessity, she relies on odds and ends foraged from junk drawers and her children's toy boxes: The red vinyl counter stool seats at her eight-inch-tall take on a cafe in Miami's Little Havana neighborhood are, in fact, painted googly eyes.

UNLIKE DOLLHOUSES, DESIGNED as spaces for collaborative play, miniature buildings allow an artist to impose their own vision of a place. ''You feel like you're Godzilla roaming around the city,'' says the Manhattan-based artist Nicholas Buffon, 36, who was first drawn to the craft for the sense of control it gave him at a time when he was, he says, ''superbroke and living from sublet to sublet.'' Since then, working in foam core and polymer clay, he has created scaled-down odes to New York's queer institutions -- such as Julius', the historic tavern in Greenwich Village, whose TripAdvisor decals and rainbow garlands Buffon reproduced in paint and cut paper -- as well as East Village bars where he's gone on dates.

The French artist Nicolas Pierre, 38, produces scale models to preserve a record of Paris as it was just a few years ago. He specializes in nostalgic portraits of the gentrifying northern arrondissements and the nearby banlieues, such as Saint-Ouen, where he grew up and still lives and works. ''I don't want to suggest that it was better before, which isn't necessarily true,'' he says. ''But these places are changing a lot, and I just want to make them live forever.'' In 2021, he added the Barbès flagship of the Tati discount department store chain, which closed that year, to his collection of disappearing ***working-class*** Parisian iconography, which also features harshly lit betting cafes and alimentations générales, or local corner stores.

The same impulse for preservation animates the work of the Brooklyn-based artist Danny Cortes, 43. Time capsules of New York City in the 1980s and '90s, his sculptures of graffiti-covered bodegas and street furniture, including dilapidated iceboxes and newspaper dispensers, are inseparable from the hip-hop hits of those decades when he was growing up in Bushwick listening to the Wu-Tang Clan and Jay-Z. ''People say they can feel the weather and hear the music, the cars honking, arguments, laughter,'' he says. ''They can picture older folks playing dominoes, girls playing double Dutch.''

For such artists -- so devoted to realism that they sometimes depict specks of gum on sidewalks -- the hardest part of miniature making can be knowing when to stop. Cortes's mailboxes and lampposts are covered in spray-painted tags left by not only real but also imaginary street artists of his own creation, two of whom, he has decided, ''have beef now and go over each other's names.'' Likewise, the 39-year-old former stencil artist turned miniaturist Joshua Smith, who is based in South Australia, wheat pastes his petite abandoned buildings with matchbox-size concert posters for made-up bands playing at actual venues. He once went so far as to install a run-down employee bathroom at the rear of a deli. ''No one can see it,'' says Smith, ''but I know it's there.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/08/t-magazine/miniatures-city-artists.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/08/t-magazine/miniatures-city-artists.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Below, from left: a Brooklyn dumpster (five inches tall) by Danny Cortes

a Parisian bakery (11 inches tall) by Nicolas Pierre

a Tokyo police station (13 inches tall) by Christopher Robin Nordström

a New York jazz club (eight inches tall) by Tracy Ealdama

a New York luncheonette (eight inches tall) by Joshua Smith. Opposite: a miniature street scene featuring, from left, New York's Odessa Restaurant (40 inches tall) by Nicholas Buffon

Philadelphia's Uptown Theater (43 inches tall) by Kambel Smith

New York's B & H Dairy lunch counter (20 inches tall) by Buffon

Philadelphia's Blue Horizon boxing venue (25 inches tall) by Smith.(PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID CHOW

VICTORIA PETRO-CONROY) DANNY CORTES, ''BROOKLYN DUMPSTER,'' 2020, CALVIN KLEIN SHOE BOX, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

NICOLAS PIERRE, ''LE FOURNIL DE PARIS,'' 2021, FOAM BOARD, CARDBOARD, 3-D-PRINTED PARTS AND ACRYLIC PAINT, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

CHRISTOPHER ROBIN NORDSTRÖM, ''KOBAN,'' 2020, MEDIUM-DENSITY WOOD FIBERBOARD, STYRENE PLASTIC, BRASS AND WOOD, PRIVATE COLLECTION, NYC

TRACY EALDAMA, ''JAZZ CLUB,'' 2020, INSPIRED BY THE PIXAR FILM ''SOUL,'' 2020, CARD STOCK, CRAFT FOAM BOARD, WOOD SKEWERS, CRAFT WIRE, CLEAR GLASS BEADS, SANDPAPER AND ACRYLIC PAINT, COURTESY OF DOPL, N.Y.

JOSHUA SMITH, ''TRIBUTE TO THE VANISHING LUNCHEONETTE,'' 2022, MEDIUM-DENSITY FIBERBOARD, PAPER, CARDBOARD, PLASTIC, STYRENE AND RESIN PRINTED PARTS, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND THE COLLECTION OF MARC JURIS. OPPOSITE, FROM LEFT: NICHOLAS BUFFON, ''ODESSA,'' 2016, FOAM, GLUE, PAPER AND PAINT, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND MARINARO, NEW YORK

KAMBEL SMITH, ''UPTOWN THEATER,'' 2023, CARDBOARD, SPRAY PAINT, GLUE, CHARCOAL, BOND PAPER AND FOAM CORE, COURTESY OF ELAINE DE KOONING HOUSE, EAST HAMPTON, N.Y.

NICHOLAS BUFFON, ''B & H DAIRY,'' 2018, FOAM CORE, BRISTOL PAPER, ACRYLIC PAINT, GLUE, SCULPEY AND PINS, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND MARINARO, NEW YORK

KAMBEL SMITH, ''BLUE HORIZON,'' 2023, CARDBOARD, SPRAY PAINT, GLUE, CHARCOAL, BOND PAPER AND FOAM CORE, COURTESY OF ELAINE DE KOONING HOUSE, EAST HAMPTON, N.Y. This article appeared in print on page M2122, M2123.

**Load-Date:** August 18, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump and the Working Class; letter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6164-TXM1-JBG3-6425-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 31, 2020 Saturday 12:00 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; letters

**Length:** 215 words

**Highlight:** “Mr. Trump presented himself as a class traitor who would bring the billionaires to heel,” but did the opposite, a reader says.

**Body**

“Mr. Trump presented himself as a class traitor who would bring the billionaires to heel,” but did the opposite, a reader says.

To the Editor:

Re “[*His Fake Populism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/16/opinion/trump-working-class-economy.html),” by Farah Stockman (Sunday Review, Oct. 18):

Ms. Stockman has hit the political nail on the economic head. The election of Donald Trump four years ago was a ***working-class*** revolt against a despised globalist professional-managerial class that has taken over liberal parties worldwide, throwing them into crisis, the decline in unionism having detached workers from the structure that had long tied them to progressive politics.

Mr. Trump presented himself as a class traitor who would bring the billionaires to heel. That he did the opposite, while becoming obsessed with raw racial and ethnic animus, is why he now seems about to lose the office to Joe Biden, a man who can talk to ***working-class*** voters.

We Americans have not liked examining our society through a class-based lens, but the overwhelming success of the “1 percent” in hoarding our nation’s resources has forever changed that calculus. We are unfortunately no longer a classless society, but a plutocracy or an oligarchy.

And that is the breach that must be repaired.

Tim Sassoon

Venice, Calif.

PHOTO:   (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Unnerving Changeability of JD Vance; Michelle Goldberg***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJY-YGF1-JBG3-616J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2024 Friday 14:13 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 977 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 has a history of remaking himself to suit the men in his life.

**Body**

In “Hillbilly Elegy,” the 2016 memoir that made JD Vance a celebrity, he described constantly remaking his childhood self to fit the rotating cast of father figures his unsound mother brought into their lives. “With Steve, a midlife-crisis sufferer with an earring to prove it, I pretended earrings were cool — so much so that he thought it appropriate to pierce my ear,” Vance wrote. “With Chip, an alcoholic police officer who saw my earring as a sign of ‘girlieness,’ I had thick skin and loved police cars. With Ken, an odd man who proposed to Mom three days into their relationship, I was a kind brother to his two children.”

Vance’s yearning for a father is a constant theme in the book, as is his willingness to rationalize the flaws of the men he looks up to. At one point, he is reunited with his biological father, who gave him up for adoption when he was in kindergarten. The women in Vance’s life — not just his mother, but also his beloved sister, grandmother and aunt — told him that his dad had been “mean” and abusive, but he doesn’t believe it, preferring to think that there had only been “a bit of pushing, some plate throwing, but nothing more.”

His father was a devoted Pentecostal, and for a time Vance gave up his Black Sabbath CDs and became one, too. “I’m not sure if I liked the structure or if I just wanted to share in something that was important to him — both, I suppose — but I became a devoted convert,” he wrote.

“Devoted convert” may be the role he inhabits most naturally. In 2016 Vance speculated that Donald Trump might be “America’s Hitler.” Now he’s his running mate. A lot has been written trying to understand Vance’s ideological journey, but at least part of the story seems to be hiding in plain sight in his book. In attaching himself to the most bellicose patriarch he can find, he’s re-enacting a childhood pattern.

There is, of course, nothing inherently pathological about changing one’s political views. Vance, however, swapped out not just his beliefs but his entire public persona in just a few short years. “Hillbilly Elegy” contains an indictment of “conspiracy-mongers and fringe lunatics” who spread lies about Barack Obama’s religion and birthplace. And it laments the corrosive cynicism that led many in his white ***working-class*** community to embrace these falsehoods.

Vance presented their views as self-defeating: “We can’t trust the evening news. We can’t trust our politicians. Our universities, the gateway to a better life, are rigged against us,” he wrote, adding, “You can’t believe these things and participate meaningfully in society.”

Now Vance promotes all these things. He’s argued that Alex Jones is more trustworthy than Rachel Maddow and that Joe Biden may be [*intentionally*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/) flooding the country with fentanyl to kill off MAGA voters. He gave a speech in 2021 titled, “The Universities Are the Enemy.”

Vance’s new worldview can be explained in part by opportunism: He was anti-Trump at a time when Trumpism seemed likely to fail. And he’s said he was “red-pilled” by the cultural upheavals of 2020, a common enough phenomenon, especially in the Silicon Valley circles he travels in. But there is something particularly extreme about Vance’s transformation, suggesting he hasn’t left behind the mutability that once served as a survival strategy.

As Gabriel Winant wrote in a perceptive [*essay*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/) in the journal n+1, “Hillbilly Elegy” is fundamentally a book about unresolved trauma. In one of the book’s final moments, Vance gains some insight into his own behavior by reading up on “adverse childhood experiences,” or ACEs. Kids who endure violent and chaotic childhoods like his, he wrote, “become hard-wired for conflict. And that wiring remains, even when there’s no more conflict to be had.”

His upbringing had taught him that “disagreements were war, and you played to win the game.” Understanding this, he wrote, helped him navigate his relationship with his wife, Usha. But he seems to have stopped there, rather than reckon with how his pugilistic instincts shape his approach to the wider world.

In 2020, Vance wrote an [*essay*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/) detailing his journey from Pentecostalism through the new atheism of Christopher Hitchens and finally into Catholicism. He portrayed his young adult rejection of religion as essentially mimetic, something he absorbed from his university surroundings rather than decided on for himself. One of the things that brought him back to religion was meeting the right-wing venture capitalist Peter Thiel, who would eventually become a patron. Thiel “was possibly the smartest person I’d ever met, but he was also a Christian,” Vance wrote. Vance converted to Catholicism in 2019. By then, he’d become part of a new conservative elite in which many leading intellectual figures were also Catholic.

Now this person of unusual suggestibility has become second in command to a first-order demagogue, giving himself over to MAGA theology. As Mother Jones [*reported*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/) on Thursday, Vance recently endorsed a new book called “Unhumans,” co-written by the “Pizzagate” conspiracy theorist Jack Posobiec, which demonizes progressives as nonpeople who must be crushed by extra-democratic means. “Our study of history has brought us to this conclusion: Democracy has never worked to protect innocents from the unhumans,” the book’s co-writers say.

It is perhaps not surprising that Vance has ended up in this milieu. Authoritarian personalities, as the German social psychologist Erich Fromm argued, long to dominate, but they long just as much to submit.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/), [*Instagram*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/), [*TikTok*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/), [*WhatsApp*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/), [*X*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/) and [*Threads*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/11/jd-vances-claim-that-biden-is-targeting-maga-voters-with-fentanyl/).

This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Good News Turned Out to Be the Bad News, Too***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C86-SP71-JBG3-60NT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 15, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 741 words

**Byline:** By Santul Nerkar

**Body**

Prices rose 3.3 percent in May from a year earlier, according to data released Wednesday, a lower number than expected. Partisan media outlets covered that number very differently.

Conservative sites acknowledged there has been progress in the fight to bring down inflation. But they also used the announcement to criticize President Biden's handling of the economy, saying the figure was too high to begin with.

Some liberal sites celebrated the news as a victory for Mr. Biden's economic agenda.

Inflation is a key concern for Americans in this fall's election, polling shows. And for most voters, their assessment of the economy mirrors the media landscape: Democrats tend to approve of Mr. Biden's handling of the economy, while Republicans disapprove of his job on the issue.

Here's how a sampling of outlets covered the news:

FROM THE RIGHT

The Daily Wire

Conservative commentators and outlets have persistently blamed Mr. Biden's policies for spurring high inflation, driving up the cost of everything from basic necessities to airline tickets. Like Republican lawmakers, conservative outlets have repeatedly referred to the increasing prices as ''Bidenflation.''

Inflation reached a four-decade high of 9.1 percent in June 2022. The rate has since fallen considerably, but it remains higher than the Federal Reserve's target of 2 percent.

A conservative site, The Daily Wire has been critical of Mr. Biden's handling of the economy, running a four-part series looking at how '''Bidenomics' is eviscerating the American people.''

In an article with the headline ''Joe Biden's Fragile Economy,'' the writer Jim Nelles said the promising inflation report, along with a booming stock market, showed an economy that was strong on the surface. But those numbers masked deeper problems, he said.

''The cumulative impact of inflation, combined with high interest rates, is putting the dream of home-ownership further out of reach for most young and ***working-class*** Americans,'' Mr. Nelles wrote.

FROM THE RIGHT

The National Review

Reacting to Wednesday's inflation report, The National Review, a conservative news site and magazine, published an article with the headline ''3.3 Percent Is Not Good Enough.'' The writer Dominic Pino argued that the Federal Reserve, which has raised interest rates to bring down inflation, must keep those rates where they are until inflation comes back down to 2 percent. His view stands in contrast to that of many progressives, who say inflation is now low enough for the Fed to cut interest rates, which are squeezing poor Americans.

''The Fed's duty is to price stability and full employment, not to the financial sector, or to whiny politicians who also want rate cuts,'' Mr. Pino wrote.

FROM THE LEFT

The American Prospect

Liberal commentators have focused on the country's historically strong job growth under Mr. Biden, as well as the low level of unemployment.

They have often blamed large corporations for inflation rates, which they say would have been high regardless of who was president because of supply chain issues and the geopolitical instability caused by Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The American Prospect, a liberal site that has long pushed progressive economic policies, used a Wednesday article about the inflation report to highlight a different policy endeavor of Mr. Biden's: his effort to go after unexpected ''junk'' fees added to the cost of things like hotel stays and ticket purchases. Mr. Biden has listed the push as a key pillar of his effort to bring down consumer prices.

Americans have been ''feeling that they're getting less and paying more and even being duped in the process,'' wrote David Dayen, the site's executive editor. The Biden administration's focus on hidden fees was an example of Mr. Biden ''speaking to this discontent.''

FROM THE LEFT

MeidasTouch

MeidasTouch, a liberal media network, celebrated Wednesday's news in an article with the headline ''Biden Economy Does Better Than Expected (Again).''

In the article, Aaron Parnas argued that the economy under Mr. Biden has ''repeatedly defied all expectations,'' pointing to strong job growth and easing inflation. He also said Mr. Biden had done a better job than former President Donald J. Trump, who most voters say they trust more on the economy.

''President Biden inherited an economy that was bleeding jobs due to the failures during the Trump administration,'' Mr. Parnas wrote.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/14/business/media/partisan-news-media-inflation.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/14/business/media/partisan-news-media-inflation.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page B4.

**Load-Date:** June 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***After First Year Shaped by Crisis, Mayor Plans To Focus on Helping New York's 'Working Class'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67DH-NDS1-JBG3-6217-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 27, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 1415 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

In his second State of the City address, Mayor Eric Adams turned his attention toward the essential needs of everyday New Yorkers, promising cleaner streets and more affordable housing.

After a turbulent first year as mayor, Eric Adams sought on Thursday to refocus his agenda on the needs of ***working-class*** New Yorkers, vowing to make city streets cleaner, improve public safety and expand affordable housing and a jobs program.

By using his second State of the City address to outline a ''working people's agenda,'' Mr. Adams seemed to be moving away from the crisis-response mode that typified his first year, signaling that New York City had sufficiently emerged from the broad effects of the coronavirus pandemic.

The mayor identified four major areas for improvement -- jobs, safety, housing and care -- while redoubling his emphasis on targeting a common enemy of New Yorkers: rats and the piles of trash they feast on.

Mr. Adams announced several proposals: a citywide expansion of composting; support for a rezoning plan for Midtown Manhattan to convert offices into housing; and the expansion of an apprenticeship jobs program to reach 30,000 New Yorkers by 2030.

''We are on the pathway to a safer city, with more jobs and more opportunity,'' the mayor said. ''And we have laid the cornerstone for a new era of affordable housing.''

Speaking at Queens Theater in Flushing Meadows Corona Park, Mr. Adams harked back to his campaign persona as a ***working-class*** candidate, noting that he grew up not far away in Jamaica, Queens, the son of a house cleaner.

Mr. Adams's first State of the City address last April at Kings Theater in Brooklyn, where he had served as borough president, focused on public safety and the city's economic recovery from the pandemic.

On Thursday, he suggested that the recovery was well underway, arguing that ''the state of our city is strong'' and pointing out that the city had added more than 200,000 jobs over the last year.

''We're just getting started, and there's no stopping the world's greatest city,'' he said.

Yet nearly three years into the pandemic, New York is still struggling to adjust to the upheaval wrought by the virus. The city's unemployment is higher than the national average; many New Yorkers have not returned to the office five days a week; and the city is facing multibillion-dollar budget deficits in the coming years.

His first year as mayor was undoubtedly shaped by crisis -- the pandemic, fears of rising crime and an influx of migrants arriving from the southern border. Much of the mayor's public messaging reflected his law-and-order approach to governing, as did his actions -- including sweeps of homeless encampments and a new plan to involuntarily remove mentally ill people from the streets -- which have been met with mixed reactions from New Yorkers.

A group of protesters rallied outside the Queens Theater on Thursday calling on Mr. Adams to move quickly to close Rikers Island, where 19 people died last year after being held at the troubled jail complex. Mr. Adams has raised doubts about whether he will close the jail by 2027 as planned.

Mr. Adams has also faced criticism over hiring friends for lucrative city positions, directing painful budget cuts at schools and libraries, and presiding over a staffing crisis in city government that has slowed the work of critical agencies. Mr. Adams has grown increasingly frustrated with media coverage of his administration, and has bristled at pushback from left-leaning elected officials over his policies.

Some experts said that the mayor's agenda lacked the sweep and depth necessary to help the city fully recover from the pandemic. Nathan Gusdorf, executive director of the Fiscal Policy Institute, said that deeper investments were needed in public education, affordable housing and public transportation if New York was going to be a place where families could thrive.

''As we emerge from the Covid pandemic and head into uncertain economic conditions, working- and middle-class New Yorkers need large-scale investments from City Hall that will lower the cost of living,'' Mr. Gusdorf said. ''Not adjustments on the margins.''

The State of the City speech is an annual ritual for New York City mayors, but the shiny plans that are announced do not always come to fruition. In his 2016 speech, Mayor Bill de Blasio proposed a $2.5 billion streetcar line through Brooklyn and Queens that never got off the ground.

Perhaps the most ambitious of Mr. Adams's proposals involves the rezoning of Midtown Manhattan to add affordable housing in an area zoned for manufacturing and office space, but details were scant. The mayor said that community engagement would begin in the next few weeks. Another plan, for the North Shore of Staten Island, would focus, he said, on ''expanded waterfront access and flood resiliency, job creation and mixed-use development.''

John Sanchez, executive director of the 5 Borough Housing Movement, a group focused on expanding affordable housing, said that rezoning Midtown was an achievable goal. The city and state should coordinate and update rules that would allow for more affordable housing to be built in places like Midtown.

''We understand that real estate south of 96th Street is valuable, but we want to make sure that there are affordable units,'' Mr. Sanchez said. ''It's not only good for the city, it's also good for making sure we don't have segregated neighborhoods.''

Mr. Adams and Gov. Kathy Hochul released a plan last month that called for converting the city's commercial districts into 24-hour live-and-work zones, but the plan lacked key details such as funding. The two leaders have maintained a positive relationship and Ms. Hochul attended the mayor's speech along with the lieutenant governor, Antonio Delgado. Mr. Adams singled her out for praise in the speech, calling her the ''steady hand we need at the wheel right now.''

Keith Powers, a councilman who represents part of Midtown, said he was optimistic about the rezoning plan, and suggested that Mr. Adams's second year could be even more consequential than his first.

''The challenge now is when you add in a potential recession ahead, coupled with new fiscal challenges like the migrant crisis, that means that we have less resources to play with, so we have to be more creative,'' Mr. Powers said.

On homelessness, the mayor said that the city would start to offer ''free, comprehensive health care'' to everyone who spends at least a week in a shelter. He said the move would cut down on the expense of homeless people using hospitals for their primary care needs.

Jumaane Williams, the public advocate, said he was glad to see the mayor focus on mental health but that other major issues were not addressed.

''I want to hear the plan to focus on affordability when it comes to housing and what are the plans when it comes to Rikers,'' Mr. Williams said.

In his speech, Mr. Adams continued his crusade against rats, saying he would soon hire a rat czar and framed the new composting program as a way to help make city streets cleaner and provide the rodents with less sustenance. The mayor also pledged to ensure that construction sheds were removed more quickly and to reconsider outdoor dining sheds, which he called ''Covid cabins.''

''For far too long, New Yorkers were asked to accept things that should be unacceptable -- crime, rats, trash, traffic,'' he said. ''When we allow quality of life to deteriorate, it is ***working-class*** New Yorkers that suffer the most.''

His plan to bring composting to all five boroughs by October 2024 was praised broadly on Thursday as a long-needed service for New Yorkers that would help the environment. Experts said they hoped that it would eventually be mandatory, as it is in other cities like San Francisco.

And Mr. Adams, a former police captain, did not abandon his focus on crime. He said he wanted to address a ''recidivism crisis'' by targeting 1,700 repeat offenders involved in violent crime -- part of his insistence on revisiting the state's bail reform law that has angered many of his fellow Democrats. The mayor also promised increased enforcement against unlicensed cannabis shops.

''If you think you're going to come into our communities without a license, put our kids at risk and steal jobs away from people trying to do it the right way, you must be smoking something,'' he said.

Andy Newman contributed reporting.Andy Newman contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/26/nyregion/mayor-adams-state-city.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/26/nyregion/mayor-adams-state-city.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: In this second State of the City address, Mayor Eric Adams identified major areas for improvement -- jobs, safety, housing and care.

Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York at the address in Queens. Outside the theater, protesters called for the closing of Rikers Island. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAITLIN OCHS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** January 27, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Assessing JD Vance’s Appeals to the Middle Class on the Campaign Trail; Fact Check***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW3-NG71-JBG3-6008-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 2, 2024 Monday 12:11 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1544 words

**Byline:** Linda Qiu Linda Qiu is a reporter who specializes in fact-checking statements made by politicians and public figures. She has been reporting and fact-checking public figures for nearly a decade.

**Highlight:** The Republican vice-presidential nominee has assailed Vice President Kamala Harris’s policies and positions with inaccurate claims.

**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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee)

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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) to [*seven million housing units*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee).

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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee), as Mr. Vance claimed.

According to the nonpartisan Pew Research Center, about [*800,000 more unauthorized immigrants*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) to [*2.5 million*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee). 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee).

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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee), 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee)

This is misleading. The Senate [*passed the North American Free Trade Agreement*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) against the [*United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee), a trade deal that updated NAFTA. Ms. Harris [*argued in January 2020*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee), 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) that she would not have voted for NAFTA, and during her 2016 campaign for the Senate she also [*opposed the Trans-Pacific Partnership*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee), 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee).

In [*his statement opposing the revised agreement*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee), 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee)

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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee), 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) — 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) on Chinese electric vehicles in May.

Whether this mix of incentives and restrictions will work [*remains to be seen*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee), 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*](https://www.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee) 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.denver7.com/politics/vance-blames-harris-for-high-housing-costs-in-interview-with-scripps-news-milwaukee).

This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** September 3, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How Media Outlets on the Right and Left Covered the Latest Inflation Numbers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C82-RCF1-DXY4-X2DP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 14, 2024 Friday 21:15 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; media

**Length:** 736 words

**Byline:** Santul Nerkar Santul Nerkar is a reporter covering business and sports.

**Highlight:** Conservative media outlets used the new inflation data, which was lower than expected, to criticize President Biden’s handling of the economy. Liberal media outlets celebrated it.

**Body**

Prices rose 3.3 percent in May from a year earlier, according to data released Wednesday, a lower number than expected. Partisan media outlets covered that number very differently.

Conservative sites acknowledged there has been progress in the fight to bring down inflation. But they also used the announcement to criticize President Biden’s handling of the economy, saying the figure was too high to begin with.

Some liberal sites celebrated the news as a victory for Mr. Biden’s economic agenda.

Inflation is a key concern for Americans in this fall’s election, polling shows. And for most voters, their assessment of the economy mirrors the media landscape: Democrats tend to approve of Mr. Biden’s handling of the economy, while Republicans disapprove of his job on the issue.

Here’s how a sampling of outlets covered the news:

FROM THE RIGHT

The Daily Wire

Conservative commentators and outlets have persistently blamed Mr. Biden’s policies for spurring high inflation, driving up the cost of everything from basic necessities to airline tickets. Like Republican lawmakers, conservative outlets have repeatedly referred to the increasing prices as “Bidenflation.”

Inflation reached a four-decade high of 9.1 percent in June 2022. The rate has since fallen considerably, but it remains higher than the Federal Reserve’s target of 2 percent.

A conservative site, The Daily Wire has been critical of Mr. Biden’s handling of the economy, running a four-part series looking at how “‘Bidenomics’ is eviscerating the American people.”

In an article with the headline “Joe Biden’s Fragile Economy,” the writer Jim Nelles said the promising inflation report, along with a booming stock market, showed an economy that was strong on the surface. But those numbers masked deeper problems, he said.

“The cumulative impact of inflation, combined with high interest rates, is putting the dream of home-ownership further out of reach for most young and ***working-class*** Americans,” Mr. Nelles wrote.

FROM THE RIGHT

The National Review

Reacting to Wednesday’s inflation report, The National Review, a conservative news site and magazine, published an article with the headline “3.3 Percent Is Not Good Enough.” The writer Dominic Pino argued that the Federal Reserve, which has raised interest rates to bring down inflation, must keep those rates where they are until inflation comes back down to 2 percent. His view stands in contrast to that of many progressives, who say inflation is now low enough for the Fed to cut interest rates, which are [*squeezing poor Americans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/14/business/economy/interest-rates-inequality.html).

“The Fed’s duty is to price stability and full employment, not to the financial sector, or to whiny politicians who also want rate cuts,” Mr. Pino wrote.

FROM THE LEFT

The American Prospect

Liberal commentators have focused on the country’s [*historically strong job growth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/14/business/economy/interest-rates-inequality.html) under Mr. Biden, as well as the low level of unemployment.

They have often blamed large corporations for inflation rates, which they say would have been high regardless of who was president because of supply chain issues and the geopolitical instability caused by Russia’s invasion of Ukraine.

The American Prospect, a liberal site that has long pushed progressive economic policies, used a Wednesday [*article*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/14/business/economy/interest-rates-inequality.html) about the inflation report to highlight a different policy endeavor of Mr. Biden’s: his effort to go after unexpected “junk” fees added to the cost of things like hotel stays and ticket purchases. Mr. Biden has listed the push as a key pillar of his effort to bring down consumer prices.

Americans have been “feeling that they’re getting less and paying more and even being duped in the process,” wrote David Dayen, the site’s executive editor. The Biden administration’s focus on hidden fees was an example of Mr. Biden “speaking to this discontent.”

FROM THE LEFT

MeidasTouch

MeidasTouch, a liberal media network, celebrated Wednesday’s news in an [*article*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/14/business/economy/interest-rates-inequality.html) with the headline “Biden Economy Does Better Than Expected (Again).”

In the article, Aaron Parnas argued that the economy under Mr. Biden has “repeatedly defied all expectations,” pointing to strong job growth and easing inflation. He also said Mr. Biden had done a better job than former President Donald J. Trump, who most voters say they trust more on the economy.

“​​President Biden inherited an economy that was bleeding jobs due to the failures during the Trump administration,” Mr. Parnas wrote.

This article appeared in print on page B4.

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How 'Kill' Slices Bollywood Open***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CFS-1R51-DXY4-X0S4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 11, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3; Q. AND A.

**Length:** 821 words

**Byline:** By Robert Daniels

**Body**

Five questions for the director Nikhil Nagesh Bhat about his Indian action film, which takes an ultraviolent step away from Bollywood conventions.

The writer-director Nikhil Nagesh Bhat bristles whenever someone labels his claustrophobic action film ''Kill'' as Bollywood. In ''Kill'' (in theaters), the characters rarely break out in song and there are few colorful sets -- just the mundane cars of a train on which the bulk of the movie takes place.

According to Bhat, in fact, ''Kill'' was inspired by a real-life train robbery he experienced in 1995. That memory is respun here into a story involving a lean commando named Amrit (Lakshya), who is working to save his girlfriend, Tulika (Tanya Maniktala), from a team of ***working-class*** bandits led by the spiteful Fani (Raghav Juyal). Amrit's gory, swinging, kicking barrage through tight train corridors -- propelled by a muscular exterior yet an emotional vulnerability -- is an action extravaganza accomplished through sharp technical execution.

In a Zoom interview, Bhat spoke about crafting fight sequences in tight spaces and his love of James Cameron's ''Aliens.'' Below are edited excerpts from the conversation.

How did you shape the fighting styles here?

It comes from the story itself. Amrit is highly trained in commando warfare, which is a kind of martial arts. They're fighting these goons, who are robbers, who do not have any kind of training. They're street fighters. And we trained like that. We purposely made sure that it looks very raw and visceral, and it looks uncoordinated because the film is very emotional. I wanted every action sequence to be preceded by some kind of emotional upheaval or turmoil. It could not be one set piece of action after the other. It's being driven by the characters and their relationships, which are being tested throughout this journey.

Were there specific action films that influenced you?

''Atomic Blonde.'' I'm a huge fan of that film. But to be honest, because of its emotional shades, I don't solely look at this as an action film. The biggest inspiration for this film was James Cameron's ''Aliens.'' It's a story where this alien is trying to protect its young ones and Ripley's trying to protect the kid. Because the story has been told from Ripley's point of view, the alien is the antagonist. But if you see it from the alien's point of view, it is just trying to survive. That was huge. It completely redefined my thought process, especially for this film.

Were you actively working against Bollywood conventions?

The first half of the film has almost a defensive kind of action. It's not something that is visceral. Only in the second half does that reaction change because of [Amrit's] mental health and his emotional state. I wanted to be away from the Bollywood kind of action because I don't conform to that kind of style. It's not what I would ever want to communicate or ever want to do because the moment that kind of action happens, the believability of the story goes for a toss.

How did you build these claustrophobic train sets?

When we started to build a set, the only thing I knew was that I wanted the set to be absolutely adaptive. So I wanted each and every wall to move and to be flexible. We worked on it for almost nine months. First, we created a miniature set. Then we made a set of around 10 feet with wood. Finally, we made a set with two coach cars. There were hydraulics, pulleys, and people pushing and pulling walls. The set was almost like ''Transformers'' -- it could just collapse and come back together at the same time when my camera was moving.

The set was cramped. There was no place for lights to be put in. So, we used the service lights for the set. My director of photography [Rafey Mehmood] constructed a panel on the roof through which an overhead dolly could capture everything. Because the action is close combat and it's such a personal story, my lensing changed [to] wide-angle lenses because I had to capture each emotion and each body movement. The set was so cramped only one department could work at any one point. That took a lot of time.

The moments of grieving here by men are rare for an action film. Could you explain what inspired that?

With the young people, we have tried to give them a lot of emotional vulnerability because I feel like in today's generation, we as men, we are very emotionally sensitive. This is an intimate story about personal loss, whose emotions come in the form of rage and guilt and grief. Because the idea that people like Amrit, people with lots of muscles, are very hard on the outside and don't communicate -- that's not the reality. With the antagonists, I wanted people to feel for them too. As the [bandits] start losing people, they start crying and they feel the same kind of emotion the protagonists were feeling in the first half of the film. In that way, I wanted the audience to rethink who to root for.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/10/movies/kill-movie-behind-the-scenes.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/10/movies/kill-movie-behind-the-scenes.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, the actor Lakshya, center, with the director Nikhil Nagesh Bhat, right, on the set of ''Kill,'' which was inspired by a real-life train robbery. Above, Bhat, standing, with the actors Raghav Juyal, left, and Mohit Tripathi on the set. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KETAN MEHTA) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Montauk Fisherman Who Took Too Much Fluke Gets a 30-Month Sentence***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CFT-YDM1-JBG3-602F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 11, 2024 Thursday 03:01 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 886 words

**Byline:** Maia Coleman

**Highlight:** Chris Winkler went to trial after the government accused him of conspiring to sell illicit fish. Prosecutors said they were trying to preserve the bounty of the sea.

**Body**

Chris Winkler went to trial after the government accused him of conspiring to sell illicit fish. Prosecutors said they were trying to preserve the bounty of the sea.

A Montauk, N.Y., fisherman was sentenced to 30 months in prison on Thursday for his role in a conspiracy to harvest and sell thousands of pounds more fluke and black sea bass than limits allowed.

The man, Chris Winkler, 64, who helms a 45-foot trawler called the New Age, was [*convicted by a Long Island jury in October*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/04/nyregion/chris-winkler-montauk-fisherman-trial.html) on federal charges of hauling too many fish from the sea. The jury also found him guilty of falsifying records and selling his illegal catch to partners at Gosman’s Dock, a waterfront mall and restaurant complex in Montauk, and to dealers at the Fulton Fish Market in the Bronx.

Mr. Winkler was unanimously convicted on the five counts he faced, which included criminal conspiracy, mail fraud and obstruction of justice. He was sentenced on Thursday by Judge Joan M. Azrack of the Eastern District of New York and will surrender in December.

“I consider this a serious crime,” said Judge Azrack, who called the trial “illuminating, educational and disturbing.” Mr. Winkler, she said, “undermined the integrity of the whole fisheries management program.”

Mr. Winkler sat in the courtroom in Central Islip’s glassy federal court complex flanked by his lawyers. Mr. Winkler, who wore a blazer and had his shoulder-length hair tucked in a ponytail, appeared serious and occasionally emotional. He was joined by a smattering of friends and fellow Montauk residents, some of whom wore flip-flops and flannel shirts.

A lawyer for Mr. Winkler, Richard W. Levitt, declined to comment.

The sentencing came roughly nine months after Mr. Winkler’s federal trial, which included testimony by dock workers and fishermen as well as officials from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, which sets quotas for each state.

The trial [*exposed long-simmering tension*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/04/nyregion/chris-winkler-montauk-fisherman-trial.html) between Long Island’s fishermen — many of whom believe the quotas are outdated and unfair — and the federal agency that regulates them.

The federal government has increasingly used criminal prosecution to enforce fishing regulations, and Mr. Winkler’s case was among several similar cases brought by the Justice Department’s Environment and Natural Resources Division in the past decade. Two such cases, against other Long Island fishermen charged with overfishing fluke, ended in prison sentences.

Some 73 miles from the courthouse are the glistening waters of Montauk, a village at the easternmost tip of Long Island. The former fishing village is a playground for some of New York City’s wealthiest residents, slightly more remote than the glittering Hamptons towns. But the town retains a working port and a touch of its original rugged charm even as the area has gentrified.

Gosman’s Dock, which began as a chowder stand in 1943 and grew into a miniature empire, has been one of Long Island’s largest suppliers of fresh fish for decades.

Mr. Winkler was first charged in a 2021 indictment alongside Bryan Gosman and Asa Gosman, who are cousins, and a wholesale company they managed. The Gosmans pleaded guilty and later testified against Mr. Winkler, with one saying that he had occasionally served as a lookout to help Mr. Winkler evade law enforcement.

Mr. Winker’s case concerns fishing trips between 2014 and 2017 during which he harvested at least 200,000 pounds of fluke and 20,000 pounds of black sea bass beyond the limit, prosecutors said. Mr. Winkler then fudged records to conceal the excess catch, they said.

Prosecutors also accused Mr. Winkler of cutting lucrative deals with the Gosmans, including offloading his catch at their dock for a fee and selling it to them and two other dealers in the Bronx. Prosecutors said the over-quota fish was worth nearly $900,000 on the wholesale market.

During [*Mr. Winkler’s trial*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/04/nyregion/chris-winkler-montauk-fisherman-trial.html), prosecutors said that regulators were trying to “preserve fishery resources for fish today, tomorrow and for generations to come.”

Mr. Winkler’s lawyers argued that the case was built around outdated quotas. “There is nothing at all rational about this system,” Mr. Levitt said during the trial.

Mr. Winkler’s lawyers continued that argument in a memo to the court requesting leniency. Mr. Winkler, they said, is a lifelong seaman from a ***working-class*** background who “respected his craft, his crew and even the fish he netted.”

In letters submitted on Mr. Winkler’s behalf, 22 friends and family members described him as pillar of the community who had provided those around him with guidance — and sometimes, fish dinners — during tumultuous times.

On Thursday, Mr. Levitt said that the Gosmans — whom he referred to as “scions of a wealthy Montauk family” — and other witnesses had received sweetheart deals. “The government wants to throw the book at him,” Mr. Levitt said of Mr. Winkler.

Mr. Winkler, who leaned back in his chair with a furrowed brow for much of Thursday’s proceedings, acknowledged his crimes and said he felt deep remorse. But he added that the fluke stock had been robust.

“I’m deeply regretful that my choices and actions went against the rules of the very fishing industry that gave me everything,” he said.

Prosecutors accused Chris Winkler of conspiring to sell illicit fish. He faced five counts. ULI SEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Load-Date:** July 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Kamala Harris Wastes No Time in Attacking J.D. Vance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHB-8HC1-JBG3-601G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 18, 2024 Thursday 08:12 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 871 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck and Nicholas Nehamas Katie Glueck covers American politics with a focus on the Democratic Party. Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the re-election campaign of President Biden.

**Highlight:** As Democratic speculation grew that President Biden might be forced to give way to his vice president, she rallied supporters in North Carolina and went after her new counterpart on the Republican ticket.

**Body**

As Democratic speculation grew that President Biden might be forced to give way to his vice president, she rallied supporters in North Carolina and went after her new counterpart on the Republican ticket.

Vice President Kamala Harris on Thursday laced into the newly formed Republican presidential ticket, casting former President Donald J. Trump and Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio as purveyors of “extreme” and “divisive” plans who would undermine the middle class.

Her trip to Fayetteville, N.C., was her first campaign appearance since Mr. Vance [*formally accepted a spot on the Republican ticket*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html) at his party’s convention a day earlier, and her speech was in some ways an initial effort to define her new opponent, who [*has emphasized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html) his ***working-class*** roots.

“It’s a compelling story — and it was not the full story,” she said of his speech on Wednesday night, adding that Americans were “not buying” claims from Mr. Trump that “he and his running mate are going to prioritize the middle class.”

Her remarks came as her own running mate, President Biden, [*faces intense pressure from top party leaders to step aside*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html), putting Ms. Harris in a white-hot new spotlight as she described the stakes of the 2024 contest — “the most existential, consequential and important election of our lifetime,” she said.

She appeared with Gov. Roy Cooper, the Democratic governor of North Carolina, with whom Ms. Harris has a warm relationship. He has been mentioned as a potential running mate for her if Mr. Biden were to step aside.

In a well-received speech before an enthusiastic crowd, Ms. Harris argued that a Trump-Vance administration would threaten reproductive rights and federal entitlement programs, and jeopardize significant accomplishments of the Biden-Harris administration on issues like health care and education.

Speaking five days after an assassination attempt on Mr. Trump, she argued that the Republican ticket was not the one to bring the country together.

“In recent days, they’ve been trying to portray themselves as the party of unity,” she said. “If you claim to stand for unity, you need to do more than just use the word. You cannot claim you stand for unity if you are pushing an agenda that deprives whole groups of Americans of basic freedoms, opportunity and dignity.”

Now more than ever, the vice president’s every word and phrase are scrutinized for signs that she is ready, [*or perhaps even eager*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html), to succeed Mr. Biden should he drop out of the race.

But Ms. Harris was in full surrogate mode.

“This race can be boiled down to a single question: Who fights for you?” she said. “We know whose side our President Joe Biden is on. He grew up in a middle-class family in Scranton, Pa. And he has never forgotten where he came from.”

Fayetteville is home to a large population of Black voters — a constituency that has continued to stand behind the president more than most groups, [*polls show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html). Some have expressed concern that any effort to replace Mr. Biden would end with Democratic leaders undermining Ms. Harris in favor of another candidate — a move these voters say they would see as an [*insult*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html), especially to the Black women who are among the party’s most reliable supporters.

“Skip over @KamalaHarris at your own peril,” Bakari Sellers, the Democratic political commentator and former South Carolina lawmaker, [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html) on X on Wednesday night.

Quentin Fulks, Mr. Biden’s deputy campaign manager, tried on Thursday to make clear that no one would be skipping over Mr. Biden.

He said Americans should “take a look” at which Democrats are calling for the president to end his campaign.

“The folks with the most at stake are supporting Joe Biden: African Americans, Latinos, we’re the ones who are going to suffer the most if Donald Trump is elected president. Women,” Mr. Fulks said at a news conference in Milwaukee. “And I don’t mean to be brash or harsh about it, but we should take a look at the people calling for the president to step aside and the people that have the president’s back.”

His suggestion that Democrats who have said the president should step aside are abandoning Black and Latino voters represented an escalation from the Biden campaign in its fight to hold onto its shaky Democratic coalition. Some Black leaders, including the Rev. Al Sharpton, are beginning to [*express doubts openly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html).

At the same time, Republicans have started to turn toward Ms. Harris. Some speakers at this week’s Republican convention have [*attacked*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html) her almost as much as they have Mr. Biden.

Although Mr. Biden has blamed “[*elites*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html)” for trying to force him off the ticket, polls show that a strong majority of Democrats want him to [*step down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html).

In Fayetteville, some Democratic voters who were worried about Mr. Biden’s age said they supported Ms. Harris’s stepping in.

“We are all going to get old. That’s life,” said Richard Freeman, 61, a truck driver and member of the Teamsters union who attended the Harris event. “He did a good job. Go out on a high note, that’s the way I look at it.”

PHOTO: On Thursday, in Fayetteville, N.C., Vice President Kamala Harris said Senator J.D. Vance’s speech the night before had told “a compelling story — and it was not the full story.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***'Blood Bath,' Electric Cars And Biden***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BMJ-39W1-DXY4-X05X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 24, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 2; ROSS DOUTHAT

**Length:** 899 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

If you believe President Biden's aides and allies, he intends to fight the 2024 election primarily on the threat that Donald Trump poses to American democracy. In their view, this worked in 2020, when Biden promised to protect the ''soul of the nation'' from Trump's depredations, and again in the 2022 midterms, when Biden made the threat to democracy his closing argument and Democrats then overperformed. So there's no reason it can't work just one more time.

By the time November rolls around, Biden's longtime adviser Mike Donilon told The New Yorker's Evan Osnos recently, ''the focus will become overwhelming on democracy. I think the biggest images in people's minds are going to be of Jan. 6.''

I have been unsure how seriously we should take this kind of talk. Biden's argument about democratic norms did seem to pay off in some key races in 2022, but I'm less convinced that it made the difference in 2020, at least relative to Biden's promise to be a steady hand and his reputation for ideological moderation. And either way, 2024 is a different context still, in which Biden appears to be struggling most with disaffected ***working-class*** voters, a constituency that you would expect to respond more strongly to material appeals than to high-minded arguments about civics.

To the extent that the White House knows this, we should probably take quotes like Donilon's with a grain of salt. Maybe he was just dispatched to manage Biden's liberal base, to preach the gospel of anti-Trumpism to a liberal publication's readers while someone else gets to work on the more traditional economic appeals to swing voters.

But the past week has given us a good illustration of what it would look like if the White House fully believed in Donilon's argument, and regarded its invocations of Jan. 6 as a potent alternative to the usual forms of outreach and moderation.

First you had the zeal with which the president's campaign latched onto Trump's comments, at an Ohio rally, about the ''blood bath'' that would supposedly follow Biden's re-election. In context, the term ''blood bath'' definitely referred to a predicted collapse of the U.S. auto industry if Biden gets another term, and arguably predicted some form of general chaos or disaster. But it was immediately elevated and interpreted by Biden (or his social media ghostwriter) as proof that Trump ''wants another Jan. 6.''

Then, just as the great ''blood bath'' debate began dying down, Biden's E.P.A. announced sweeping new emissions rules intended to accelerate the adoption of electric vehicles, taking their sales from around 8 percent of the U.S. market today to 56 percent in 2032.

These rules have been in the works for some time, and from the point of view of climate activists and internal Democratic Party politics, their substance represents a political compromise, wherein the biggest shift is pushed off by a few years and hybrids as well as fully-electric cars count toward the target.

From the point of view of swing-voter outreach in a presidential election year, however, the new rules seem like a pretty reckless bet. Explicitly seeking the rapid disappearance of the kinds of automobiles used by the vast majority of Americans would be politically fraught under any circumstances. It's even more fraught in an election where states like Michigan hold the key to an Electoral College victory.

And it is especially fraught at a time when higher interest rates have made automobile loans more expensive for the American consumer -- who is in effect now being told by an unpopular incumbent president: ''If you like your car, I don't want you to keep it.''

To summarize: First, Trump made an apocalyptic statement about the effects of Biden's policies on the auto industry. Then the Biden team eagerly overhyped that statement as proof of Trump's unfitness. Then the Biden administration rolled out a plan to radically transform the auto industry, which even if it worked as intended would, as a newsroom colleague reported, ''require enormous changes in manufacturing, infrastructure, technology, labor, global trade and consumer habits.''

In other words, the Biden camp elevated Trump's rant against their car-industry policies and then set up the ripest possible policy target for his next round of attacks.

This is probably just an instance of an administration's political arm and its policy shop operating without any especially savvy coordination. But it's a good case study of how a ''Jan. 6 trumps everything'' theory of 2024 could go badly wrong -- by encouraging a fatal insouciance about the material concerns of ***working-class*** Americans on the theory that any Trumpian attempt to exploit those concerns can be pre-emptively defused by casting the former president as a fascist.

The path to a Biden victory involves making the case against Trump on anti-authoritarian grounds and material grounds at the same time. Whereas imagining that the anti-authoritarian card is powerful enough to let you get away with unpopular liberal activism on other issues seems like the likeliest path to a Biden defeat.

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR2.

**Load-Date:** March 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Taxi Driver’ and a Year of Radical Revision***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BSM-TR01-DXY4-X030-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2024 Friday 16:31 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 435 words

**Byline:** Peter Catapano

**Highlight:** Remakes and remixes are not mere protest.

**Body**

When December rolls around, cultural critics looking for a catchy theme for the year might consider 2024 the Year of the Radical Revision, in which Black artists of some renown revisit, reinterpret and even rewrite iconic works by white artists.

In March the novelist Percival Everett published “[*James*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/11/books/review/percival-everett-james.html),” a retelling of Mark Twain’s “The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,” from the point of view of Jim, an enslaved runaway. A few weeks later, Beyoncé dropped “Cowboy Carter,” on which she covers and partly rewrites the lyrics to Dolly Parton’s “[*Jolene*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/11/books/review/percival-everett-james.html),” adding a touch of flex to the desperate pleas of the original.

And last week, the video artist Arthur Jafa unveiled [*his video “\*\*\*\*\*,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/11/books/review/percival-everett-james.html) a revision of the gruesome climax of the 1977 film “Taxi Driver.” In the original, written by Paul Schrader and directed by Martin Scorsese, all the victims of Travis Bickle’s vigilante murder spree are white. In “\*\*\*\*\*” (the artist calls it “Redacted”) Jafa, through various artistic means, recasts them with Black actors, making the original film’s sublimated racial tensions explicit.

The overtones of these projects are obvious. Empowered by years of unquestionable achievement in their respective art forms, Everett, Beyoncé and Jafa can now profitably and critically engage with sacred cultural cows produced by white artists. There is — especially in Jafa’s disorienting and disturbing film — an element of confrontation. But there is also something far more complex than payback or one-upmanship involved.

The tradition of artists messing with icons isn’t new: It is straight out of Dada, whose patron saint, Marcel Duchamp, once decided to draw a mustache on a postcard of the Mona Lisa. Every generation consumes and composts the crops of the previous ones, allowing fertilization and new growth.

For me, “Taxi Driver” is a work that once seemed untouchable. In ***working-class*** Staten Island, where I grew up, we saw 1970s New York in the same grim light in which “Taxi Driver” was bathed. In our communities, the film was transgressive because it depicted a reality that could be spoken of only in whispers.

When I finally saw the film, the idea that the rampage scene could be anything other than a cinematic icon set in stone never occurred to me. Watching Jafa’s intervention at the Gladstone Gallery in Chelsea this week cured me of that eerie nostalgia.

In my mind, the best thing about these remakes and remixes is that they are not mere protest. They don’t argue for discreditation, removal or canceling. They invite us not just to consider new art but also to send us back to the original works on our own terms.

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How ‘Kill’ Slices Bollywood Open; Q. and A.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CFJ-DRP1-DXY4-X088-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 10, 2024 Wednesday 00:46 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 866 words

**Byline:** Robert Daniels

**Highlight:** Five questions for the director Nikhil Nagesh Bhat about his Indian action film, which takes an ultraviolent step away from Bollywood conventions.

**Body**

Five questions for the director Nikhil Nagesh Bhat about his Indian action film, which takes an ultraviolent step away from Bollywood conventions.

The writer-director Nikhil Nagesh Bhat bristles whenever someone labels his claustrophobic action film “Kill” as Bollywood. In “Kill” (in theaters), the characters rarely break out in song and there are few colorful sets — just the mundane cars of a train on which the bulk of the movie takes place.

According to Bhat, in fact, “Kill” was inspired by a real-life train robbery he experienced in 1995. That memory is respun here into a story involving a lean commando named Amrit (Lakshya), who is working to save his girlfriend, Tulika (Tanya Maniktala), from a team of ***working-class*** bandits led by the spiteful Fani (Raghav Juyal). Amrit’s gory, swinging, kicking barrage through tight train corridors — propelled by a muscular exterior yet an emotional vulnerability — is an action extravaganza accomplished through sharp technical execution.

In a Zoom interview, Bhat spoke about crafting fight sequences in tight spaces and his love of James Cameron’s “Aliens.” Below are edited excerpts from the conversation.

How did you shape the fighting styles here?

It comes from the story itself. Amrit is highly trained in commando warfare, which is a kind of martial arts. They’re fighting these goons, who are robbers, who do not have any kind of training. They’re street fighters. And we trained like that. We purposely made sure that it looks very raw and visceral, and it looks uncoordinated because the film is very emotional. I wanted every action sequence to be preceded by some kind of emotional upheaval or turmoil. It could not be one set piece of action after the other. It’s being driven by the characters and their relationships, which are being tested throughout this journey.

Were there specific action films that influenced you?

[*“Atomic Blonde.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/27/movies/atomic-blonde-review-charlize-theron.html) I’m a huge fan of that film. But to be honest, because of its emotional shades, I don’t solely look at this as an action film. The biggest inspiration for this film was [*James Cameron’s “Aliens.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/27/movies/atomic-blonde-review-charlize-theron.html) It’s a story where this alien is trying to protect its young ones and Ripley’s trying to protect the kid. Because the story has been told from Ripley’s point of view, the alien is the antagonist. But if you see it from the alien’s point of view, it is just trying to survive. That was huge. It completely redefined my thought process, especially for this film.

Were you actively working against Bollywood conventions?

The first half of the film has almost a defensive kind of action. It’s not something that is visceral. Only in the second half does that reaction change because of [Amrit’s] mental health and his emotional state. I wanted to be away from the Bollywood kind of action because I don’t conform to that kind of style. It’s not what I would ever want to communicate or ever want to do because the moment that kind of action happens, the believability of the story goes for a toss.

How did you build these claustrophobic train sets?

When we started to build a set, the only thing I knew was that I wanted the set to be absolutely adaptive. So I wanted each and every wall to move and to be flexible. We worked on it for almost nine months. First, we created a miniature set. Then we made a set of around 10 feet with wood. Finally, we made a set with two coach cars. There were hydraulics, pulleys, and people pushing and pulling walls. The set was almost like “Transformers” — it could just collapse and come back together at the same time when my camera was moving.

The set was cramped. There was no place for lights to be put in. So, we used the service lights for the set. My director of photography [Rafey Mehmood] constructed a panel on the roof through which an overhead dolly could capture everything. Because the action is close combat and it’s such a personal story, my lensing changed [to] wide-angle lenses because I had to capture each emotion and each body movement. The set was so cramped only one department could work at any one point. That took a lot of time.

The moments of grieving here by men are rare for an action film. Could you explain what inspired that?

With the young people, we have tried to give them a lot of emotional vulnerability because I feel like in today’s generation, we as men, we are very emotionally sensitive. This is an intimate story about personal loss, whose emotions come in the form of rage and guilt and grief. Because the idea that people like Amrit, people with lots of muscles, are very hard on the outside and don’t communicate — that’s not the reality. With the antagonists, I wanted people to feel for them too. As the [bandits] start losing people, they start crying and they feel the same kind of emotion the protagonists were feeling in the first half of the film. In that way, I wanted the audience to rethink who to root for.

PHOTOS: Top, the actor Lakshya, center, with the director Nikhil Nagesh Bhat, right, on the set of “Kill,” which was inspired by a real-life train robbery. Above, Bhat, standing, with the actors Raghav Juyal, left, and Mohit Tripathi on the set. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KETAN MEHTA) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Vance Getting Used to First National Campaign, and His Own Plane***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJH-MPY1-JBG3-63M9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 24, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1010 words

**Byline:** By Michael C. Bender

**Body**

As Donald Trump's running mate, JD Vance has his own jet to fly him across the country. On Monday, he was still getting comfortable, both on the ground and in the air.

Senator JD Vance was unsure where to stand or where to put his hands.

With a fresh haircut and a closely tailored blue suit on his first day of solo campaigning as the Republican vice-presidential nominee, Mr. Vance walked to the back of his chartered airliner to chat with reporters on Monday. Briefly uncertain of how to start, he furrowed his brow and looked from side to side.

His unease was understandable -- the utilitarian design of airplane seating does not exactly facilitate group discussion -- but also revealing.

Where a more seasoned politician may have simply leaned against a seat, Mr. Vance in his initial confusion hinted at the inexperience of a 39-year-old embarking on his maiden national campaign just one year after being sworn in to his first elected office. When a flight attendant approached and urged everyone to fasten their seatbelts before landing, Mr. Vance plopped into an empty seat in the press cabin and quickly buckled up -- as if he were just another passenger, and not the only one inside the plane with his name on the outside of it, too.

The in-flight candidate is, in many ways, a useful metaphor for the moment: a gifted yet fledgling political talent -- whose calling card is his connection to the ***working class*** -- adjusting to a new life with his own chartered Boeing 737 as the newly minted member of a Republican ticket headed by a three-time presidential contender.

Mr. Vance had arrived in Milwaukee last week for the Republican National Convention not knowing if he would be picked as Mr. Trump's running mate, and he left town at the end of it on his own chartered jet.

''When President Trump asked me to be his running mate, I really had no idea what was coming,'' Mr. Vance said during his speech in Ohio. ''I thought he might ask me, but I thought he might ask somebody else -- there were a lot of good guys running.''

As a first-time candidate in 2016, Mr. Trump and his campaign did not reserve a plane for the vice-presidential nominee, Mike Pence. Instead, that task of lining up air travel fell to the team surrounding the then-governor of Indiana. Mr. Trump was irate when he found out the Pence team had rented a plane, telling one aide that he preferred to use his own private jets.

Eight years later, Mr. Trump's third campaign is a bit more professional. His 2024 operation started raising money online weeks ago for the running mate's plane, which they refer to as Trump Force Two. In 2016, reporters referred to the Republican fleet as Hair Force One and Hair Force Two.

The red and blue Trump-Vance logo is stripped across the front of the plane, straddling the first dozen windows behind the cockpit. The tail is wrapped with names of dozens of contributors who helped underwrite the cost of the charter: Edward M. from Georgia, Victoria W. from Alabama, Barbara M. from Michigan.

Inside the jet, Trump campaign material is inescapable. If you were curious what the price of gasoline was during Mr. Trump's last year in office, or how much the G.D.P. grew during that time, you can find the answers plastered on the walls above the windows along the 17 rows of the plane. Each overhead bin is wrapped with broad policy goals, in Trump-trademark all-caps: ''Free, honest and lawful elections'' and ''Secure borders and reclaim national sovereignty.''

To be sure, the Trump campaign widely viewed Mr. Vance's first day on the trail as a success.

''President Trump is thrilled with the choice he made with Senator Vance, and they are the perfect team to take back the White House,'' said Steve Cheung, a Trump campaign spokesman.

Mr. Vance drew large crowds in Middletown, Ohio, and in Radford, Va., where he made his case for supporting the Trump campaign by leveraging folksy tales about his hardscrabble upbringing. And he easily sparred with reporters on his plane, showing off his quick wit and combative instinct when asked about criticism from Gov. Andy Beshear, a Kentucky Democrat, that Mr. Vance has overstated his blue-collar roots.

''It's very weird,'' Mr. Vance shot back, ''to have a guy whose first job was at his dad's law firm and who inherited the governorship from his father criticize my origin story.''

But there were plenty of signs of Mr. Vance's inexperience, too.

He spoke mostly without a teleprompter at the two rallies, but some of his lines did not quite land. He made a strained joke about how Democrats may attack him as racist because he enjoyed Diet Mountain Dew.

In Ohio, he either ignored or was unaware of one headline-generating moment at his rally. State Senator George Lang, speaking shortly before Mr. Vance took the stage, told the crowd, ''It's going to take a civil war to save the country'' if Republicans fail to win the White House in November. Mr. Lang issued a statement after the rally saying he regretted the ''divisive remarks.''

On his plane, Mr. Vance explained to reporters that his anti-abortion positions would take a back seat to Mr. Trump as the party's presidential nominee. But on the campaign trail, he said it was fair game to make Ms. Harris answer for all of the Biden administration's policies.

''There is simply no way that you can sit here and say the policies of Joe Biden have worked, which is to say that we've got to kick Kamala Harris out of the Oval Office,'' Mr. Vance said in Radford. ''Don't give her a chance to run away from the Biden record -- the Biden record is the Kamala Harris record.''

At the end of the day, as the sun set over the Appalachian Mountains and Mr. Vance climbed up the stairs for his return flight home to Ohio, he paused when a reporter on the runway shouted a question asking how he had enjoyed his first day on the trail.

''It was fun,'' Mr. Vance shouted back.

Reporters, mostly stunned that he had stopped to answer, didn't immediately offer a follow-up question. So Mr. Vance ducked back into his plane.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/23/us/politics/vance-trump-campaign.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/23/us/politics/vance-trump-campaign.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Senator JD Vance, the G.O.P. vice presidential nominee, in Middletown, Ohio, on Monday. He has said it is fair game to tie Vice President Kamala Harris to the Biden administration's policies. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** July 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Delicate Dance In Using Biden For Campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVM-FGY1-JBG3-601D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 31, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1462 words

**Byline:** By Michael D. Shear

**Body**

The president will mostly be deployed to the vital swing states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin as the vice president seeks to define a separate political identity.

As she abruptly went from No. 2 on the Democratic ticket to No. 1, Vice President Kamala Harris had a decision to make: How should she deploy President Biden on the campaign trail?

Given that Democrats had pushed Mr. Biden out because of concerns about his age, mental fitness and ability to defeat former President Donald J. Trump, would she be best off distancing herself from the 81-year-old president she had served for nearly four years and focus instead on establishing her own political identity? Or should she continue to embrace Mr. Biden and the more popular of his policies?

And on the most practical level: Where should Mr. Biden go to campaign for her? How often? And what should he say?

Her answers are now starting to emerge. Ms. Harris and the people running her campaign plan to use the president -- but carefully, and in a targeted way. The president and vice president will campaign together some, but not too much. And Mr. Biden will travel mostly to the important swing states of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan, where he still appeals to white, ***working-class*** voters and union members.

''He gets an enormous amount of credibility in those blue wall states because he's 'Workin' Joe Biden,''' said Cedric Richmond, a former administration official who is now advising Ms. Harris's campaign. ''People are underestimating the Democratic Party's love for Joe Biden. It just highlights how many different messages he can give and the different places he can go.''

That strategy will be on display almost immediately. On Monday, the president will join Ms. Harris at a union-focused Labor Day campaign event in Pittsburgh. On Thursday, Mr. Biden will be on his own in Wisconsin to tout his administration's investment in communities there. On Friday, he will travel to Michigan with the same message.

Campaign advisers to Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden's aides in the White House -- who are carefully coordinating their decision-making -- have decided there is no real advantage for the vice president in making a clear, public break with the president or his policies. Ben LaBolt, the communications director at the White House, said Mr. Biden would be ''leaning in heavily'' on the effort to get Ms. Harris elected.

''The schedule will be robust and he plans to leave it all on the field,'' Mr. LaBolt said.

In an interview on CNN on Thursday night, Ms. Harris showed every indication that she intends to embrace her boss.

''History is going to show,'' she said, ''not only has Joe Biden led an administration that has achieved those extraordinary successes, but the character of the man is one that he has been in his life and career, including as a president, quite selfless and puts the American people first.''

But there are some risks to the approach. Democratic voters turned away from Mr. Biden for a reason.

Large majorities said in polls that he was too old to be president for another four years, and there was an explosion of energy among rank-and-file members of the party once Mr. Biden was pushed off center stage.

Polls consistently show that many voters are not eager for a reminder of the past, whether it is a return to Mr. Trump's presidency or Mr. Biden's. The president's approval rating in Michigan is just 38 percent, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll in early August, and just 42 percent across Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin combined.

As a result, people close to Mr. Biden say he and Ms. Harris are unlikely to campaign together much in the weeks ahead. Campaign officials say they will ''divide and conquer'' by traveling separately to spread the campaign message.

Veterans of presidential campaigns in both parties said the trickiest part about deploying Mr. Biden on the campaign trail is making sure that his message -- and the way he delivers it -- does not undercut Ms. Harris's all-important task of convincing voters that she represents a new and different future.

''The last month has shown you that the appetite for turning the page from Biden, while still genuflecting toward and appreciating what he did to win in 2020, is so hot,'' said Kevin Madden, who was a top strategist for Senator Mitt Romney, Republican of Utah, during his 2012 presidential campaign against President Barack Obama.

''Every election is a contest for the future,'' he added. ''So they really do have to be focused on making a case for what Harris would do the next four years as president.''

Strategists for the vice president are aware that she also needs to quickly establish her own political identity, separate from her role as Mr. Biden's understudy. In a more traditional race, that process would have been going on for a year or more. But Mr. Biden backed out just six weeks ago, and Ms. Harris has only 67 days left before Election Day.

In 2000, Vice President Al Gore also grappled with how to run in the shadow of a president he had served under.

In that race, George W. Bush argued he would bring dignity and honor back to the White House after President Bill Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky, an intern at the White House.

Once he became the Democratic Party's nominee, Mr. Gore made it clear he did not welcome Mr. Clinton's full participation in the campaign, believing that it would only remind voters of the salacious episode. Mr. Gore distanced himself from Mr. Clinton on the day he announced his campaign, and went weeks at a time without talking to the president or appearing next to him.

''For better or worse, the sitting president was a major target of the Bush campaign,'' recalled Michael Feldman, a top communications strategist and one of Mr. Gore's chief advisers during the 2000 race. ''That presented real challenges for the vice president and his campaign in terms of how best to deploy him. That drama just doesn't exist in this cycle.''

Mr. Feldman said Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden are in a very different situation. The vice president is ''not running from her record,'' he said, ''and she's not running from Biden. I expect that he'll be deployed throughout the campaign. He's going to go out and they will be thrilled.''

The goal, several advisers said, is to have Mr. Biden talk mostly about his record of accomplishments while in office: lower prices for some prescription drugs; investments in infrastructure and computer chips; an increase of 15 million jobs, including in the construction industry; and an economic recovery from the Covid pandemic.

They also said Mr. Biden can be helpful by continuing to do his day job, which they believe serves as a daily contrast to the kind of nastiness and chaos that permeated the White House when Mr. Trump was president.

''Biden can describe the mess and he can describe the cleanup in a way that no one can match,'' said Pete Brodnitz, a veteran Democratic pollster who is not working for Ms. Harris. ''I think that is really useful.''

Mr. Biden's conduct of foreign policy remains a tricky area, several strategists said. Ms. Harris will be forced to answer for Mr. Biden's record, especially when it comes to the conflict between Israel and Hamas, in ways that could upset some of her potential voters.

In the CNN interview, the vice president echoed Mr. Biden by saying she was ''unequivocal and unwavering'' in support of defending Israel, while also saying that ''far too many innocent Palestinians have been killed.''

As the campaign heads into the homestretch, Mr. Biden might get at least a partial break from one duty that few presidents enjoy.

In the weeks since he dropped out of the race, Mr. Biden has done no fund-raisers, something that usually would be a key role for a sitting president with a large and well-developed network of donors. But members of that network have already opened their pockets for Ms. Harris, whose campaign says it has raised more than a half-billion dollars since she got in the race.

White House officials said the president had received requests from congressional candidates to help with fund-raising and is likely to meet with donors for that purpose in the coming weeks. And he may still help Ms. Harris raise money if she needs it.

On Thursday night, CNN's Dana Bash gave Ms. Harris an opportunity to break with Mr. Biden, asking whether the vice president regretted saying that the president was ''extraordinarily strong'' right after the debate performance in June that ended his candidacy.

She declined.

''No, not at all. Not at all,'' she said. ''I have served with President Biden for almost four years now. And I'll tell you, it's one of the greatest honors of my career, truly.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/30/us/politics/harris-biden-campaign-strategy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/30/us/politics/harris-biden-campaign-strategy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: During his run for the presidency in 2000, Vice President Al Gore attempted to distance himself from President Bill Clinton after his affair with the intern Monica Lewinsky. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A12) This article appeared in print on page A1, A12.

**Load-Date:** August 31, 2024

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[***A Powerful Voice, Onstage and in the Public Square***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CCM-9FG1-JBG3-60R1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 1, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 832 words

**Byline:** By Oussama Zahr

**Body**

Davóne Tines plays Paul Robeson in a solo show on Little Island that weaves together the words and music of this American hero to tell his story.

''God gave me the voice that people want to hear,'' Paul Robeson, the great African American singer, actor and activist, told the Black newspaper ''The New York Age'' in a 1949 interview.

Aware of his powers and obliged by his influence, Robeson inserted himself into an incredibly fraught moment in American history. His powerful advocacy for the rights of Black and ***working-class*** Americans made him a hero, but his political leanings put him at odds with the prevailing anti-Communist forces in Congress, which eventually impeded his career. Robeson's fame was global, however, and he had plenty of opportunities abroad -- until his U.S. passport was revoked because he would not disavow membership in the Communist Party in writing. He landed before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1956, and although he was unafraid of being a lightning rod, he was wearied by it, too.

Today, the legacy of Robeson's divine bass-baritone voice and its oratorial capaciousness has outlasted the political tarring and feathering. There is no contemporary analogue for Robeson, an artist in a classical medium who became a household name and leveraged his fame to drive a public conversation around peace and justice. (Yo-Yo Ma, the beloved cellist who created the multicultural Silk Road Project, arguably comes closest, but without the controversy.)

Davóne Tines, a bass-baritone himself, pays tribute to that legacy in ''Robeson,'' a new one-man show at the Amph on Little Island that weaves together snippets of Robeson's words with songs associated with him. On Friday night, the straightforward appeal of a popular-song recital collided with oblique, fractured references to Robeson's life, cracking open a fictionalized glimpse into the emotional turmoil of a man who was seen as an impenetrable ''titan,'' as Tines put it. It was a vigorously played, at times frustrating show, carried aloft by Tines's fiery assurance.

Initially, the show's structure seemed transparent enough. Tines's renditions of songs like the labor anthem ''Joe Hill,'' which he delivered with confident smoothness, were interspersed with Robeson's words from newspaper editorials, television interviews and onstage remarks. Dressed in a Carnegie Hall-ready tuxedo, Tines began with an admirable, if a bit woolly, vocal impersonation of the era-defining singer, emphasizing a deep well of sound.

But for an artist like Tines, with a collaborator like the director Zack Winokur, with whom he conceived the piece, straightforwardness is a feint. The two artists, abetted by the designers Adam Charlap Hyman (sets) and Mary Ellen Stebbins (lighting) and the versatile instrumentalists John Bitoy and Khari Lucas, exploded their gentle re-enactment to explore the inner struggle of a man known for equanimity. A deftly executed staging of Robeson's reported suicide attempt in a Moscow hotel room, set to a disturbing a cappella version of ''Some Enchanted Evening,'' plunged the audience and performers into the show's paroxysmal heart.

Belittling voices plagued Tines's Robeson: The congressional panel at his HUAC hearing (''Did you make a little speech?'') and Jackie Robinson's restrained yet cutting criticism (''If he wants to sound silly,'' said the Hall of Famer, ''that is his business and not mine''). A multipartite version of the spiritual ''Scandalize My Name'' provided the tour-de-force reply, passing through disco and wah-wah funk and culminating in a thrilling breakdown with new lines added by Tines (''Cuz you gon' mess up and you gon' find out''). As he did in ''The Black Clown,'' Tines used genre as a dramaturgical tool, stitching Robeson into a Black musical lineage, in which art can be a medium to express oneself joyfully and irrevocably under duress.

When he dropped the Robeson impersonation and began using the lighter colors and textures of his natural singing voice, Tines was free to swing and soar. A daring falsetto pierced a Bach chorale, and the finale, which found Tines climbing a scale with increasing intensity in ''This Little Light of Mine,'' brought the audience to its feet.

Clocking in around an hour, the show nevertheless presented challenges for Tines's emotionally invested and tightly controlled style. He was more comfortable in clap-and-snap gospel than intricate, R&B-style runs. The lowest notes were ever so slightly out of reach, and the emphasis on timbral breadth sometimes turned his singing gummy (''There Is a Balm in Gilead''), exaggerated or approximate.

As a coda, Tines sang ''Old Man River,'' a Robeson signature of problematic provenance. ''That's the old man that I don't want to be,'' he intoned with a tweak to the lyric, stripping the song of its hypnotic lilt in a driving interpretation that traded tokenization for reclamation.RobesonPerformed Friday on Little Island in Manhattan.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/30/arts/music/review-robeson-little-island.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/30/arts/music/review-robeson-little-island.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Davóne Tines in ''Robeson,'' an hourlong one-man show. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JULIETA CERVANTES) This article appeared in print on page C2.

**Load-Date:** July 1, 2024

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[***Kamala Harris Had a Great Health Care Idea in 2019. She Should Embrace It.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CR1-D181-DXY4-X2VM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1389 words

**Byline:** Jacob S. Hacker

**Highlight:** A public option is both smart policy and smart politics.

**Body**

From the moment Kamala Harris became the presumptive Democratic nominee, Republicans have sought to paint her as a far-left California liberal. After all, they argue, she supported getting rid of private health insurance in her 2019 presidential campaign.

But Ms. Harris didn’t seek to eliminate private insurance in 2019. The core of her previous campaign’s [*health plan*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) was an intelligently designed and politically astute public option — a more robust version of the Democratic approach embraced that year by Joe Biden (but one he never pursued after he took office). Essentially, she wanted to encourage Americans to buy into a revamped Medicare program that would give people the choice of public or private coverage.

As the so-called [*father of the public option*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421), I feel confident in saying that Ms. Harris’s 2019 plan for a public option was — and remains — the strongest ever put forth by a presidential candidate. She shouldn’t run away from it. She should embrace it as a central part of her 2024 campaign both because it is smart policy and because it is smart politics.

Health care is “unbelievably complex,” as President Donald Trump [*remarked*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) in 2017, as his party’s drive to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act headed for defeat. Americans hate a lot about the current semi-system — its high prices, its insecure coverage, its rapacious financial practices (and until 2017, they seemed fairly ambivalent about the A.C.A., too).

The G.O.P.’s repeal rout made clear that a majority of Americans don’t want to go back to a time before the Affordable Care Act. It also reinvigorated the Democratic Party. No issue has unified the party or dominated its messaging like health care. It’s where abortion, child and maternal health, the rural health crisis, paid medical and family leave, the health risks of climate change, the continuing threat of Covid and the economic security of working families all come together.

Still, the party does not quite agree on what the big health care policy goal should be. Progressives advocate a universal Medicare program financed by higher taxes, which is to say Medicare for all. Moderates call for upgrading the A.C.A. by adding a public option (which was stripped from the original legislation before its passage in 2010).

The [*basic idea*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) of the public option is that Americans without secure private insurance should have the ability, no matter their age, to enroll in Medicare (or a public plan like it). Workers without coverage at work could be enrolled, and employers burdened by high premiums would be given the ability to buy affordable coverage for their workers through the public option.

This broad approach could cover everyone, expand the ability of the government to bargain for better prices and put competitive pressure on private insurers to improve their performance. It would also have a real chance of overcoming the inevitable political opposition to such big policy changes. It would preserve a place for key vested interests, especially private insurers, and expand a system familiar to doctors, hospitals and patients.

And it wouldn’t propose to eliminate good private coverage — one reason it’s proved [*so popular*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) in national polls.

In 2019, Ms. Harris tried to appease both progressives and moderates and ended up pleasing neither. On the one hand, she offered a much better version of the public option. On the other, she framed the public option as part of a 10-year transition that would end in Medicare for all.

That last element was unfortunate, weighing down her excellent public option with an unrealistic aspiration. It was also unnecessary, because her public option was designed to expand over time, without creating the public fears and interest-group backlash that Medicare for all surely would. Her plan included a specific path for enrolling more Americans — first, automatically, the uninsured and newborns (expanding Medicare one birth at a time) and then those covered by existing programs.

The plan was politically astute, too. Expanding Medicare would not just help the uninsured and underinsured while increasing Medicare’s ability to restrain health care prices; it would also create a popular focal point for expanding coverage that would be hard to roll back. Yet it would do so without threatening to completely upend existing arrangements.

Like Medicare, Ms. Harris’s public option would also have given beneficiaries the choice of a private plan. No one would have been required to take public insurance.

But the proposal would have simultaneously leveled the tilted playing field that has encouraged more than half of older and disabled Americans to enroll in private plans, [*essentially privatizing*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) a cherished public program. It would have broadened the benefits of the public Medicare program so they were comparable with those of private plans, and it would have tightened Medicare rules so that private insurers would have had to compete on price and quality, not their ability to game the system or put barriers between enrollees and care.

Ms. Harris’s plan was coupled with other distinctive and valuable flourishes, including a comprehensive maternal and child health program focused on people of color and much-needed measures to improve rural health care.

The case for a public option based on Medicare is even stronger today than it was in 2019. Health care has become the top uniting issue for Democrats. Yet Democrats’ drive on the issue has been in the slow lane. Mr. Biden didn’t try to put his public option in place. The hugely valuable expansions of Medicaid during the pandemic — which kept more than [*nine in 10 Americans insured*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) through an economic and health crisis — are being allowed to unwind.

No one is talking about the remarkable fact that Medicare spending per enrollee has essentially been [*flat*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) for a decade, saving the federal government roughly $4 trillion relative to forecasts. While many Democrats are talking about Medicare’s new ability to bargain for better drug prices, they’re not raising a fuss about the golden implication — everyone should have access to low-cost prescriptions made possible by a popular public program.

Health policy is also where Mr. Trump’s Republican Party is most vulnerable. If Ms. Harris championed something like her 2019 public option, Republicans would struggle to respond. Mr. Trump and his running mate, JD Vance, say they’re friends of Medicare and Medicaid. They say they want multiracial ***working-class*** support. In [*referendums*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) and polls, broad cross-sections of voters (even many Republicans) have shown that they want states to expand public coverage and that they distrust private insurance companies.

And no one forgets what Republicans [*tried to do*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) when they had full control of government: take away protections for those with existing conditions, roll back tax subsidies for health insurance that help older and rural voters the most and slash Medicaid.

There’s never been a better moment for a smartly designed public option like Ms. Harris’s plan or a candidate who could talk about it as persuasively and personally as the Democratic nominee. No one has proved better at calling out the draconian limits that Republicans have placed on what doctors and nurses can do to safeguard women’s health.

Ms. Harris speaks movingly about caring for her mother as she battled colon cancer. Her mother was a noted cancer researcher “committed to two things: raising her two daughters and ending breast cancer,” Ms. Harris has [*said*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421), and her undeniable gratitude that Medicare was there for her mom underlies her belief that secure coverage like it should be there for everyone.

An election in which Democrats focus on health care in all its dimensions and advocate a robust public option is an election that Republicans up and down the ballot will lose.

Jacob S. Hacker is a political science professor at Yale and an author, with Paul Pierson, of “[*Let Them Eat Tweets*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421)​: How the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme Inequality.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://kamalaharris.medium.com/my-plan-for-medicare-for-all-7730370dd421).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pete Gamlen FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Clinton Cautions Delegates Against Ample Confidence***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSX-S7K1-JBG3-6052-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 23, 2024 Friday

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**Length:** 1391 words

**Byline:** By Peter Baker

**Body**

The former president cautioned exuberant delegates at the Democratic National Convention not to be complacent in 2024 because politics is ''a brutal, tough business.''

Follow the latest news on the Democratic National Convention.

For Bill Clinton, there may have been a little déjà vu on the convention stage on Wednesday night. Democrats had just anointed a nominee to become the first woman ever elected president. They faced a Republican opponent they considered a buffoon. And they felt optimistic about victory.

But eight years after his front-running wife, Hillary Clinton, was upset by Donald J. Trump, Mr. Clinton warned Democrats not to make the same mistake as Vice President Kamala Harris takes on the same opponent. Joy is great, but it does not necessarily win elections. Polls are fickle. Energy is no guarantee of victory. Complacency could lead to catastrophe.

''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,'' Mr. Clinton told the thousands of delegates at the United Center in Chicago. ''This is a brutal, tough business. I want you to be happy. One of the reasons that President-to-Be Harris is doing so well is that we're all so happy.

''But you should never underestimate your adversary,'' he continued, departing from the prepared text distributed in advance, ''and these people are really good at distracting us, at triggering doubt, at triggering buyer's remorse. As the Obamas said so eloquently last night, they are human, you know, they're bound to make a mistake now and then,'' he added, referring to Ms. Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota. ''We've got to be tough.''

Mr. Clinton did not explicitly mention his wife or 2016 or the various factors that cost them that election, but he did not need to. The delegates got it. As impressive as Ms. Harris's debut on the campaign trail has been and as jubilant as the Democrats gathered in Chicago have felt, the 2024 election is still a margin-of-error affair.

Indeed, while Ms. Harris has surged in polls beyond where President Biden was before he dropped out, she is still not doing as well against Mr. Trump as Mrs. Clinton was after her own nomination, at least not yet.

At a convention bursting with new-generation vibes, it fell to Mr. Clinton to be the voice of old-generation experience. No one taking the stage this week has had more prime time at the convention microphone, though his raspy voice was no longer at its peak.

His speech on Wednesday was his 12th before a Democratic convention, a record of rhetoric that reflects the larger story of Mr. Clinton's political life. It has been a tale of boom and bust and boom again that has made him one of the most enduring figures of the modern era. In those dozen speeches, he has gone from young rising star to tiresome bloviator to dynamic presidential nominee to popular incumbent to scandal-tarred lame duck to candidate's husband to wise elder statesman.

So perhaps it was not surprising that he still takes the whole convention exercise pretty seriously. In fact, according to a person familiar with the process, Mr. Clinton scrapped his draft speech for this week's convention on Monday night after watching the proceedings of the first day and started over again.

The person, who was granted anonymity to discuss behind-the-scenes preparations, said Mr. Clinton concluded that, in the spirit of Mario Cuomo, the New York governor who gave the keynote address at the 1984 convention, he needed more poetry, not prose. The former president was also struck by the palpable energy of the convention hall and felt compelled to take it into account.

Even then, he was not satisfied to stick with the text turned into convention officials three hours before airtime and fed into the teleprompter. Allotted 12 minutes, according to a schedule that made its way to the media, Mr. Clinton unsurprisingly spoke for 27 minutes, extemporizing and embroidering as he went along. Unlike Ms. Harris, he said, Mr. Trump was only about ''me, myself and I.''

''What does her opponent do with his voice?'' Mr. Clinton asked. ''He mostly talks about himself, right? So the next time you hear him, don't count the lies, count the I's. Count the I's. His vendettas, his vengeance, his complaints, his conspiracies -- he's like one of those tenors opening up before he walks out onstage, like I did, trying to get his lungs open by singing, 'me, me, me, me, me, me.' When Kamala Harris is president, every day will begin with you, you, you, you.''

Mr. Clinton summoned some of the familiar oldies, calling himself ''the man from Hope,'' referring to the small town in Arkansas where he was born, and joking about his once-famous predilection for fast food.

Noting that Ms. Harris worked at McDonald's as a young woman, he said, ''I'll be so happy when she actually enters the White House as president because she will break my record as the president who spent the most time at McDonald's.''

Mr. Clinton, who turned 78 on Monday, noted with some satisfaction that he is ''still younger than Donald Trump'' (who turned 78 two months ago), but to some extent he is a product of another era. His brand of moderate politics reshaped the Democratic Party in the 1990s from a perennial loser to the party that would go on to win the national popular vote in seven of the last eight presidential elections.

But welfare-reforming, free-trading, budget-balancing centrism is not in vogue in today's Democratic Party, where progressive politics are more resonant. Moreover, Mr. Clinton's history of sexual indiscretions -- and allegations of even worse, although denied -- looks different in light of the #MeToo movement of recent years. In that sense, his presence may appear somewhat discordant at a convention devoted to electing the first woman president.

Still, it is also a convention about generational torch-passing, and Democrats hoped that Mr. Clinton's speech would help validate Ms. Harris, 59, particularly with ***working-class*** white swing voters in Midwestern and Sun Belt states who remember the 42nd president fondly and are not yet sure whether to make her the 47th.

Mr. Clinton and Mrs. Clinton, who addressed the convention on Monday, were not among the Democrats who pressured Mr. Biden to withdraw as a candidate after the president's disastrous June debate with Mr. Trump. In fact, in the tumultuous days that followed, the Clintons urged angry party donors to keep giving, a move that earned Mr. Biden's gratitude. But the Clintons were also quick to endorse Ms. Harris the moment Mr. Biden stepped aside.

Mr. Clinton has attended every Democratic convention since 1972 and briefly spoke in 1976 when he was asked to say a few words of praise for former President Harry S. Truman. He gave his first real speech in 1980 just days before his 34th birthday, when he was governor of Arkansas. But his long-winded address in 1988 dragged on for so long that convention officials flashed the words ''Please. Your time is up.'' on the teleprompter screen and his best applause line turned out to be ''in closing.''

Mr. Clinton went on to win the party's nomination and the presidency in 1992. He addressed conventions again in 1996, when he vowed to use a second term to ''build a bridge to the 21st century,'' and in 2000, when he sought to repair his reputation after his sex-and-lies impeachment stemming from an affair with a White House intern. By 2012, he had achieved a more senior role in the party, and his articulate speech prompted President Barack Obama to dub him the ''secretary of explaining stuff.''

''I have no idea how many more of these I'll be able to come to,'' Mr. Clinton said somberly as he wrapped up on Wednesday night. He noted that he had been coming since 1976, then corrected himself to say 1972. ''Lord, I'm getting old,'' he said, chagrined.

But Mr. Clinton delivered the message he was sent out to deliver: ''Take it from a man who once had the honor to be called in this convention the man from Hope: We need Kamala Harris, the president of joy, to lead us.''

And then he headed offstage to the tune of his old campaign anthem, Fleetwood Mac's ''Don't Stop (Thinking About Tomorrow),'' while many in the hall thought about his many yesterdays.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/21/us/politics/bill-clinton-dnc-speech.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/21/us/politics/bill-clinton-dnc-speech.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Bill Clinton delivered his 12th Democratic convention speech. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

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[***Review: ‘Robeson’ Illuminates a Titanic Artist and Activist***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CCG-1GP1-JBG3-6023-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 847 words

**Byline:** Oussama Zahr

**Highlight:** Davóne Tines plays Paul Robeson in a solo show on Little Island that weaves together the words and music of this American hero to tell his story.

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Davóne Tines, a bass-baritone himself, pays tribute to that legacy in “[*Robeson,*](https://www.littleislandtickets.com/events/robeson)” a new one-man show at the Amph on Little Island that weaves together snippets of Robeson’s words with songs associated with him. On Friday night, the straightforward appeal of a popular-song recital collided with oblique, fractured references to Robeson’s life, cracking open a fictionalized glimpse into the emotional turmoil of a man who was seen as an impenetrable “titan,” as Tines put it. It was a vigorously played, at times frustrating show, carried aloft by Tines’s fiery assurance.

Initially, the show’s structure seemed transparent enough. Tines’s renditions of songs like the labor anthem “Joe Hill,” which he delivered with confident smoothness, were interspersed with Robeson’s words from newspaper editorials, television interviews and onstage remarks. Dressed in a Carnegie Hall-ready tuxedo, Tines began with an admirable, if a bit woolly, vocal impersonation of the era-defining singer, emphasizing a deep well of sound.

But for an artist like Tines, with a collaborator like the director Zack Winokur, with whom he conceived the piece, straightforwardness is a feint. The two artists, abetted by the designers Adam Charlap Hyman (sets) and Mary Ellen Stebbins (lighting) and the versatile instrumentalists John Bitoy and Khari Lucas, exploded their gentle re-enactment to explore the inner struggle of a man known for equanimity. A deftly executed staging of Robeson’s reported suicide attempt in a Moscow hotel room, set to a disturbing a cappella version of “Some Enchanted Evening,” plunged the audience and performers into the show’s paroxysmal heart.

Belittling voices plagued Tines’s Robeson: The congressional panel at his HUAC hearing (“Did you make a little speech?”) and Jackie Robinson’s restrained yet cutting criticism (“If he wants to sound silly,” said the Hall of Famer, “that is his business and not mine”). A multipartite version of the spiritual “Scandalize My Name” provided the tour-de-force reply, passing through disco and wah-wah funk and culminating in a thrilling breakdown with new lines added by Tines (“Cuz you gon’ mess up and you gon’ find out”). As he did in “The Black Clown,” Tines used genre as a dramaturgical tool, stitching Robeson into a Black musical lineage, in which art can be a medium to express oneself joyfully and irrevocably under duress.

When he dropped the Robeson impersonation and began using the lighter colors and textures of his natural singing voice, Tines was free to swing and soar. A daring falsetto pierced a Bach chorale, and the finale, which found Tines climbing a scale with increasing intensity in “This Little Light of Mine,” brought the audience to its feet.

Clocking in around an hour, the show nevertheless presented challenges for Tines’s emotionally invested and tightly controlled style. He was more comfortable in clap-and-snap gospel than intricate, R&amp;B-style runs. The lowest notes were ever so slightly out of reach, and the emphasis on timbral breadth sometimes turned his singing gummy (“There Is a Balm in Gilead”), exaggerated or approximate.

As a coda, Tines sang “Old Man River,” a Robeson signature of problematic provenance. “That’s the old man that I don’t want to be,” he intoned with a tweak to the lyric, stripping the song of its hypnotic lilt in a driving interpretation that traded tokenization for reclamation.

Robeson Performed Friday on Little Island in Manhattan.

PHOTO: Davóne Tines in “Robeson,” an hourlong one-man show. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JULIETA CERVANTES) This article appeared in print on page C2.

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris Makes Careful Use of Biden on the Campaign Trail***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVG-N531-JBG3-600P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1490 words

**Byline:** Michael D. Shear Michael D. Shear is a White House correspondent for The Times, covering President Biden and his administration. He has reported on politics for more than 30 years.

**Highlight:** The president will mostly be deployed to the vital swing states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin as the vice president seeks to define a separate political identity.

**Body**

The president will mostly be deployed to the vital swing states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin as the vice president seeks to define a separate political identity.

As she abruptly went from No. 2 on the Democratic ticket to No. 1, Vice President Kamala Harris had a decision to make: How should she deploy President Biden on the campaign trail?

Given that Democrats had pushed Mr. Biden out because of concerns about his age, mental fitness and ability to defeat former President Donald J. Trump, would she be best off distancing herself from the 81-year-old president she had served for nearly four years and focus instead on establishing her own political identity? Or should she continue to embrace Mr. Biden and the more popular of his policies?

And on the most practical level: Where should Mr. Biden go to campaign for her? How often? And what should he say?

Her answers are now starting to emerge. Ms. Harris and the people running her campaign plan to use the president — but carefully, and in a targeted way. The president and vice president will campaign together some, but not too much. And Mr. Biden will travel mostly to the important swing states of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan, where he still appeals to white, ***working-class*** voters and union members.

“He gets an enormous amount of credibility in those blue wall states because he’s ‘Workin’ Joe Biden,’” said Cedric Richmond, a former administration official who is now advising Ms. Harris’s campaign. “People are underestimating the Democratic Party’s love for Joe Biden. It just highlights how many different messages he can give and the different places he can go.”

That strategy will be on display almost immediately. On Monday, the president will join Ms. Harris at a union-focused Labor Day campaign event in Pittsburgh. On Thursday, Mr. Biden will be on his own in Wisconsin to tout his administration’s investment in communities there. On Friday, he will travel to Michigan with the same message.

Campaign advisers to Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden’s aides in the White House — who are carefully coordinating their decision-making — have decided there is no real advantage for the vice president in making a clear, public break with the president or his policies. Ben LaBolt, the communications director at the White House, said Mr. Biden would be “leaning in heavily” on the effort to get Ms. Harris elected.

“The schedule will be robust and he plans to leave it all on the field,” Mr. LaBolt said.

In an interview on CNN on Thursday night, Ms. Harris showed every indication that she intends to embrace her boss.

“History is going to show,” she said, “not only has Joe Biden led an administration that has achieved those extraordinary successes, but the character of the man is one that he has been in his life and career, including as a president, quite selfless and puts the American people first.”

But there are some risks to the approach. Democratic voters turned away from Mr. Biden for a reason.

Large majorities said in polls that he was too old to be president for another four years, and there was an explosion of energy among rank-and-file members of the party once Mr. Biden was pushed off center stage.

Polls consistently show that many voters are not eager for a reminder of the past, whether it is a return to Mr. Trump’s presidency or Mr. Biden’s. The president’s approval rating in Michigan is just 38 percent, according to a [*New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/08/10/us/elections/times-siena-poll-registered-voter-crosstabs.html) in early August, and just 42 percent across Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin combined.

As a result, people close to Mr. Biden say he and Ms. Harris are unlikely to campaign together much in the weeks ahead. Campaign officials say they will “divide and conquer” by traveling separately to spread the campaign message.

Veterans of presidential campaigns in both parties said the trickiest part about deploying Mr. Biden on the campaign trail is making sure that his message — and the way he delivers it — does not undercut Ms. Harris’s all-important task of convincing voters that she represents a new and different future.

“The last month has shown you that the appetite for turning the page from Biden, while still genuflecting toward and appreciating what he did to win in 2020, is so hot,” said Kevin Madden, who was a top strategist for Senator Mitt Romney, Republican of Utah, during his 2012 presidential campaign against President Barack Obama.

“Every election is a contest for the future,” he added. “So they really do have to be focused on making a case for what Harris would do the next four years as president.”

Strategists for the vice president are aware that she also needs to quickly establish her own political identity, separate from her role as Mr. Biden’s understudy. In a more traditional race, that process would have been going on for a year or more. But Mr. Biden backed out just six weeks ago, and Ms. Harris has only 67 days left before Election Day.

In 2000, Vice President Al Gore also grappled with how to run in the shadow of a president he had served under.

In that race, George W. Bush argued he would bring dignity and honor back to the White House after President Bill Clinton’s affair with Monica Lewinsky, an intern at the White House.

Once he became the Democratic Party’s nominee, Mr. Gore made it clear he did not welcome Mr. Clinton’s full participation in the campaign, believing that it would only remind voters of the salacious episode. Mr. Gore distanced himself from Mr. Clinton on the day he announced his campaign, and went weeks at a time without talking to the president or appearing next to him.

“For better or worse, the sitting president was a major target of the Bush campaign,” recalled Michael Feldman, a top communications strategist and one of Mr. Gore’s chief advisers during the 2000 race. “That presented real challenges for the vice president and his campaign in terms of how best to deploy him. That drama just doesn’t exist in this cycle.”

Mr. Feldman said Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden are in a very different situation. The vice president is “not running from her record,” he said, “and she’s not running from Biden. I expect that he’ll be deployed throughout the campaign. He’s going to go out and they will be thrilled.”

The goal, several advisers said, is to have Mr. Biden talk mostly about his record of accomplishments while in office: lower prices for some prescription drugs; investments in infrastructure and computer chips; an increase of 15 million jobs, including in the construction industry; and an economic recovery from the Covid pandemic.

They also said Mr. Biden can be helpful by continuing to do his day job, which they believe serves as a daily contrast to the kind of nastiness and chaos that permeated the White House when Mr. Trump was president.

“Biden can describe the mess and he can describe the cleanup in a way that no one can match,” said Pete Brodnitz, a veteran Democratic pollster who is not working for Ms. Harris. “I think that is really useful.”

Mr. Biden’s conduct of foreign policy remains a tricky area, several strategists said. Ms. Harris will be forced to answer for Mr. Biden’s record, especially when it comes to the conflict between Israel and Hamas, in ways that could upset some of her potential voters.

In the CNN interview, the vice president echoed Mr. Biden by saying she was “unequivocal and unwavering” in support of defending Israel, while also saying that “far too many innocent Palestinians have been killed.”

As the campaign heads into the homestretch, Mr. Biden might get at least a partial break from one duty that few presidents enjoy.

In the weeks since he dropped out of the race, Mr. Biden has done no fund-raisers, something that usually would be a key role for a sitting president with a large and well-developed network of donors. But members of that network have already opened their pockets for Ms. Harris, whose campaign says it has raised more than a half-billion dollars since she got in the race.

White House officials said the president had received requests from congressional candidates to help with fund-raising and is likely to meet with donors for that purpose in the coming weeks. And he may still help Ms. Harris raise money if she needs it.

On Thursday night, CNN’s Dana Bash gave Ms. Harris an opportunity to break with Mr. Biden, asking whether the vice president regretted saying that the president was “extraordinarily strong” right after the debate performance in June that ended his candidacy.

She declined.

“No, not at all. Not at all,” she said. “I have served with President Biden for almost four years now. And I’ll tell you, it’s one of the greatest honors of my career, truly.”

PHOTO: During his run for the presidency in 2000, Vice President Al Gore attempted to distance himself from President Bill Clinton after his affair with the intern Monica Lewinsky. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A12) This article appeared in print on page A1, A12.

**Load-Date:** August 31, 2024

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[***When Women Wits Ruled London’s Swankiest Salons; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJ4-2X71-JBG3-61TY-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Francesca Wade

**Highlight:** A new book by Susannah Gibson spotlights the 18th-century Bluestockings, who aspired to have their writings and ideas accorded the same respect as men’s.

**Body**

A new book by Susannah Gibson spotlights the 18th-century Bluestockings, who aspired to have their writings and ideas accorded the same respect as men’s.

THE BLUESTOCKINGS: A History of the First Women’s Movement, by Susannah Gibson

In 1790, Mary Wollstonecraft sat down to write a fan letter. “You are the only female writer who I coincide in opinion with respecting the rank our sex ought to attain in the world,” she wrote in excitement to Catharine Macaulay. Macaulay had recently published her treatise “Letters on Education,” arguing that boys and girls should be taught the same curriculum, since “true wisdom … is as useful to women as men” — a principle that formed the bedrock, two years later, of Wollstonecraft’s triumphant “A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.”

More than a century later, in “A Room of One’s Own,” Virginia Woolf claimed several of Macaulay’s near contemporaries as role models, whose ability to earn a living from their writing, despite myriad obstacles, enabled future generations of women writers to conceive of their own intellectual freedom. “Toward the end of the 18th century,” Woolf concluded, “a change came about which, if I were rewriting history, I should describe more fully and think of greater importance than the Crusades or the Wars of the Roses.”

Both Woolf and Wollstonecraft argued far more stridently for women’s rights than did Macaulay or her peers, a loosely connected group of 18th-century British women writers and thinkers known — sometimes derogatorily, sometimes affectionately — as the Bluestockings. But as Susannah Gibson argues in her fast-paced and intimate study of the group, the Bluestockings’ feminist revolution lay in their determination to think and write and educate themselves, despite the “pitiless machinations” of British society, which kept single women dependent on their fathers, and married women subordinate to their husbands.

Gibson’s book opens in rapidly expanding London grappling with new fashions, ideas and building projects, and forging connections to Europe and the wider world. Here, in a Mayfair mansion, Elizabeth Montagu, a literary critic and writer married to a wealthy English landowner, invited like-minded women to candlelit salons where conversation was elevated to an art form, where wit and erudition were prized, and where men and women could discuss politics, literature, science and history on equal terms.

A 1739 pamphlet, titled “Man Superior to Woman,” denounced educated women under the stereotype of the “bookish slattern”: dangerous, unfeminine, ugly and certainly not a suitable wife. “A Woman,” a conduct manual from the 1770s claimed, “is the downy pillar on which a Man should repose from the severer and more exalted duties of life.” Montagu’s father, unusually, encouraged her early education, but she quickly saw that an advantageous marriage would be her best shot at independence. The salon that built her reputation — “brilliant in diamonds, solid in judgment, critical in talk,” as one friend put it — was made possible by her husband’s wealth and supportive attitude.

Maintaining respectability was key: Fanny Burney, whose novel “Evelina” was a popular sensation, held back from talking in public lest she “pass for being studious, or affected.” Elizabeth Carter ensured that her translations of Epictetus were preceded by an introduction reconciling his thought with Christian values. Even among themselves, the Bluestockings were not exempt from the double standards by which women were judged far more harshly than men for social transgressions: Members of the circle who found themselves embroiled in scandal risked becoming outcasts. Hester Thrale, a close friend of Samuel Johnson’s who operated another influential salon from her home in Streatham, was shunned by former friends when, newly widowed, she fell in love with her eldest daughter’s singing teacher (whom she subsequently married).

Thrale continued to write undeterred, charting the minutiae of her private life — Johnson’s witty repartee, the antics of her children, her grief after the death of her first husband and her developing feelings for her second — in a diary (published posthumously) that she titled the “Thraliana.”

Gibson, an Irish historian, is as attentive to the forces that worked against the Bluestockings as to those — wealth, supportive husbands, stimulating friendship — that enabled their success. The complex interplay of money, class and intellectual ambition is especially fascinating. While even aristocratic women faced financial precarity if they didn’t follow a conventional path, ***working-class*** writers were received on different terms altogether.

The story of Ann Yearsley, a Bristol milkwoman whose poetry was championed by the Bluestocking Hannah More, is one of the book’s most shocking: More took control of her image and financial affairs, preventing Yearsley, who went on to establish a circulating library and a network of charitable schools, from accessing her earnings, while thrusting her into the limelight in just the ways middle-class Bluestockings sought to avoid.

Gibson’s history is primarily social rather than intellectual. The Bluestockings’ personal lives are chronicled in vivid detail: Hester Thrale’s more than 15 pregnancies (including several ending in miscarriage) and the devastating deaths of several children in succession are an unforgettable horror; the saga of Thomas Wilson, a Bath churchman who spearheaded a character assassination campaign against Catharine Macaulay after she spurned his affections, makes for a gripping tale.

Still, I wanted more on the ideas that came out of these salons: how these women’s writings related to other literature and culture at the time; what approaches drove their prolific output (biographies of Shakespeare and Johnson, political satire, histories of Swedish and German royals, religious tracts); what politics they espoused, however subtly, in their lives and work. But Gibson conjures palpably the all too ephemeral achievement of the Bluestockings: their sparkling conversation, wafting out through high windows, to be borne down the centuries by the London breeze.

THE BLUESTOCKINGS: A History of the First Women’s Movement | By Susannah Gibson | Norton | 338 pp. | $29.99

PHOTOS: From left, the 18th-century Bluestockings Elizabeth Montagu, Fanny Burney and Hester Thrale. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HERITAGE IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES; THE PRINT COLLECTOR/GETTY IMAGES; UNIVERSAL HISTORY ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page BR17.

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[***The Presidential Horse Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D08-P7V1-DXY4-X0WR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2024 Tuesday 06:46 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 2027 words

**Highlight:** Taking polls seriously can bring enormous benefits. The past few years have been a case study.

**Body**

Taking polls seriously can bring enormous benefits. The past few years have been a case study.

The term “horse race” tends to have a negative meaning in politics. People use it to describe an obsession with polls rather than what really matters — issues, policies, an election’s stakes.

Here at The Morning, we believe in focusing on issues. We have written dozens of such newsletters this year, often tied to other Times coverage. We recently started a series called [*The Stakes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), highlighting the huge differences between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump. We’re policy nerds, and we are proud of it.

Today, though, I want to explain why the horse race also matters. Politicians and voters who dismiss poll results as superficial risk ignoring political reality — and taking polls seriously can bring enormous benefits. The past few years have been a case study, mostly involving the Democratic Party. Today’s newsletter focuses on three examples.

1. Trump’s 2020 defeat

When the race for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination began, the party’s left flank was ascendant. Trump’s extremism had radicalized many Democrats in the opposite direction. Progressives, especially the college graduates who staff campaigns and think tanks, wanted to decriminalize border crossings, ban fracking, abolish private health insurance and defund the police.

The party’s presidential candidates embraced at least some of these positions, even though they were never broadly popular. And they never became popular, despite the passionate arguments that advocates made. Instead, Democrats seemed to be on the verge of nominating a candidate with unpopular views and helping Trump win re-election.

One major candidate, however, adopted fewer of these positions and still had a moderate image: Joe Biden. Polls showed that he would be a stronger opponent against Trump than other Democrats. Here’s one example, from a Times chart [*published in late 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html):

Democratic voters took note. They backed Biden’s campaign, with many citing his electability, and he won the nomination. Primary voters in South Carolina, disproportionately Black and ***working class***, played a vital role.

Had Democratic voters disregarded the horse race, Trump might now be in the eighth year of his presidency.

2. The 2024 campaign

Four years later, Biden had become a much weaker candidate. At 81, he walked stiffly and couldn’t always communicate clearly. The White House minimized his public appearances.

Many Americans found it unsettling. Polls repeatedly showed that most voters considered him too old to serve a second term and that Trump was likely to win in November. Nonetheless, Democratic leaders insisted that Biden was doing just fine — energetic and vigorous behind the scenes, they claimed — and urged people to ignore the horse-race polls.

Then came Biden’s miserable debate performance. Even afterward, Biden initially refused to leave the race, but other Democrats began to accept reality. They pushed him out partly by confronting him with poll results. As Nate Cohn, The Times’s chief political analyst, wrote, “Democrats are extraordinarily fortunate that the early debate gave them an unprecedented second chance to act on what the voters had already been telling them for a year.”

Had Democrats continued to dismiss this year’s horse race as a distraction, they would probably be on course to lose it badly.

3. 2024, redux

Once Harris replaced Biden as the nominee, the polls shifted. She was in fact an energetic, vigorous candidate. Still, she had a problem. She was one of those 2020 candidates who had adopted unpopular positions on immigration, fracking and more. Her 2020 campaign fared so badly that she dropped out before the first caucus.

This year, by contrast, Harris has been more respectful of public opinion. She has reversed several stances, and she portrays herself as a tough patriot who will fight for the American middle class. These positions have helped her shrink Biden’s deficit with swing voters, and she is running virtually even with Trump.

She may yet lose the election. Trump’s campaign can read the polls too, and its ads emphasize both Harris’s past statements and the Biden administration’s record on inflation and immigration. Many swing voters say they don’t yet know enough about Harris and are worried she is too liberal, [*Nate has explained*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

The next big question is whether Harris will take a clear lead following her strong debate last week. I am comfortable making one prediction: To understand the strategies that the campaigns adopt over the final two months, you will need to keep an eye on the polls.

The bottom line

It’s obviously possible for politicians (as well as journalists and voters) to pay too much attention to the horse race. Any politician who adopted an agenda based only on poll results would not be demonstrating leadership. And polls are obviously imperfect guides to public opinion; Hillary Clinton lost to Trump in 2016 partly because her campaign put too much faith in polls that wrongly showed her to be ahead.

But it is also possible to make the opposite mistake — to pay so little attention to the horse race as to be disdainful of public opinion. Polls, after all, are not describing an actual horse race. They are describing something much more important: public opinion in a democratic system that is supposed to be responsive to that opinion.

Related: [*There are early signs of a post-debate bounce for Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), Nate Cohn explains.

THE LATEST NEWS

Trump Gunman

* The police said the suspect in this weekend’s apparent assassination attempt arrived at Trump’s golf course [*around 2 a.m. Sunday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), about 12 hours before the Secret Service spotted him.

1. The acting Secret Service director said that agents [*hadn’t fully swept the golf course*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) and that the outing wasn’t on his schedule. The agency is facing renewed scrutiny.
2. The suspect, Ryan Routh, appeared in court and faces two gun-related federal charges. Prosecutors could add more serious charges later.
3. Routh appears to have acted alone. He did not fire his rifle and never had Trump in his sightline, the authorities said.
4. Routh, 58, described himself online as a former Trump supporter. But in a rambling, self-published book last year, he accused Trump of threatening American democracy and wrote [*“you are free to assassinate Trump.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html)
5. Trump [*blamed the attempted shooting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) on inflammatory language from Biden and Harris. [*JD Vance said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), “The left needs to tone down the rhetoric or somebody is going to get hurt.”
6. Violence increasingly shapes American politics. Trump [*has both inspired and been a target of it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), Peter Baker writes.

2024 Elections

* Harris discussed the Biden administration’s labor policies in a [*meeting with leaders of the Teamsters union*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html). The union may endorse a candidate this week.

1. Only three Black women have ever served in the Senate. After November, [*the number could reach five*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).
2. Biden promoted [*a $1.3 billion federal investment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) in historically Black colleges and universities, crediting Harris — a Howard graduate — with helping to secure it.

International

* A man who is accused of drugging his wife for over a decade and inviting dozens of men to join him in raping her testified in French court. “Today I maintain that I am a rapist, like those in this room,” he said on the stand. [*Read more about his testimony*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

1. Flooding in Central Europe [*killed at least 17 people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), breached dams and destroyed bridges.

* Russia is [*escalating its bombing campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) against Kyiv and other big Ukrainian cities. Vladimir Putin has also demanded [*more troops*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), The A.P. reports.

1. A senior Hamas official, in an interview with The Times, maintained that the group was winning the war in Gaza and [*would be part of the enclave’s future*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html). “Hamas has the upper hand,” he said.
2. A candidate for mayor of São Paulo, Brazil, [*hit an opponent with a chair*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) during a TV debate.

Business

* Amazon told its office workers that they will have to [*come in five days a week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) next year.

1. Days after thousands of Boeing employees went on strike, the company said it would [*freeze hiring and cut costs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), halting production of its most popular commercial jet.
2. Meta, which owns Facebook and Instagram, plans to [*bar Russian media outlets*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) from posting.

Other Big Stories

* Kendric Cromer, 12, is among the first patients to be treated with newly approved — and still rare — gene therapy for Sickle Cell. “[*I can’t wait to start my new life*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html),” he told his mother.

1. A powerful storm [*flooded businesses and collapsed roads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) in southeastern North Carolina, where a tropical storm hit just last month.

Opinions

The through line in the Trump assassination attempts isn’t security failures or heated rhetoric; it’s [*easy access to guns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), Gabrielle Giffords, the former congresswoman who survived a shooting in 2011, argues.

Here’s a column by Paul Krugman on the [*cost of demonizing immigrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

MORNING READS

“Silver economy”: In China — where the birthrate is plunging — businesses that catered to children are [*changing course to serve seniors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

Dark sky: There’s a partial lunar eclipse tonight. [*Here’s what you need to know*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

White-nose syndrome: A fungus decimated American bats. [*Now scientists are fighting back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

Ask Vanessa: [*Why do so many people wear all black?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html)

Education: The idea of incorporating the Bible into classrooms is gaining traction. Some conservative Christians [*aren’t on board*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

Lives Lived: Dr. George Berci, a Holocaust survivor, conceived surgical techniques and tools that have revolutionized minimally invasive operations and procedures. He [*died at 103*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

SPORTS

Monday Night Football: The Atlanta Falcons and their quarterback Kirk Cousins stunned the Philadelphia Eagles, taking a 22-21 lead with under a minute left. [*Read a recap*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

Gymnastics: The American gymnast Jordan Chiles appealed the ruling that stripped her of her Olympic bronze medal. [*Here’s where the case stands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

N.F.L.: After two blowout losses, the Carolina Panthers are [*benching their starting quarterback Bryce Young*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), the No. 1 pick in last year’s draft, in favor of the veteran Andy Dalton.

A TIMES BIRTHDAY

NYT Cooking debuted 10 years ago today, and David Leonhardt reflects on the anniversary:

I’m a heavy user of the NYT Cooking app, and not just because I work here. There is no easier way to turn a vague craving — or a potpourri of refrigerator ingredients — into a tasty meal. On Sunday, a full slate of September football left me wanting chili and, just like that, Julia Moskin was teaching me how to make a rich, smoky Texas-style version.

To celebrate the 10th birthday, [*I recommend this beautiful package of recipes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) — including readers’ 50 favorites.

ARTS AND IDEAS

At cafes and fast-food chains, Americans are obsessed with customizing drinks — filling them with tapioca pearls, dried fruit and cookies and cream crumbs. At Starbucks, a quarter of all custom drinks in the U.S. have more than three modifications. “A very American need for instant energy, coupled with a very American desire for self-expression, has inspired an ever-mutating ecosystem of tricked-out drinks,” [*Priya Krishna writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

More on culture

* Sean “Diddy” Combs [*was arrested after a grand jury indicted him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html). The charges were not announced but a lawyer for Combs said he believed he was being charged with racketeering and sex trafficking.

1. The ’90s alternative rock band Jane’s Addiction canceled their reunion tour after [*two members fought onstage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).
2. This year’s [*Booker Prize shortlist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) includes Rachel Kushner’s “Creation Lake” and Percival Everett’s “James.”
3. Jimmy Kimmel [*commented on the suspected Trump gunman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html): “He tweeted earlier this year that his dream ticket would be Nikki Haley and Vivek Ramaswamy, which is how you know he’s nuts.”

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Enjoy [*fall foliage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) in places that aren’t New England.

Conquer [*pests in your home*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

Upgrade [*your iPhone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html). Yesterday’s pangram was chiefly.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.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/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/briefing/the-stakes-on-presidential-power.html).

PHOTO: At a presidential debate watch party. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hiroko Masuike/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Israelis Extend Little Sympathy For Gaza Plight***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CB4-H3X1-DXY4-X012-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 24, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1705 words

**Byline:** By Isabel Kershner

**Body**

Despite being aware of the devastation in the enclave, many in Israel ask why they should show pity when Palestinians there showed none on Oct. 7.

The southern Israeli city of Netivot, a ***working-class*** hub for mystical rabbis about 10 miles from the Gaza border, escaped the worst of the Hamas-led attack of Oct. 7, a fluke many residents ascribe to miraculous intervention by the Jewish sages buried here.

Nevertheless, many here seem to show little concern about the suffering now of the Palestinian civilians -- practically neighbors -- across the fence in Gaza.

Michael Zigdon, who operates a small food shack in Netivot's rundown market and had employed two men from Gaza until the attack, expressed little sympathy for Gazans, who have endured a ferocious Israeli military onslaught for the past eight months.

''Who wants this war and who doesn't?'' Mr. Zigdon said, while mopping up red food dye that had spilled from a crushed-ice drink machine in his shack. ''It wasn't us who attacked them on Oct. 7.''

Like many Israelis, Mr. Zigdon blamed Hamas for embedding itself in residential areas, endangering Gaza's civilians, while blurring the distinction himself between Hamas fighters and the general population, as if all were complicit.

Israelis remain gripped by the trauma of what happened on Oct. 7 -- when Hamas-led gunmen surged across the border, killing about 1,200 people, mostly civilians, and taking about 250 more back to Gaza, according to Israeli officials. It was the deadliest day for Jews since the Holocaust.

The pain, still raw, is increasingly overlaid with anger. Much of the collective Israeli psyche is cloistered in self-protective layers of indignation as Israel faces international opprobrium for its prosecution of the war and the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

Most Israelis seem to be aware that their military's subsequent air and ground offensive in Gaza has killed tens of thousands of Palestinians -- many of them children, according to health officials in Gaza -- and wrought widespread destruction on the coastal enclave. But they have also seen the videos of scores of people in civilian clothes looting and attacking residents of the rural Israeli villages during the Hamas raids. While Palestinian polls show broad support among Gazans for the Oct. 7 attack, some Palestinians have spoken out against the atrocities committed by Hamas and its allies that day.

Netivot is a bastion of political and religious conservatism: In the November 2022 election, nearly 92 percent of the city's vote went to parties making up the hard-line government led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Armed groups from Gaza have fired barrages of rockets toward the city over the years. One struck Netivot on Oct. 7 and killed a 12-year-old boy, his father and grandfather.

But the lack of sympathy for the plight of Gazans extends beyond Israel's traditional, right-wing strongholds. Rachel Riemer, 72, a longtime resident of Urim, a liberal, left-leaning kibbutz, or communal village, about 10 miles south of Netivot and a similar distance from the Gaza border, recalled that, during a previous round of fighting, she had donated money for blankets for Gazan children.

''This time, I don't have place in my heart to pity them,'' she said of Gaza's civilians. ''I know there is much to pity, rationally, I understand. But emotionally I can't.''

Many Israelis -- both conservative and liberal -- blame Hamas for starting the war and for embedding its fighters among the Gazan population, operating, according to the military, out of schools, hospitals and mosques, and in tunnels beneath Gazans' homes.

Many also see Gaza's civilians as complicit, at least ideologically, in the atrocities of Oct. 7, saying that they brought Hamas to power in the first place, in Palestinian elections in 2006, and that they had not expressed much remorse -- though Hamas has ruled Gaza since 2007 with little tolerance for any dissent, much less a new vote. As the war has dragged on, more Gazans have been willing to speak out against Hamas, risking retribution.

The death toll in Gaza has spiraled to at least 37,000 since Israel began its ferocious offensive, according to the Gaza health ministry, which does not distinguish between combatants and civilians.

Hamas officials deny Israel's claims that it uses public facilities like hospitals as cover for its military operations, despite some evidence to the contrary. And there is little escape for most of the 2.3 million residents of Gaza, terrified and trapped in a crowded, narrow strip of land -- tightly sealed by Israel and Egypt -- and backing onto the sea, where a naval blockade is in force.

International organizations have also accused Israel of restricting the entry of aid, causing widespread hunger, though Israeli officials say they have opened up additional crossings for goods and blame humanitarian groups for failing to distribute the aid effectively. Most of Gaza's population has been displaced and more than half the homes in the coastal enclave are reported to have been damaged or destroyed.

For much of the Israeli public, this war is very different from previous Arab-Israeli conflicts, said Avi Shilon, an Israeli historian based in Tel Aviv, explaining the apparent indifference to the suffering of Palestinians. Unlike the much shorter wars of 1967 or 1973, when state armies fought state armies, this conflict is viewed more like the 1948 war surrounding the creation of modern Israel, or through the prism of the Nazi genocide in Europe, he said.

Mr. Shilon said he saw every unintended death as a ''tragedy.'' But the Oct. 7 assault -- when attackers killed people in their homes, at a music rave, in roadside bomb shelters and at army bases -- was broadly seen in Israel as being ''just about killing Jews,'' Mr. Shilon said, turning the ensuing war into a visceral battle: ''Either us or them.''

Rony Baruch, 67, a potato farmer from Urim, which also escaped the brunt of the Oct. 7 attack, said the humanitarian crisis in Gaza was ''terrible,'' and ''painful,'' and that it was time to end the war. But he said he did not think his opinion was representative. He also emphasized that Israel was not the ''bad guy'' in this confrontation.

Many Israelis have remained in a dark place. The Hebrew news media is still filled with stories of loss and courage from Oct. 7. They have watched gruesome video clips of the Oct. 7 atrocities filmed by Hamas gunmen as well as hostage videos released by the armed groups holding them.

A few survivors said they recognized Gazans they had previously employed among the infiltrators. Videos showed some crowds jeering at and abusing hostages as they were paraded through Gaza on Oct. 7. The rescue of four hostages on June 8 came after months of reports about hostages killed in captivity and about the military's retrieving the remains of some for burial in Israel. Israelis generally paid little attention to the high death toll that the rescue mission exacted on the Gazan side. Gaza's health officials reported more than 270 killed, including children.

The mainstream Israeli news media rarely focuses on the suffering of Gaza's civilians and routinely leads news broadcasts with the funerals and profiles of soldiers who have died in battle. Still, according to one poll this year, 87 percent of Jewish Israelis reported having seen at least a few pictures or videos of the destruction in Gaza.

Israelis are divided, broadly along political lines, and sometimes within themselves, over issues like the supply of humanitarian aid.

''I have mixed emotions,'' said Sarah Brien, 42, a resident of Urim. ''On the one hand, you are obligated as a country to international conventions. On the other, you are not getting anything in return. Has any reliable organization seen any one of the hostages? Who is taking care of them?'' The International Committee for the Red Cross has said it has failed to gain access to the hostages.

Israelis acknowledge the hunger in Gaza but accuse Hamas of stealing or diverting aid. Hamas officials deny stealing aid, saying that a few desperate people have looted the deliveries. Many Israelis have seen footage of hungry Gazans swarming the aid trucks. But many say they were also galled by images of Gazans flocking to the beach to find some respite, while hostages remained in the dark.

And some Israelis say that the rest of the world moved on too quickly after Oct. 7.

''The feeling is that for the world, the story began on Oct. 8,'' said Tamar Hermann, a professor of political science and a public opinion expert at the Israel Democracy Institute, a nonpartisan research group in Jerusalem. ''They feel that not only are the Gazans showing no remorse, but the world is undermining Israeli suffering.''

At the same time, there is little desire in Israel to see Gazan children starve to death.

''We don't have the soul for that,'' said Hen Kerman, 32, from the southern city of Beersheba.

Ms. Kerman, who works in a private investigations office, and her partner, Rani Kerman, 32, a taxi driver, had come to Netivot to pray at the tomb of a revered sage known as the Baba Sali. They defined themselves as far-rightists.

But like many Israelis, they seemed to harbor few illusions about how the war was going after Mr. Netanyahu and his right-wing government pledged eight months ago to eradicate Hamas.

''Soldiers are dying and Hamas is still there,'' Mr. Kerman said.

Some, like Mr. Kerman, say they believe the Israeli military should wreak more destruction on Gaza. Others say Israel should agree to a deal, whatever the cost, to bring the hostages home and focus on an exit plan.

Tali Medina, 52, manages a dairy farm at Urim. Her husband, Haim, was shot and injured by gunmen on Oct. 7 when he was out cycling with a friend.

''I didn't start this war or keep hostages for more than 200 days,'' said Ms. Medina, wearing a T-shirt with the ''Brothers in Arms'' logo of an antigovernment protest group led by military reserve soldiers. While she opposes the hawkish Israeli government, Ms. Medina -- like most Israelis -- blames Hamas for the war.

''The reality is very hard, but it's not my responsibility,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/world/middleeast/israel-hamas-gaza-october-7.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/23/world/middleeast/israel-hamas-gaza-october-7.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Outside Urim, a kibbutz that's near the border with Gaza, is a sign for the Rafah crossing, a key conduit for humanitarian aid.

In Netivot, Israel, in April. The ***working-class*** city is a hub for mystical rabbis and is a bastion of political and religious conservatism.

Tali Medina's husband, Haim, was shot and injured by gunmen on Oct. 7. While she opposes the hawkish Israeli government, Ms. Medina -- like most Israelis -- blames Hamas for the war. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AVISHAG SHAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A6) This article appeared in print on page A1, A6.

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2024

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[***How Biden Can Help Democrats Become the Party of the Working Class Again; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63HV-B8N1-JBG3-6504-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1135 words

**Byline:** Steven Greenhouse

**Highlight:** Posing at coal mines and factories, they may tell voters otherwise. But the policy tells a different story.

**Body**

This past spring, Representative Jim Banks of Indiana, chairman of the House Republican Study Committee, wrote a curious policy memo, with the subject line [*“URGENT: Cementing GOP as the* ***Working-Class*** *Party.”*](https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/20534328-banks-working-class-memo) He argued that Republicans should look to nail down ***working-class*** support through tough immigration policies, a crusade against “Wokeness,” and attacks against tech companies that “censor” Donald Trump and other conservatives, among other policies. The memo honored a time-tested Republican tradition: Wooing ***working-class*** voters by focusing not on economic issues like higher pay and runaway health care costs, but on polarizing social issues, like abortion and same-sex marriage.

Ahead of the 2022 midterms, Democrats may be inclined to dismiss such Republican attempts to appeal to ***working-class*** voters. Backed by President Biden’s 21st Century New Deal, which includes an infrastructure plan that he says would create [*millions of middle-class jobs*](https://joebiden.com/infrastructure-plan/), the facts are on his party’s side, dating back to F.D.R.’s New Deal, that the Democrats are far more the party of the ***working class***. Yet in an era when politicians often woo blue-collar voters by staging photo ops at coal mines and wearing hard hats, style and theatrics have often trumped substance and policy.

To many Democrats, including [*Representative Tim Ryan*](https://www.syracuse.com/politics/2021/03/rep-tim-ryan-blasts-republicans-stop-talking-about-dr-seuss-and-start-working-with-us.html) and [*Robert Reich*](https://robertreich.org/post/650374465928249344), it is preposterous that Republicans, long viewed as the party of corporate America, suggest theirs is the party of the ***working class***. Even so, Democrats must resist complacency. They can’t stop fighting for the support of workers, no matter how ludicrous the Republican attempts at rebranding may seem. To do so, Democrats must deliver on their promises to workers — or else hammer home the point that Republicans blocked their efforts.

When Republicans attempt to style themselves as the party of working people, it can be awkward. In 2019 when the House voted to raise the federal minimum wage to $15 an hour from $7.25 — a move [*supported*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/22/most-americans-support-a-15-federal-minimum-wage/) by 62 percent of Americans — only [*three Republicans backed the increase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/18/us/politics/minimum-wage.html); the then-G.O.P.-controlled Senate, led by Mitch McConnell,[*refused to allow a vote on the increase*](https://www.vox.com/2019/8/16/20807610/raise-the-wage-act-15-minimum-wage-bill). But the G.O.P. continues to maintain its chosen fiction: [*“The uniqueness of this party today is we’re the workers party,”*](https://email.punchbowl.news/t/ViewEmail/t/CBA6EFCFAB845C682540EF23F30FEDED/1FAA03D52DEDD44146778398EADC2510) Kevin McCarthy, the House Republican leader, said in an interview early this year. Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, agreed, [*tweeting*](https://twitter.com/SenTedCruz/status/1365397741044654086?s=20), “The Republican Party is not the party of the country clubs, it’s the party of hardworking, blue-collar men and women.”

Yet Mr. Biden and company remain vulnerable to Republican attacks that they have become the party of Silicon Valley, Wall Street and “the coastal elite.” Republicans point to Democratic support for free-trade agreements that have sent U.S. jobs overseas, never mind that Republican lawmakers voted overwhelmingly to approve such pacts. Republicans also try to score points by maintaining that Democrats care more about helping immigrants than down-on-their-luck factory workers in the Midwest.

Such attacks helped [*Trump beat Mr. Biden, 50- 48*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/exit-polls-president.html), among voters without a college degree, a group that many pollsters define as ***working class***. But using a different definition of ***working class*** — [*households with income under $50,000 — Mr. Biden bested Trump, 55 percent to 44 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/exit-polls-president.html). For many of these voters, Republican overtures to the ***working class*** ring hollow.

To make their case to workers, Democrats need only point to Republican attacks on Mr. Biden’s agenda. Senator Marsha Blackburn, a Tennessee Republican, has [*compared*](https://twitter.com/marshablackburn/status/1387581118933778434) his plan to boost subsidies for day care to Soviet-era Communism. Senators Mike Lee of Utah and Marco Rubio of Florida derided his $300-per-child per month allowance [*as “welfare assistance.”*](https://www.rubio.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2021/2/rubio-lee-statement-on-child-tax-credit)

Republicans have also attacked the PRO Act, a Biden-backed measure that would increase workers’ bargaining power by making it easier for them to unionize. Democrats ask: How can Republicans claim to be a party for workers while opposing the very institution, unions, that fights for workers?

When Republicans do offer pro-worker measures, they are usually far less generous than Democratic proposals. [*Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-announces-legislation-require-15-minimum-wage-billion-dollar-corporations), one of the most vocal Republicans advocating a pro-worker pivot, backs a [*$15 minimum wage*](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-announces-legislation-require-15-minimum-wage-billion-dollar-corporations), but only for workers at corporations with annual revenues of $1 billion or more. Senator Mitt Romney has [*proposed a monthly child allowance of up to $350*](https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/22264520/mitt-romney-checks-parents-4200) per child, but some Democrats criticized his proposal for eliminating many welfare grants and tax credits for children.

What explains the G.O.P.’s halfhearted attempt to rebrand? The reason is the success of Donald Trump, who vaulted himself into the White House by casting himself as a billionaire best friend of workers. [*But Trump didn’t really walk a pro-worker walk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/02/opinion/sunday/is-trump-really-pro-worker.html). Instead, he pushed a [*$1.5 trillion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/12/business/economy/trumps-tax-cut-was-supposed-to-change-corporate-behavior-heres-what-happened.html) tax cut that favored corporations and the rich, tried to gut health coverage for millions of Americans and slashed health and safety enforcement in the nation’s workplaces, while appointing judges who favored business over workers and unions.

On paper, the party of F.D.R. is clearly more pro-worker than Republicans. But the Democrats’ big problem, time and again — one that has long rankled many blue-collar voters — is their failure to enact policies that will uplift workers (usually because of Republican filibusters).

So what can the Democrats do to cement ***working-class*** support?

Mr. Biden can use his executive authority, beyond [*what he’s already done*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/27/business/economy/biden-minimum-wage-federal-contractors.html), to make federal contractors increase workers’ pay and benefits. His Labor Department and National Labor Relations Board can also help boost worker pay and bargaining power.

In Congress, Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer would do well to enact Mr. Biden’s ambitious infrastructure plans and pass the PRO Act. Pushing through his $3.5-trillion spending plan would also deliver big-time to workers — not only its vast ambitions on physical infrastructure, but also its provisions guaranteeing paid parental leave and stepped-up subsidies for child care.

If Republicans block these measures, that will speak loudly as to which party does corporate America’s bidding and which one goes to bat for workers. For the Democrats, the pressure is on to deliver.

Steven Greenhouse, who was the labor and workplace reporter for The New York Times for 19 years, is the author of “[*Beaten Down, Worked Up: The Past, Present, and Future of American Labor*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/246798/beaten-down-worked-up-by-steven-greenhouse/9781101874431/).”

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY The New York Times; Photographs via Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 7, 2021

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[***Rainbows and Drag Save a Bruising Sport in an Old Mill Town***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-C9N1-DXY4-X2JW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 6, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 2296 words

**Byline:** By Rory Smith

**Body**

A gay couple embraced inclusion after buying an English rugby team. To their surprise, the fans bought in, too.

Kaue Garcia and Ryan O'Neill had owned a sports team for no more than six months when they decided the time was right to shake things up. What they needed more than anything else, they felt, was a drag queen.

They were not entirely sure what the reaction would be. Keighley Cougars, the English club they had bought almost as an act of mercy, was not an obvious place to start pushing boundaries.

Keighley is an old textile town, surrounded by the windswept moors of Yorkshire's BrontÃ« Country. The scars of postindustrial decay remain livid here: spectacular scenery that houses some of the most deprived areas in England. And the Cougars play Rugby League, an especially brutal iteration of a famously bruising discipline.

Largely the exclusive preserve of old pit towns in northern England and northeastern Australia, Rugby League involves 26 musclebound players charging into each other at full speed for 80 minutes. Think N.F.L.-level collisions, but without all the helmets and padding. It is a tough game, played by tough people, in tough places.

The plan hatched by Mr. Garcia and Mr. O'Neill, then -- to arrange a Pride-themed day at Keighley's stadium, and to employ a drag queen as the pregame entertainment -- seemed ambitious.

''We were worried nobody would come,'' Mr. O'Neill said. His husband feared an even more stinging rebuke. ''We'd put a drag queen on the middle of the field, have a big party, and everyone would just disappear,'' Mr. Garcia said.

On the other hand, there were some reasons for hope. When they had bought the team, at the start of 2019, they had become -- as far as they knew -- the only gay owners of a men's sports team anywhere outside the United States. (They have never investigated that status in any great depth, and The New York Times was unable to find any evidence to disprove it.)

Nobody had really seemed to mind. More than anything, the town seemed grateful for their presence. Far more important than their sexuality was that they had saved Keighley's beloved team from the brink of bankruptcy. By this year, they had plenty of credit in the bank.

Rugby League, too, had proved a more welcoming space. The men's version of the sport has had a number of openly gay players and referees, something that cannot be said -- for example -- of men's soccer, Britain's great sporting hegemon.

The couple realized, though, that tolerance and acceptance are not necessarily synonyms.

They knew that a drag queen might be pushing their luck. But they knew, too, that they were going to do it anyway.

Flying the Flag

The name of the Cougars' stadium is rather grander than its reality: the roofs of the two covered grandstands at Cougar Park are weather-beaten, corroded and pockmarked with dents left by stray rugby balls. The other two sides consist of exposed concrete terraces. Under Mr. Garcia and Mr. O'Neill's tenure, all of it has also become a riot of color.

This year, I have been to a handful of the Cougars' games, watching the team in the spitting rain of spring, the fine drizzle of summer, and the torrential downpours of autumn. On each occasion, my 6-year-old son has come along, too, partly because he suffers terribly from FOMO and partly because it means an afternoon watching sports can be called ''parenting.''

My son does not see Cougar Park as a tumbledown sort of a place, four rickety stands in a drab industrial park just around the corner from the place we go to drop off the recycling. It is, in his mind, bright and captivating: the lurid neons of the candy stall; the deep green and red of the Cougars flag he waves during games; and, most of all, the rich, vivid hues of the rainbow.

That is the most obvious impact Mr. Garcia and Mr. O'Neill have had: Just about every available surface at Cougar Park is plastered with the colors of both the Pride and the Progress flags. They flutter from soaring flagpoles, towering over the stands. They have been fastened to crowd-control barriers.

They have made it onto the field, too. The team started to swap out its traditional green, red and white jerseys for ones incorporating the Pride colors. Next season, the players will wear the colors of the trans rights movement. Nobody, Mr. Garcia said, should be in any doubt: ''Everyone is welcome here.''

He and his husband had not bought the team for the express purpose of using it to make a statement. They had, instead, fallen into running it almost by accident. Five years ago, Mr. O'Neill saw a couple of news reports that suggested the Cougars, after years of mismanagement, might be about to be shuttered for good.

He had grown up nearby. In the 1990s, his father had invested in the team. As a child, he had been an ardent fan. He knew how important the Cougars were to the town, and persuaded his husband -- born in Brazil, blissfully ignorant of the existence of both Rugby League and Keighley itself -- that they should step in to keep it alive.

Neither of them thought they would have to run it.

''We thought we'd save it, go back to London and get on with our lives,'' Mr. O'Neill said. ''Someone had been running it for all these years. We just thought we'd leave it to be run by whoever that was.''

It did not take long for that particular illusion to be shattered. On the day they took possession of Cougar Park, a staff member pressed an invoice for Â£25,000 into Mr. O'Neill's hands: the bill for the team's uniforms. That was just the first debt that needed to be paid. They met the staff and asked who was in charge of this stuff. ''They told us that was us,'' Mr. O'Neill said.

The couple checked into a local hotel. They would, it turned out, be sticking around. ''Imagine, your husband tells you you're going to stay in a hotel for three months,'' Mr. Garcia said. ''You think that would be nice. Instead it's a Travelodge. And you're here, every day, cleaning. I didn't read the fine print. Lesson learned.''

Having grown up in the area, Mr. O'Neill did not remember it as a bastion of tolerance. He knew that Keighley is the sort of place politicians and provocateurs like to cast as being overlooked and underestimated by the distant, sneering elite, the sort of place presented as a repository of traditional -- a synonym for right-wing -- values.

Memory might have led him to downplay his sexuality, to hope it faded into the background, but he is -- by his own volition -- a ''natural campaigner.'' He had never really meant to run the club, but if he was going to do so, he was going to do it his way. ''Sport is just such a powerful platform for these messages,'' he said.

The rainbow flags went up. The jersey was redesigned. And plans for what they believed to be the first designated Pride game in British sports, complete with a drag queen, started to be formed.

Showtime

Initially, the scheme concocted by Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Garcia might be described, perhaps a touch unkindly, as harebrained. As well as the drag queen, they tried to hire Katie Price -- a well-known British glamour model -- to appear at Cougar Park, too. They thought that might soften the blow to any fragile masculine egos.

When Ms. Price backed out on her initial acceptance, citing illness, they decided to press ahead anyway. The day of the Pride game, they were sure, had been a success. They had sold out of jerseys. The stadium had been far busier than normal. And, watching on from the sidelines, it seemed most of the fans had enjoyed Miss Ivy Rose's performance of ''Lola'' and ''It's Raining Men.''

And then, a few minutes later, they noticed a fan marching toward them. Through the medium of mime, Mr. Garcia intimates that the man in question was older, possibly tattooed, and similar in scale to some of the team's players.

''I remember it to this day: He walked up to us, this big guy,'' Mr. Garcia remembered. ''And then he shook our hands. He told us he'd never met any gay people before. He'd had this different idea of what 'gay' was. But he had absolutely loved it.''

The Keighley that Mr. Garcia and Mr. O'Neill have found is not the Keighley of popular perception. It is not even the Keighley that Mr. O'Neill remembers from his childhood. Every time they have worried they might be moving too quickly, they have found the club -- and the town -- running alongside them.

The flags are now simply a part of the skyline. Some fans sit and drink lager from plastic pint cups, happily wearing replica jerseys bearing the Pride flag. Others stand on the terrace that has been repainted in the rainbow colors. The longstanding fans have kept coming, and they have been joined by sections of the town that might once have regarded a Rugby League stadium as hostile territory.

''Gay people and trans people did not have a place to go in Keighley,'' Mr. Garcia said. ''But now you can have these friendships here. You are not going to find a more welcoming place. The club has always been at the center of the community. A home game really is the best day out in Keighley.''

All they have done is make more members of that community feel as if they have access to it. ''We just added rainbows,'' he said.

All sports owners face criticism, of course. At various times, Mr. Garcia and Mr. O'Neill have been taken to task over results, over coaching appointments, over player recruitment: all of the standard stuff.

But there have been times, too, when they have had to deal with more pointed and more personal attacks: Online, there are occasional bouts of homophobic invective; in real life, there is its more insidious cousin. ''People do sometimes ask whether we really have to make such a big deal of it,'' Mr. Garcia said.

Five years in, though, they remain pleasantly surprised that those instances remain the exception, rather than the rule.

Their confidence has grown to such an extent that earlier this year, they invited India Willoughby, a high-profile trans activist, to become the club's patron. She accepted the role in the hospitality suite at Cougar Park, as sponsors and families ate a roast beef dinner cooked under the watchful eye of Mr. O'Neill's mother, Jacqui.

The soft-spoken Mr. O'Neill felt unusually anxious that day. Ms. Willoughby has long been a target for abuse on social media, where trans rights have become a particularly toxic issue. While Mr. O'Neill wore a T-shirt emblazoned with the slogan ''Trans Rights Are Human Rights,'' his voice quavered as he invited her to speak.

Two minutes later, as she finished, she was met with a storm of applause. Mr. O'Neill was almost a little shaken. ''To see a trans woman get a response like that in Keighley,'' he said, ''that's a big thing.''

Rebel Game

Owning a sports team, Mr. Garcia knows, is supposed to be a glamorous occupation, the preserve of megalomaniacal billionaires and unaccountable princelings and finance bros clad in expensive vests and unflinching self-confidence. His experience of it involves cleaning more toilets than he was expecting.

That is not the limit of his duties. On any game day, he might serve drinks to his players and their families at the bar in the club's hospitality suite, hand out great fistfuls of cardboard clappers to fans in the stands, and spend time after each game scouring nearby parking lots for wayward rugby balls. Each one costs $25.

He might, or he might not, also take a turn dressing up as a cougar and striding onto the field before games to perform -- with considerable gusto and no little ability -- the entire dance routine to BeyoncÃ©'s ''All the Single Ladies.'' Mr. Garcia is uncharacteristically discreet on the matter, though he does seem oddly keen on pointing out just how good the dancing is some days.

During games, he commits just as much energy to urging on his team. In his pocket, he keeps an amulet he bought several years ago, while trekking through a jungle in Mexico. He describes it as a cougar, but it is actually a jaguar. Every time the team needs his support, he blows into it. Out of the other end comes a hissing, thrashing roar.

When he first introduced it, he said, the reaction was not uniformly positive. ''Some people really hated it,'' he said. ''But now everyone wants to know where they can get one.''

That he has come to feel so welcome is typical of Rugby League, according to Ben Abberstein, the lead on diversity and inclusion at the R.F.L., the sport's governing body in Britain.

On some level, Mr. Abberstein said, it sees itself not just as a ''minority game,'' trying to compete with soccer for eyeballs and attention, but as a rebel sport, too. It was founded by ***working-class*** athletes demanding to be paid for their labor, a splinter from the more traditional, and more patrician, Rugby Union.

''The sport is inclusive at heart,'' he said. ''There is a belief that if more people can experience it, then more people will like it.''

But to Mr. Garcia and Mr. O'Neill, it is indicative of Keighley, too, of the open-mindedness and the friendliness of this postindustrial town on the edge of the moors.

The town has, in fact, been so receptive that the owners now find themselves with a very different problem from the one they faced when they arrived. They are under pressure not to tone it down, but to ramp it up.

''People expect more every year,'' Mr. Garcia said, just a hint of stress in his voice. ''They keep asking what we will do for the next Pride game, how we will top it.''

In an ideal world, he said, he would like to airlift a drag queen in by helicopter. ''Everyone looking at the skies, a long dress,'' he said.

It would, he thinks, be spectacular. ''I called up once,'' he said. ''And I found out that helicopters are very expensive.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/01/world/europe/rugby-league-uk-keighley-cougars-gay-owners.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/01/world/europe/rugby-league-uk-keighley-cougars-gay-owners.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Keighley Cougars rugby team plays in a kit that displays the colors of the Pride flag. The flag is also prominent on the grounds at Cougar Park in a northern English town where the scars of postindustrial decay are still vivid. Below right, fans gathering in the team's bar after a match to drink and sing karaoke.

RYAN O'NEILL, right, who owns the Keighley Cougars with his husband, Kaue Garcia. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A30) This article appeared in print on page A1, A30.

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[***Scandal Grounds A High-Flying Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2V-K351-DXY4-X3MC-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. 1

**Length:** 2281 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos, Eliza Shapiro and Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

Mayor Eric Adams was elected partly on the strength of his origin story, a narrative that shrouded questions of his character, judgment and associates.

In December 2021, just weeks after he was elected as the second Black mayor in New York City's history, Eric Adams took a surprise trip to Ghana.

He called it a ''spiritual journey,'' and the weeklong tour built on a story that had resonated deeply with voters. Mr. Adams visited slave trade sites and meditated on the remarkable arc that allowed a man whose ancestors left in shackles to return as the next leader of America's largest city.

But federal prosecutors asserted this week that the trip was also at the center of a far more troubling story: a long-running bribery scheme in which Turkey plied Mr. Adams with more than $100,000 in luxury travel perks and illegal campaign contributions in exchange for political favors.

His spokesman insisted at the time that Mr. Adams had paid for the sojourn to Ghana. But prosecutors charged in their indictment that Turkish Airlines had secretly given Mr. Adams and his partner free business-class upgrades worth $12,000 -- right after he agreed to lean on the Fire Department to prematurely approve safety permits for Turkey's new consulate.

The five criminal counts in the indictment have made Mr. Adams, a Democrat, the first New York City mayor to face federal criminal charges. On Friday, he pleaded not guilty to all of them in Federal District Court in Manhattan.

But the 57-page indictment -- stuffed with the mayor's private text messages, images of sumptuous suites at the St. Regis Istanbul and details of sham fund-raisers -- has forced to the fore painful questions that promise to recast the narrative of his mayoralty, if not end it altogether.

The outlines of that ascent are well known. The dyslexic child of a single mother in New York City, Mr. Adams was beaten by the police before signing up for the force. He did not look or sound like mayoral candidates before him, but voters flocked to him.

He won a crowded primary in 2021, in a city laid low by a once-in-a-century pandemic, not so much by selling policy prescriptions but rather an image of New York City embodied by himself. He was a former police captain who simultaneously projected the swagger of wealth and power and the striving of millions of Black and ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

So bright was Mr. Adams's megawatt charisma, though, that it overshadowed years of unsettling questions about his judgment, his tight circle of friends and allies with checkered legal histories and ethical issues, where he traveled and even where precisely he lived.

Rather than speak out, some of his oldest peers from Brooklyn and beyond concede they simply kept their distance.

''There was the hope and expectation that his unique journey would also animate his service,'' said Patrick Gaspard, an adviser to Democratic mayors and presidents who began his career as an aide to the city's first Black mayor, David N. Dinkins.

He continued: ''It appears that journey, that story, has been betrayed, either because of personal hubris, or reliance on others who lacked competence.''

As he digs in for a fight, Mr. Adams, 64, is again wrapping himself in his origins. On Thursday, just as the charges against him were being unsealed, he held a rally outside Gracie Mansion with Black clergy and civic leaders, some of whom helped lay the groundwork for his career.

''This case isn't even a real case,'' the mayor's lawyer Alex Spiro said on Friday. ''This is the airline upgrade corruption case.''

But even some of those close to the mayor fear that the damage might already be done, and not only to Mr. Adams. They also worry that a rare window of opportunity for Black leadership and the city itself opened by his election may also slam shut. One senior administration official, who asked not to be named, characterized the last few days as a collective traumatic event.

Charles B. Rangel, the former congressman and dean of Black New York City politics for half a century, concurred, describing the episode as ''painful.''

''I'm a New Yorker, and the mayor's been indicted,'' he said. ''Goddamn.''

'The Hope Was So Great'

By the time Mr. Adams set his sights on City Hall, he had honed a pitch that would gradually lift him to the top of a field of a dozen Democratic candidates, some of whom he had successfully cast as elites.

''I didn't go to Harvard and Yale -- I went to CUNY and jail,'' he told a group of union members in the spring of 2021, as he was closing in on the nomination, referring to the city's public university. ''But I worked my way through. I am you.''

The verse was a quintessentially Eric Adams way of cementing the message that had made him stand out.

The city, he told voters, should be led by one of its own.

He grew up poor, the son of a house cleaner who moved the family from an increasingly dangerous part of Brooklyn to Southeast Queens, a neighborhood of Black homeowners and civil servants where the mayor's biography has held particular resonance.

''If you look back at all the mayors we've had recently, even Dinkins, they did not have these roots so deeply embedded among working people in the Black community,'' said David R. Jones, a longtime Democratic political adviser and the president of the Community Service Society, an anti-poverty group.

''And that's why the potential was so great, and the hope was so great.''

But Mr. Adams's climb out of poverty and into the heights of city government has been pockmarked by half-truths and flat-out falsehoods, as well as a steady stream of questions about his ethics and conduct that eventually caught the attention of the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York.

The experience at the center of Mr. Adams's career traces back to his teenage years, when he said he was arrested on a trespassing charge and later beaten by the police. That anecdote has become his life's foundational trauma -- and the fuel that propelled his mission to reform the Police Department from the inside.

Mr. Adams became a transit officer, making a name for himself by creating 100 Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care, a group of officers dedicated to curbing police abuses and forging better ties with communities. But he also came to be known for controversy, and was the subject of four separate internal investigations in the department.

In the 1990s, Mr. Adams appeared with Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader known for antisemitic remarks, and he traveled with a group of officers to Indiana to escort the boxer Mike Tyson, who had been convicted of rape, from prison.

Within the Police Department, Mr. Adams found not only a place to seed his political ambitions but also a tight circle of allies who have advised him for decades. Some of those people were appointed to the mayor's cabinet, and face their own legal peril.

Timothy Pearson, a senior adviser to the mayor and a former police inspector, has been accused of sexual assault and of physically attacking security guards at a migrant shelter. Philip B. Banks III, a longtime friend of the mayor's and the deputy mayor for public safety, was identified as an unindicted co-conspirator in a corruption investigation. The police commissioner, Edward A. Caban, resigned earlier this month.

All three men have had their phones seized by federal agents in recent weeks, along with other mayoral confidants.

Questions about Mr. Adams's judgment followed him to the State Senate. He and a group of colleagues were excoriated in a 2010 report by the state's inspector general for attending parties and fund-raisers with lobbyists from a casino franchise bidding for approval at the Aqueduct Racetrack in Queens.

None of that stopped Mr. Adams from entering the 2021 mayoral primary with a host of advantages.

He had high name recognition in vote-rich Brooklyn, where he had been elected borough president, and a huge campaign war chest. New Yorkers emerging from the worst of the coronavirus pandemic and worried about crime and street homelessness were drawn to a candidate who promised to revitalize the city, and who shunned calls to defund the police.

''I think he came at the right time,'' said the Rev. Al Sharpton, for whom Mr. Adams once worked as a bodyguard.

Even then, his campaign was blemished by a series of tall tales and bizarre claims about seemingly basic facts. After Mr. Adams struggled to clarify where he actually lived during the campaign, reporters routinely camped out outside his office at Brooklyn's Borough Hall, a rowhouse he owns in Bedford-Stuyvesant and his home in Fort Lee, N.J., to try to discern where he was sleeping.

Mr. Adams's veganism, born from his health struggles as a diabetic, is a key part of his political biography, and the subject of his 2020 book about plant-based eating. But as reporters trailed him after Election Day, they discovered that he sometimes ordered fish when dining out.

In his first month as mayor, Mr. Adams shared a moving story about how he kept a photo of a police officer and close friend who died in the line of duty in his wallet. ''I still think about Robert,'' Mr. Adams told reporters after two officers were killed. When The New York Times asked to see the photo, the mayor provided a copy that staffers had hastily printed from Google and stained with coffee to make it look worn.

But among the tangle of ethics questions that have dogged the mayor, it is his penchant for international travel that has aroused curiosity and eventually caught the attention of federal prosecutors.

'My Way of Flying'

In a 2019 graduation address delivered in Coney Island, Mr. Adams told the audience to travel the world, and not be defined by where they grew up.

''Don't be a MetroCard graduate,'' he said. ''Be a passport graduate and conquer the globe. Be bigger than people think you are.''

To celebrate his victory in the Democratic primary to become New York's 110th mayor, Mr. Adams followed his advice. His staff announced that he would take a trip to Europe. Reporters asked where. It took his campaign weeks to reveal that he had spent his vacation in Monaco.

As a state senator, he declined to answer questions about why he and his colleagues accompanied a lobbyist on what appeared to be a 2011 junket in South Korea. And just a few months after he took office as borough president, he left Brooklyn on a weeklong trip to China.

Prosecutors later said many of those trips taken while he was borough president -- including trips to India, France, China, Hungary and Turkey -- had come at steep discounts and often with upgrades provided by Turkish Airlines, a carrier largely owned by the Turkish government.

On one 2017 trip to Istanbul, he stayed two nights in the St. Regis's palatial ''Bentley Suite.'' It was a $7,000 value, prosecutors said, and Mr. Adams paid less than $600. Fake paper trails were sometimes concocted to make the expenses look more legitimate, according to the indictment.

The travel also helped forge connections to businesspeople who prosecutors said steered illegal donations to his 2021 and 2025 mayoral campaigns through so-called straw donors in the United States.

None of it exactly came for free. Mr. Adams traded small favors for his Turkish contacts and one bigger one: his personal intervention in September 2021 to help accelerate safety clearances from the Fire Department for a new high-rise Turkish consulate building in Manhattan, according to the indictment.

The mayor's legal team has suggested that the upgrades were common and trivial, and they have found support in some allies.

Hazel N. Dukes, the president of the N.A.A.C.P. New York State Conference, compared the accusations against Mr. Adams to reports that Justice Clarence Thomas of the Supreme Court has accepted free travel for years without reporting it or being penalized.

''If he can still govern and make decisions, I think Eric Adams should have the same opportunity,'' she said.

But this week's indictment may not be the end of Mr. Adams's legal woes. State and federal investigators continue to actively probe his campaign and administration, seizing phones from and searching the home of yet another top adviser, Ingrid Lewis-Martin, as recently as Friday.

Maya Wiley, a civil rights lawyer who ran for mayor against Mr. Adams in 2021 and has called on him to resign, said that he had violated the public's trust.

''The behavior we're seeing in the indictment suggests a feeling of entitlement and no trepidation over whether he should receive fancy hotel rooms and upgraded flights,'' she said.

Indeed, the indictment suggests that by the time Mr. Adams traveled to Ghana in late 2021, he had settled into a routine with Turkish Airlines, which he called ''my way of flying.''

His staff booked coach airfare -- initially to Pakistan, before switching to Ghana four days before departure -- then asked a contact at the airline for an upgrade, prosecutors said. The Turks also provided a BMW 7 Series sedan to escort him to a dinner during a layover in Istanbul with a Turkish official.

According to the indictment, the Turkish consul general messaged Mr. Adams's aide to make sure the mayor-elect understood where the gifts were coming from. ''We are the state,'' prosecutors quote him as saying.

Mr. Adams announced the Ghana trip at the last minute, but never disclosed his stop in Istanbul. His team made clear that he appreciated the hospitality, but Mr. Adams apparently turned down at least one offer, for a scenic cruise on the Bosporus.

Mr. Adams, prosecutors said the aide explained, had ''done the boat tour a few times.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/nyregion/eric-adams-rise-fall.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/nyregion/eric-adams-rise-fall.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams is accused of taking travel perks and illegal campaign contributions in exchange for political favors. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

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[***Who You Calling Conservative?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CC0-CYC1-JBG3-60CK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 28, 2024 Friday

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**Length:** 905 words

**Byline:** By Pamela Paul

**Body**

You know you've touched a nerve with progressive activists when they tell you not just that you're wrong but that you're on the other side.

Such is the fate of any old-school liberal or mainstream Democrat who deviates from progressive dogma. Having personally been slapped with every label from ''conservative'' to ''Republican'' and even, in one loopy rant, ''fascist,'' I can attest to how disorienting it is given my actual politics, which are pure blue American only when they aren't center French.

But it's not just me. New York magazine's liberal political columnist Jonathan Chait was accused of lending ''legitimacy to a reactionary moral panic'' for critiquing political correctness. When Nellie Bowles described the excesses of social justice movements in her book ''Morning After the Revolution,'' a reviewer labeled it a ''conservative memoir.'' Meghan Daum, a lifelong Democrat, was accused of having fallen into a ''right-wing trap'' for questioning the progressive doctrine of intersectional oppression.

If this was just about our feelings, these denunciations could be easily brushed aside. But the goal and the effect is to narrow the focus of acceptable discourse by Democrats and their allies. If liberals are denounced for ''punching left'' when they express a reasonable difference of opinion, potentially winning ideas are banished.

This narcissism of small differences effectively leaves it to Republicans to claim mainstream ideals like patriotism, which Matthew Yglesias (another targeted apostate) argues still holds value for non-MAGA America, and smart politics, like attending to the concerns of the ***working class***, as George Packer (also frequently attacked) points out.

In the run-up to a tight election with a weak Democratic candidate and a terrifying Republican opponent, pushing liberals and centrists out of the conversation not only exacerbates polarization; it's also spectacularly counterproductive.

Take President Biden's recent executive order severely limiting asylum. The Congressional Progressive Caucus chair Pramila Jayapal accused him of trying to ''out-Republican the Republicans.'' Mother Jones called the action ''Trump-like.''

Meanwhile, according to a recent Axios poll, even 42 percent of Democrats support mass deportations of illegal immigrants. It's no secret this election will be fought in the swing states and won in the middle, which makes another poll's finding that 46 percent of independents in support even more concerning for the party's electoral prospects.

Consider other liberal political positions that have been denounced by the progressive left: Criminal offenders -- even those not named Donald Trump -- should go to prison and a well-trained and respected police force provides community safety.

Then look at where voters stand on these issues. According to a recent Pew poll, ''a majority of voters (61 percent) say the criminal justice system is generally 'not tough enough on criminals' and ''overwhelming majorities of Biden and Trump supporters say it is extremely or very important for police and law enforcement to keep communities safe.''

This also holds true for certain culture-war issues. Contrary to progressive diktat, ''a growing share of voters (65 percent) say that whether a person is a man or woman'' is determined by sex.

Yet shunning anyone on the left who insists otherwise has become a progressive strategy. What better way to dismiss or delegitimize the heretics than to smear them as covert members of the opposition?

And labeling people makes it easier to avoid hearing their critiques or dealing with the actual issues in question.

Those on the left who've been dumbstruck as Donald Trump has intimidated his most vociferous Republican critics (see: Chris Sununu, Nikki Haley) into falling in line might exert a little more self-awareness of similar moves by the left.

The goal of progressives may be solidarity, but their means of achieving it are by shutting alternative ideas down rather than modeling tolerance. Leah Hunt-Hendrix, a co-author of a recent book called ''Solidarity,'' said those liberals who critique illiberalism on the left are ''falling into the right's divide-and-conquer strategy.''

But liberal people can disagree without being called traitors. Liberals can even agree with conservatives on certain issues because those positions aren't inherently conservative. Shouldn't the goal be to decrease polarization rather than egg it on? Shouldn't Democrats aim for a big tent, especially at a time when registered party members are declining and the number of independents is on the rise?

Those on the Democratic side of the spectrum have traditionally been far better at nuance, complexity and compromise than Republicans. It would be to our detriment if policies on which a broad swath of Americans agree are deliberately tanked by a left wing that has moved as far to the left as Republicans have moved to the right. Those who denounce militant fealty within the Republican Party shouldn't enforce similar purity tests in their own ranks.

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A21.

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[***As U.A.W. Scores Wins in Red States, Tensions Rise Over War in Gaza***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C80-TSN1-DXY4-X1JY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1546 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

A tentative new contract at an Ohio battery maker on Monday was big for President Biden's E.V. transition, but for some, the victory was upstaged by the U.A.W.'s activism on college campuses.

The United Automobile Workers has scored a remarkable string of victories -- most recently, a landmark contract on Monday for electric vehicle battery workers -- as its new leadership strives to restore the union's image as the voice of an iconic segment of the American ***working class***.

But competing for headlines is a part of the union that represents tens of thousands of university workers, which at the moment is singularly focused on a mission far from building cars and trucks: ending Israel's war in Gaza.

U.A.W. leaders insist that they can smooth out the dissonance between the dual thrusts of U.A.W. activism -- one on college campuses, the other on red-state assembly lines. But it will not be easy. The U.A.W. signs that are crowding pro-Palestinian encampments on campuses, furnished by the union's international headquarters in Detroit, have alone struck sour notes among some union members uncomfortable with such outward signs of politics on such a fraught topic.

''It's so bad for the union,'' said Isaac Altman, a U.A.W. member and staff lawyer in the family court bureau of the Legal Aid Society of Nassau County, N.Y., who has clashed with his local over a pro-Palestine resolution he called ''slightly more radical than Hezbollah.'' (The resolution called for an immediate cease-fire and an end to ''the occupation and blockade of Palestinian land, sea and air by Israeli military forces.'')

The competition for attention may only get worse. On Monday, union negotiators reached a tentative agreement with General Motors that could prove to be a landmark in the auto industry's transition to electric vehicles. It would give huge wage increases and far more safety protections to employees at an E.V. battery plant in Lordstown, Ohio, solid evidence that President Biden's efforts to combat climate change could fulfill his promise that a green future will not leave workers behind.

''It's a huge deal,'' said Dave Green, the regional director of the U.A.W. in Ohio and Indiana. ''We've been trying to have a just transition and stop this race to the bottom for wages for E.V. workers. This contract is very exciting.''

At the same time that the contract emerged, the University of California was suing a U.A.W. local in the Golden State that represents 48,000 teaching assistants for striking over pro-Palestinian protests, a less-than-ideal image, union officials say, as the new U.A.W. president, Shawn Fain, tries to organize politically conservative blue-collar workers.

University union members, now back to work, received strike pay -- $500 a week -- and other support from U.A.W. headquarters from the moment that University of California, Santa Cruz, graduate students walked off the job on May 20, no different from the autoworkers who manned the picket lines in Michigan, Missouri and Ohio last fall.

The union's blue-collar leadership was not exactly brought kicking and screaming to the Gaza protests. Its higher-education locals pressed the national leadership to get involved, but when, in December, the U.A.W. became the first major union to demand a cease-fire in Gaza, the board vote was unanimous.

Asked about the turmoil at California and New York union locals over Gaza, Mr. Green, who represents the U.A.W. in the Republican states of Ohio and Indiana, answered with a curt ''no comment.''

Without question, under Mr. Fain's muscular leadership, the U.A.W. has made strides toward reconnecting with the ***working class***, a plus for President Biden, whom the union has endorsed. A six-week wave of strikes against the Big Three automakers last fall yielded the biggest pay raises for autoworkers in decades. An 11th-hour deal at the edge of a strike in April against Daimler Truck in North Carolina gave workers 25 percent raises.

Just days later, workers at a Volkswagen plant in Tennessee voted overwhelmingly to join the U.A.W., a breakthrough as the union pushes to organize foreign automakers -- especially electric vehicle plants -- in the union-hostile Southeast.

It has not all been smooth sailing: Last month, workers at two Mercedes-Benz factories in Alabama voted against U.A.W. representation. On Monday, a court-appointed monitor watching the union for corruption accused Mr. Fain and the new leaders of obstructing attempts to access information in violation of a 2020 consent decree reached by the leaders whom Mr. Fain ousted to avoid a Justice Department takeover of the union.

The tentative contract reached this week at Ultium Cells, an E.V. battery joint venture in the shadow of a shuttered auto plant in Northeast Ohio that former President Donald J. Trump promised but failed to save, was meant to get the union back on a positive track. It includes 30 percent raises over three years for most workers, 112 percent raises for the lowest paid, $3,000 bonuses upon ratification and new positions for health and safety workers.

But just like Mr. Biden, Mr. Fain also has to placate pro-Palestinian activists, who are a legacy of past U.A.W. leadership that set out over the last decade to increase flagging membership by organizing teaching assistants and other employees of higher education, especially on the politically active West and Northeast coasts. For the U.A.W., the biggest success came in the last seven years, when tens of thousands of teaching assistants and other workers at the University of California, the University of Washington, the University of Connecticut, New York University and Harvard voted to join the auto union. More than one-quarter of the union's 391,000 members now work for universities.

''We have set out to rebuild this union and turn it into a fighting union, one that fights for union-organizing but also for humanity as a whole,'' said Brandon Mancilla, a U.A.W. board member who came to the union through organizing Harvard graduate students and has been instrumental in its stand on Gaza. ''Of course, when you take on as ambitious and broad a mission as this, you're going to have issues that a lot of the mainstream don't see as central to traditional unions.''

Not everyone sees it that way, inside the union and out. Last month, Republicans in Congress got involved when Representative Virginia Foxx of North Carolina, the chair of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, subpoenaed the president of a small New York U.A.W. local that represents legal aid workers over its contentious vote for a cease-fire in Gaza and attendant accusations of antisemitism.

The local itself is badly split, with some calling the Republican probe a witch hunt and others suing their own union.

''It completely undermines us with management, it completely undermines us in the court of public opinion, and it distracts from the union doing what it's supposed to be doing: advocating for workers,'' Mr. Altman said. ''It's preposterous.''

U.A.W. leaders sought in interviews to tie together the union's blue-collar successes, its resurgent political activism on Gaza and the new clash with its federal monitor. An old-line labor union, they said, is ruffling a lot of feathers.

''We encourage the monitor to investigate whatever claims are brought to their office, because we know what they'll find: a U.A.W. leadership committed to serving the membership and running a democratic union,'' Mr. Fain said.

Mr. Fain reasoned that taking a position on the issue was in line with the activism of the union's longtime president Walter Reuther against the Vietnam War and in support of civil rights, as well as with the U.A.W.'s stand against apartheid in South Africa.

''Everything we're doing is about us as workers having greater control over working conditions,'' said Rafael Jaime, the president of U.A.W. Local 4811 in California and a doctoral student in English at the University of California, Los Angeles. He cited pay, health care and safety, ''but also a say in how we engage in protests on campus,'' adding, ''We want to have a voice.''

U.A.W. officials downplayed any disconnect. Some white, skilled tradesmen in the South may recoil at left-wing activism, officials said, but plenty of Southern workers, especially workers of color, agree with calls for an end to the war in Gaza, especially when it is tied to U.S. tax money, the officials added. Tim O'Hara, who was the vice president of the U.A.W. local in Lordstown, Ohio, when the G.M. plant shut down in 2018, preferred to talk up the new Ultium contract.

Lordstown's local has always been ''iconic,'' he said. ''They have now set the pattern for the contracts that will be negotiated for the Big 3 battery facilities'' across the country.

Mr. Mancilla, the U.A.W. board member, noted that the union had also endorsed Mr. Biden's re-election, although many workers are not likely to vote for him. The activism on Gaza might not be a ''day-to-day conversation'' for organizers in Southern auto plants, he said. But he added, ''I wouldn't say anyone is being quiet about anything. We're not hiding that we endorsed Joe Biden, even though many of our members might have different party affiliations.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/us/politics/uaw-gaza-biden.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/us/politics/uaw-gaza-biden.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Members of the United Automobile Workers protested at U.C.L.A., above, over the war in Gaza. As protests have consumed campuses, the union's new president, Shawn Fain, at left in glasses, has tried to organize conservative workers. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAMIAN DOVARGANES/ASSOCIATED PRESS

KIM CHANDLER/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***New York City Has 186,000 Fewer Children and Teens Than It Did in 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBS-07W1-JBG3-6023-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 27, 2024 Thursday 23:24 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 808 words

**Byline:** Winnie Hu and Troy Closson Winnie Hu is a Times reporter covering the people and neighborhoods of New York City. Troy Closson reports on K-12 schools in New York City for The Times.

**Highlight:** New census numbers show the steepest drop in the city’s youngest age group in at least a decade as many families have left to live elsewhere.

**Body**

New census numbers show the steepest drop in the city’s youngest age group in at least a decade as many families have left to live elsewhere.

New York City has significantly fewer children and teenagers than it did before the coronavirus pandemic spurred an exodus of families to the suburbs and other states, according to an analysis of new census data released Thursday.

The number of New Yorkers under the age of 20 fell by 9 percent — or more than 186,000 people — to 1.8 million in 2023 from just three years earlier, according to [*Social Explorer*](https://www.socialexplorer.com/explore-maps), a data research company that analyzed the census estimates.

It was the biggest drop in at least a decade in the city’s under-20 population. The decrease could potentially affect the city’s education policies and public school system, which is the largest in the United States, and could eventually help shape the city’s work force and economy. That age group has been steadily shrinking in the city since at least 2010 even as older age groups have been growing.

Though the census estimates do not offer an explanation for the demographic changes, many families with children, including many [*Black families*](https://www.socialexplorer.com/explore-maps), have moved out of the city in recent years because of a shortage of affordable housing, a shift to work-from-home policies, concerns about school quality and crime and a desire for more parks and open spaces, among other reasons.

All five boroughs lost residents under the age of 20, with Brooklyn losing 66,000 younger residents; Queens losing 53,000; the Bronx 41,000; Manhattan 22,000; and Staten Island nearly 4,000.

The suburbs surrounding New York City also lost younger residents, but those drops were more modest. Long Island lost nearly 18,000 residents under age 20, while New Jersey suburbs lost nearly 40,000 younger residents.

Andrew A. Beveridge, a former sociology professor at Queens College and president of Social Explorer, said the decline in younger residents in New York City is likely to be offset in part by the [*influx of more than 200,000 migrants*](https://www.socialexplorer.com/explore-maps) since the spring of 2022, which includes many families with children.

Still, he added, the city is facing a major demographic shift that could have far-reaching consequences, including fewer students in the schools. “It means that people in New York are less likely to be families with kids and that has all sorts of implications,” he said.

The drop was steepest among the city’s youngest residents, with the number of children under the age of 5 falling by 17 percent — or more than 92,000 people — to 445,000 from more than 537,000 in 2020, according to the analysis.

City planning officials said that the decrease in the under-5 population most likely reflected a decline in the number of births in the city and the country since the pandemic.

Officials also cautioned against drawing exact conclusions from the latest census estimates, saying that it was difficult to precisely estimate the populations of age groups and that these particular figures were based on a blend of 2010 and 2020 census numbers, in part because of the added challenge of collecting data during the pandemic and because of privacy concerns when measuring smaller groups.

The New York City public school system has shrunk to roughly 915,000 students from 1.1 million a decade ago. In the 2021-22 school year alone, nearly 58,000 students left the system to attend schools outside the city, according to Education Department data — by far the highest number in more than a decade.

Asian students were more likely to move to Long Island, children in poverty were more likely to head to Pennsylvania and many Black families left for the South, the data shows.

The decline in children has hit urban public school districts across the nation, and has profound ramifications for New York. Many principals will grapple with tough decisions over their budgets in the coming years. Some face the prospect of school mergers or consolidations — one of the most painful issues for families.

And as Mayor Eric Adams [*cuts millions from the city’s popular free prekindergarten initiative*](https://www.socialexplorer.com/explore-maps), many City Council members have worried that the uncertainty could drive even more families away. Dozens of parents have said in interviews in recent months that steep rents and the costs of raising children are [*prompting them to rethink their futures*](https://www.socialexplorer.com/explore-maps) in New York.

The City Council speaker, Adrienne Adams, said last month that the troubles in the city’s child care sector were pushing ***working-class*** and middle-income families “to the brink” and “leaving many to feel they have no choice but to leave the city to provide their children with a better life.”

PHOTOS: The decrease of New York City’s youngest residents could potentially affect the city’s education policies and public school system. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NOAM GALAI/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** June 27, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Humble Roots Helped Make Him Mayor. A Love of Luxury May Bring Him Down.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2K-S2H1-JBG3-61NF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 2290 words

**Highlight:** Mayor Eric Adams was elected partly on the strength of his origin story, a narrative that shrouded questions of his character, judgment and associates.

**Body**

Mayor Eric Adams was elected partly on the strength of his origin story, a narrative that shrouded questions of his character, judgment and associates.

In December 2021, just weeks after he was elected as the second Black mayor in New York City’s history, Eric Adams took [*a surprise trip*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) to Ghana.

He called it a “spiritual journey,” and the weeklong tour built on a story that had resonated deeply with voters. Mr. Adams visited slave trade sites and meditated on the remarkable arc that allowed a man whose ancestors left in shackles to return as the next leader of America’s largest city.

But federal [*prosecutors asserted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) this week that the trip was also at the center of a far more troubling story: a long-running bribery scheme in which Turkey plied Mr. Adams with more than $100,000 in luxury travel perks and illegal campaign contributions in exchange for political favors.

His spokesman insisted at the time that Mr. Adams had paid for the sojourn to Ghana. But prosecutors charged in [*their indictment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) that Turkish Airlines had secretly given Mr. Adams and his partner free business-class upgrades worth $12,000 — right after he agreed to lean on the Fire Department to prematurely approve safety permits for Turkey’s new consulate.

[*The five criminal counts in the indictment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) have made Mr. Adams, a Democrat, the first New York City mayor to face federal criminal charges. On Friday, he pleaded not guilty to all of them in Federal District Court in Manhattan.

But the 57-page indictment — stuffed with the mayor’s private text messages, images of sumptuous suites at the St. Regis Istanbul and details of sham fund-raisers — has forced to the fore painful questions that promise to recast the narrative of his mayoralty, if not end it altogether.

The outlines of that ascent are well known. The dyslexic child of a single mother in New York City, Mr. Adams was beaten by the police before signing up for the force. He did not look or sound like mayoral candidates before him, but voters flocked to him.

He won a crowded primary in 2021, in a city laid low by a once-in-a-century pandemic, not so much by selling policy prescriptions but rather an image of New York City embodied by himself. He was a former police captain who simultaneously projected the swagger of wealth and power and the striving of millions of Black and ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

So bright was Mr. Adams’s megawatt charisma, though, that it overshadowed years of unsettling questions about his judgment, his tight circle of friends and allies with checkered legal histories and ethical issues, where he traveled and even where precisely he lived.

Rather than speak out, some of his oldest peers from Brooklyn and beyond concede they simply kept their distance.

“There was the hope and expectation that his unique journey would also animate his service,” said Patrick Gaspard, an adviser to Democratic mayors and presidents who began his career as an aide to the city’s first Black mayor, David N. Dinkins.

He continued: “It appears that journey, that story, has been betrayed, either because of personal hubris, or reliance on others who lacked competence.”

As he digs in for a fight, Mr. Adams, 64, is again wrapping himself in his origins. On Thursday, just as the charges against him were being unsealed, he held a rally outside Gracie Mansion with Black clergy and civic leaders, some of whom helped lay the groundwork for his career.

“This case isn’t even a real case,” the mayor’s lawyer Alex Spiro said on Friday. “This is the airline upgrade corruption case.”

But even some of those close to the mayor fear that the damage might already be done, and not only to Mr. Adams. They also worry that a rare window of opportunity for Black leadership and the city itself opened by his election may also slam shut. One senior administration official, who asked not to be named, characterized the last few days as a collective traumatic event.

Charles B. Rangel, the former congressman and dean of Black New York City politics for half a century, concurred, describing the episode as “painful.”

“I’m a New Yorker, and the mayor’s been indicted,” he said. “Goddamn.”

‘The Hope Was So Great’

By the time Mr. Adams set his sights on City Hall, he had honed a pitch that would gradually lift him to the top of a field of a dozen Democratic candidates, some of whom he had successfully cast as elites.

“I didn’t go to Harvard and Yale — I went to CUNY and jail,” he told a group of union members in the spring of 2021, as he was closing in on the nomination, referring to the city’s public university. “But I worked my way through. I am you.”

The verse was a quintessentially Eric Adams way of cementing the message that had made him stand out.

The city, he told voters, should be led by one of its own.

He grew up poor, the son of a house cleaner who moved the family from an increasingly dangerous part of Brooklyn to Southeast Queens, a neighborhood of Black homeowners and civil servants where the mayor’s biography has held particular resonance.

“If you look back at all the mayors we’ve had recently, even Dinkins, they did not have these roots so deeply embedded among working people in the Black community,” said David R. Jones, a longtime Democratic political adviser and the president of the Community Service Society, an anti-poverty group.

“And that’s why the potential was so great, and the hope was so great.”

But Mr. Adams’s climb out of poverty and into the heights of city government has been pockmarked by half-truths and flat-out falsehoods, as well as a steady stream of questions about his ethics and conduct that eventually caught the attention of the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York.

The experience at the center of Mr. Adams’s career traces back to his teenage years, when he said he was arrested on a trespassing charge and later beaten by the police. That anecdote has become his life’s foundational trauma — and the fuel that propelled his mission to reform the Police Department from the inside.

Mr. Adams became a transit officer, making a name for himself by creating 100 Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care, a group of officers dedicated to curbing police abuses and forging better ties with communities. But he also came to be known for controversy, and [*was the subject of four separate internal investigations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) in the department.

In the 1990s, Mr. Adams appeared with Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader known for antisemitic remarks, and he traveled with a group of officers to Indiana to escort the boxer Mike Tyson, who had been convicted of rape, from prison.

Within the Police Department, Mr. Adams found not only a place to seed his political ambitions but also a tight circle of allies who have advised him for decades. Some of those people were appointed to the mayor’s cabinet, and [*face their own legal peril*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html).

Timothy Pearson, a senior adviser to the mayor and a former police inspector, [*has been accused*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) of sexual assault and of physically attacking security guards at a migrant shelter. Philip B. Banks III, a longtime friend of the mayor’s and the deputy mayor for public safety, was identified as an unindicted co-conspirator in a corruption investigation. The police commissioner, Edward A. Caban, [*resigned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) earlier this month.

All three men have had their phones seized by federal agents in recent weeks, along with other mayoral confidants.

Questions about Mr. Adams’s judgment followed him to the State Senate. He and a group of colleagues were excoriated in [*a 2010 report by the state’s inspector general*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) for attending parties and fund-raisers with lobbyists from a casino franchise bidding for approval at the Aqueduct Racetrack in Queens.

None of that stopped Mr. Adams from entering the 2021 mayoral primary with a host of advantages.

He had high name recognition in vote-rich Brooklyn, where he had been elected borough president, and a huge campaign war chest. New Yorkers emerging from the worst of the coronavirus pandemic and worried about crime and street homelessness were drawn to a candidate who promised to revitalize the city, and who shunned calls to defund the police.

“I think he came at the right time,” said the Rev. Al Sharpton, for whom Mr. Adams once worked as a bodyguard.

Even then, his campaign was blemished by a series of tall tales and bizarre claims about seemingly basic facts. After Mr. Adams struggled to clarify where he actually lived during the campaign, reporters routinely camped out outside his office at Brooklyn’s Borough Hall, a rowhouse he owns in Bedford-Stuyvesant and his home in Fort Lee, N.J., to try to discern where he was sleeping.

Mr. Adams’s veganism, born from his health struggles as a diabetic, is a key part of his political biography, and the subject of his 2020 book about plant-based eating. But as reporters trailed him after Election Day, they discovered that he sometimes ordered fish when dining out.

In his first month as mayor, Mr. Adams shared a moving story about how he kept a photo of a police officer and close friend who died in the line of duty in his wallet. “I still think about Robert,” Mr. Adams told reporters after two officers were killed. When The New York Times asked to see the photo, the [*mayor provided a copy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) that staffers had hastily printed from Google and stained with coffee to make it look worn.

But among the tangle of ethics questions that have dogged the mayor, it is his penchant for international travel that has aroused curiosity and eventually caught the attention of federal prosecutors.

‘My Way of Flying’

In a 2019 graduation address delivered in Coney Island, Mr. Adams told the audience to travel the world, and not be defined by where they grew up.

“Don’t be a MetroCard graduate,” he said. “Be a passport graduate and conquer the globe. Be bigger than people think you are.”

To celebrate his victory in the Democratic primary to become New York’s 110th mayor, Mr. Adams followed his advice. His staff announced that he would take a trip to Europe. Reporters asked where. It took his campaign weeks to reveal that he had spent his vacation in Monaco.

As a state senator, he declined to answer questions about why he and his colleagues accompanied a lobbyist on what appeared to be a 2011 [*junket in South Korea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html). And just a few months after he took office as borough president, he left Brooklyn on a weeklong [*trip to China*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html).

Prosecutors later said many of those trips taken while he was borough president — including trips to India, France, China, Hungary and Turkey — had come at steep discounts and often with upgrades provided by Turkish Airlines, a carrier largely owned by the Turkish government.

On one 2017 trip to Istanbul, he stayed two nights in the St. Regis’s palatial “[*Bentley Suite*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html).” It was a $7,000 value, prosecutors said, and Mr. Adams paid less than $600. Fake paper trails were sometimes concocted to make the expenses look more legitimate, according to the indictment.

The travel also helped forge connections to businesspeople who prosecutors said steered illegal donations to his 2021 and 2025 mayoral campaigns through so-called straw donors in the United States.

None of it exactly came for free. Mr. Adams traded small favors for his Turkish contacts and one bigger one: his personal intervention in September 2021 to help accelerate safety clearances from the Fire Department for a new high-rise Turkish consulate building in Manhattan, according to the indictment.

The mayor’s legal team has suggested that the upgrades were common and trivial, and they have found support in some allies.

Hazel N. Dukes, the president of the N.A.A.C.P. New York State Conference, compared the accusations against Mr. Adams to reports that Justice Clarence Thomas of the Supreme Court has [*accepted free travel for years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) without reporting it or being penalized.

“If he can still govern and make decisions, I think Eric Adams should have the same opportunity,” she said.

But this week’s indictment may not be the end of Mr. Adams’s legal woes. State and federal investigators continue to actively probe his campaign and administration, [*seizing phones*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/nyregion/eric-adams-ghana.html) from and searching the home of yet another top adviser, Ingrid Lewis-Martin, as recently as Friday.

Maya Wiley, a civil rights lawyer who ran for mayor against Mr. Adams in 2021 and has called on him to resign, said that he had violated the public’s trust.

“The behavior we’re seeing in the indictment suggests a feeling of entitlement and no trepidation over whether he should receive fancy hotel rooms and upgraded flights,” she said.

Indeed, the indictment suggests that by the time Mr. Adams traveled to Ghana in late 2021, he had settled into a routine with Turkish Airlines, which he called “my way of flying.”

His staff booked coach airfare — initially to Pakistan, before switching to Ghana four days before departure — then asked a contact at the airline for an upgrade, prosecutors said. The Turks also provided a BMW 7 Series sedan to escort him to a dinner during a layover in Istanbul with a Turkish official.

According to the indictment, the Turkish consul general messaged Mr. Adams’s aide to make sure the mayor-elect understood where the gifts were coming from. “We are the state,” prosecutors quote him as saying.

Mr. Adams announced the Ghana trip at the last minute, but never disclosed his stop in Istanbul. His team made clear that he appreciated the hospitality, but Mr. Adams apparently turned down at least one offer, for a scenic cruise on the Bosporus.

Mr. Adams, prosecutors said the aide explained, had “done the boat tour a few times.”

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams is accused of taking travel perks and illegal campaign contributions in exchange for political favors. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***51 Go on Trial As Rape Case Shakes France***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW8-F8R1-DXY4-X32P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 3, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1608 words

**Byline:** By Catherine Porter and Ségolène Le Stradic

**Body**

A man is accused of drugging his wife and then inviting dozens of men to rape her over almost a decade. The questions raised by the case have unsettled the country.

For years, she had been losing hair and weight. She had started forgetting whole days, and sometimes appeared to be in dreamlike trances. Her children and friends worried she had Alzheimer's.

But in late 2020, after she was summoned to a police station in southern France, she learned a far more shattering story.

Her husband of 50 years, Dominique Pelicot, had been crushing sleeping pills into her food and drink to put her into a deep sleep, the police said, and then raping her. He had ushered dozens of men into her home to film them raping her, too, they said, in abuse that lasted nearly a decade.

Using the man's photographs, videos and online messages, the police spent the next two years identifying and charging those other suspects.

On Monday, 51 men, including Mr. Pelicot, went on trial in Avignon, in a case that has shocked France and cast a spotlight on the use of drugs to commit sexual abuse and the broader culture in which such crimes could occur.

The accused men represent a kaleidoscope of ***working-class*** and middle-class French society: truck drivers, soldiers, 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 26 to 74. Many have children and are in relationships.

Most are charged with raping the woman once. A handful are accused of returning as many as six times to rape her.

The victim, who has divorced her husband and changed her surname since his arrest, is now in her 70s.

Since his arrest, Mr. Pelicot, 71, has ''always declared himself guilty,'' said Béatrice Zavarro, his lawyer. ''He is not at all contesting his role.''

Other defendants have denied the rape charges, with some arguing that they had the husband's permission and thought that was sufficient, while others claimed they believed the victim had agreed to be drugged.

When the police showed the victim some of the photographs they say her husband had carefully classified and stored, she expressed deep shock. She and her husband had been together since they were 18. She had described him to the police as caring and considerate.

She had no memory of being raped, by him or the other men, only one of whom she recognized, she told the police, as a neighbor in town.

The first time she will consciously witness the rapes, her lawyer Antoine Camus says, will be in the courtroom when the video recordings are played as evidence.

The trial comes at a moment of heightened scrutiny of the handling of sexual crimes in the country. Rape is defined in French law as an ''act of sexual penetration'' committed ''by violence, coercion, threat or surprise.'' A number of feminist lawmakers want to amend that wording to say explicitly that sex without consent is rape, that consent can be withdrawn at any time, and that consent cannot exist if sexual assault is committed ''by abusing a state impairing the judgment of another.''

''There is a kind of naïveté on the topic of predators in France, a kind of denial,'' said Sandrine Josso, a lawmaker who led a parliamentary commission into what is known in France as ''chemical submission'' -- drugging someone with malicious intent. She started the commission after she says she became the victim of a drugging last year. A senator is being investigated on accusations that he slipped Ecstasy into her Champagne.

Ms. Josso hopes that the Avignon trial will draw attention to the use of drugs to prey on women, and also shed light on the wide profile of predators. ''They could be your neighbors, without falling into paranoia,'' she said.

Mr. Pelicot seemed like a classic man next door. He was a trained electrician, an entrepreneur and an avid cyclist. His middle child and only daughter, Caroline Darian, her pen name, described him as a warm and present father in a book published in 2022 about the case, ''And I Stopped Calling You Papa.'' She tried to turn her family trauma into action, forming a nonprofit association, ''Don't Put Me to Sleep,'' to publicize the dangers of drug-facilitated crimes.

Her father, she wrote, was the one who drove her to school, picked her up late from parties, encouraged her and consoled her. Her mother was the stable breadwinner, working as a manager in a Paris-area company for 20 years.

When she retired, they moved to a house with a big garden and pool in Mazan, a small town northeast of Avignon. The couple regularly hosted their three children and grandchildren for summer vacations peppered with late dinners on the terrace, where the family debated, held dance competitions and played Trivial Pursuit.

''I think of us as happy,'' his daughter wrote. ''I thought my parents were.''

None of them harbored any suspicions. Then, in 2020, three women reported Mr. Pelicot to the police for trying to use his camera to film up their skirts in a grocery store, and he was arrested.

The police seized his two cellphones, two cameras and his electronic devices, including his laptop, before releasing him on bail.

On the devices, the police say they found 300 photographs and a video of an unconscious woman being sexually assaulted by many people. They said they also found Skype messages in which the man boasted of drugging his wife and invited men to join him in having sex with her while she was unconscious.

Over the course of their investigation, the police found more than 20,000 videos and photographs, many of them dated and labeled, in an electronic folder titled ''abuse.'' The timeline they built began in 2011. The list of suspects grew to 83.

Two months after his initial arrest, Mr. Pelicot was arrested again and charged with aggravated rape, drugging and a list of sexual abuse charges. He is also accused of violating the privacy of his wife, daughter and two daughters-in-law on suspicion of illegally recording, and at times distributing, intimate photos of them.

If he is found guilty, he faces up to 20 years in prison.

During interviews with the police, the details of which were included in an overview of the case by the investigative judge, Mr. Pelicot said he began drugging his wife so he could do things to her, and dress her in things, that she normally refused. Then he started inviting others to participate. He said he never asked for or accepted money.

He met most of the men, the investigating judge's report stated, in a chat room on a notorious, unmoderated French website implicated in more than 23,000 police cases in France alone from 2021 to 2024. It was finally shut down, and its owner arrested, in June after an 18-month investigation stretching across Europe.

The chat room where most of the men met Mr. Pelicot was called ''a son insu,'' which means ''without their knowledge.''

Over the years, Mr. Pelicot told the police, he developed rules for the visitors to ensure that his wife did not wake: no smoking or cologne; undress in the kitchen; warm hands under hot water or on a radiator, so their cold touch would not jolt her. At the end of each night, according to the investigating judge's report, he cleaned his wife's body.

Of the 83 suspects, the police identified and charged 50.

Only one of the men is not charged with rape, assault or attempted rape of Mr. Pelicot's wife. Instead, that man is accused of following the same model, and drugging his own wife to rape her. Mr. Pelicot is also charged with raping the man's wife while she was drugged.

Five of the men also face charges for possessing child sexual abuse imagery.

Mr. Pelicot is also being investigated in the rape and murder of a 23-year-old woman in 1991 and the attempted rape of a 19-year-old in 1999. He admitted to the attempted rape, according to Florence Rault, the lawyer representing the victims in both cases, but denies any involvement in the 1991 homicide.

The story has prompted some soul-searching among doctors, since Mr. Pelicot's wife had visited gynecologists and neurologists over a series of mystifying symptoms, but had received no diagnosis, according to her daughter.

''What I found disturbing for us doctors was that no doctor considered this hypothesis,'' said Dr. Ghada Hatem-Gantzer, a well known obstetrician-gynecologist and expert in violence against women. She and a pharmacist, Leila Chaouachi, have now developed training for doctors and nurses on the symptoms that victims of drug-facilitated assault can experience.

Contrary to popular belief, most cases occur at home, not at bars, said Ms. Chaouachi, who runs annual surveys on such offenses in France. Most victims are women, the surveys show, and around half of the victims do not remember the attack, because of blackouts, she said.

In the case going to court in Avignon, some of the accused admitted guilt to the police. According to the investigating judge's report, many claimed that they were tricked into having sex with a drugged woman -- lured by a husband for a three-way encounter and told she was pretending to sleep, because she was shy.

Several said they believed that she had consented to being drugged and raped as part of a sex fantasy. Some said they did not believe it was rape, because her husband was there and they believed he could consent for both of them.

''It sends shivers down the spine regarding the state of affairs in French society,'' said Mr. Camus, who is also representing Ms. Darian and many other members of the family. ''If that's the conception of consent in sexual matters in 2024, then we have a lot, a lot, a lot of work to do.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/world/europe/france-husband-rape-drug-trial-mazan.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/world/europe/france-husband-rape-drug-trial-mazan.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A1, A6.

**Load-Date:** September 3, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A New Apprentice Makes a Pitch Steeped in the Rust Belt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHF-VR41-DXY4-X0CH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 19, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 978 words

**Byline:** By James Poniewozik

**Body**

In his prime-time debut, the senator and ''Hillbilly Elegy'' author showed what he has to offer his running mate.

Speaking Wednesday at the Republican National Convention, Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio became the latest, and potentially most consequential, of Donald J. Trump's apprentices to accept the position in prime time.

For years as the host of ''The Apprentice,'' Mr. Trump picked out protégés from boardrooms full of young supplicants. There was a delicate art to getting the nod. Offend him and you might be dismissed; appear too thirsty and you could get the boot as well. The key was to be yourself but also be him, to be a mirror but a flattering one, to be an echo auto-tuned to please the boss's ear.

Mr. Vance spent much of his two years in the Senate auditioning for the promotion to vice-presidential nominee, cultivating a relationship, apologizing for his Never-Trumper apostasy and recently blaming Biden campaign rhetoric for leading ''directly'' to the assassination attempt against Mr. Trump.

Accepting the nomination on Wednesday night, he cast himself as a loyal fighter, an ideological heir and a grateful son of the ***working class*** with roots in Appalachia and the Rust Belt.

With Merle Haggard's ''America First'' as his walk-on music, he began his speech praising Mr. Trump: ''He didn't need politics,'' Mr. Vance said, ''but the country needed him.'' Mr. Trump looked on smiling in split-screen, as if watching a winner at a season finale.

When it came to introducing himself, Mr. Vance had a head start and a challenge. He was telling a story he had already told, in the memoir ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' and so had Ron Howard, in the 2020 film adaptation.

But that story was in some ways not fitted to this audience. His book made the case that poor Appalachians -- part of the rural base of the Trumpist G.O.P. -- were often at fault for their own problems of unemployment and addiction and that they told themselves ''lies'' to blame their woes on outsiders.

Wednesday, the author gave that story a bit of a rewrite. He depicted his hometown, Middletown, Ohio, as having been ''cast aside and forgotten by America's ruling class,'' who Mr. Vance said had shipped jobs away and let fentanyl stream in. In this remake, President Biden was the villain, the elites' longtime capo.

Running mates are often chosen to be attack dogs, and they can use the convention to show their bite. Other times, they're chosen to fit a cultural niche. For the Midwestern Mr. Vance, part of his assignment was simply geographic. He mentioned Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin so often he could have been a Big Ten football announcer.

But it was also demographic. Like one predecessor, John McCain's running mate, Sarah Palin, Mr. Vance served as an avatar of a kind of rural American life that his party celebrates as especially authentic.

This part of his story Mr. Vance told with a warmer, personable touch. He regaled the hall with memories of ''Mamaw,'' the rough-talking grandmother who raised him while his mother, Beverly, struggled with drug addiction, and who kept 19 loaded handguns stashed around the house. He introduced Beverly in the audience, congratulating her on ''10 years clean and sober.'' He was quick with jokes: When his mention of attending ''The Ohio State University'' prompted a Michigan ''Go Blue!'' chant, he said, ''We've had enough political violence.''

Another essential part of Mr. Vance's résumé was his birth date. At 39, he is half the age of Mr. Trump, and less than half that of President Biden, and his introduction emphasized this. (So did, inadvertently, the news networks' split-screen of Mr. Biden's deplaning at Joint Base Andrews, walking gingerly down the steps after a Covid diagnosis.)

''Joe Biden has been a politician in Washington for longer than I've been alive,'' Mr. Vance said. He offered Mr. Trump, 78, a political heir and a little youth serum.

Mr. Vance, the stagecraft suggested, could be Mr. Trump's son. He could, specifically, be Donald Trump Jr. -- who advocated Mr. Vance -- with a few tweaks. (On Tuesday's ''The Daily Show,'' Jon Stewart said that Mr. Vance looked as if the younger Trump were the default avatar in a videogame and Mr. Trump had upgraded his settings.)

Speaking earlier in the hour, Donald Trump Jr. drew a prince-and-the-pauper image of them: ''A kid from Appalachia and a kid from Trump Tower in Manhattan!'' (Middletown is not actually in Appalachia.) At times, Wednesday's program felt as if Mr. Vance were being not only hired but also adopted.

His prime-time debut was a family affair. His wife, Usha, gave him an apolitical introduction, recalling how this ''meat and potatoes'' man had adapted to her vegetarian diet. (She wore blue, as though to signal her past as a registered Democrat.) He spoke of his affection for her Indian immigrant parents.

All this came in the context of the family-heavy Trump convention -- in addition to the Trump children and grandchildren on display, Mr. Trump's daughter-in-law, Lara Trump, heads the Republican National Committee.

This homey tableau left out a lot. Mr. Vance's social conservatism was left aside, though earlier in the day CNN dug up a 2022 recording of him saying, ''I would certainly like abortion to be illegal nationally.'' He did not talk, as he had before, of the need to ''seize the institutions of the left'' and subject them to a ''de-woke-ification program'' even if courts rule it illegal. There was no rhetoric about stolen elections, or about Mr. Vance's statements that as vice president he would not have certified the 2020 results.

There would be time for other aspects of policy, on the campaign trail and if Mr. Vance won the vice presidency. Wednesday night's introduction was about bringing J.D. Vance into the family, which, in the Trump operation, is all part of the apprenticeship.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/arts/television/jd-vance-trump-apprentice.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/arts/television/jd-vance-trump-apprentice.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio accepted the Republican nomination for vice president on Wednesday night, casting himself as an ideological heir to Donald J. Trump. At 39, he is half Mr. Trump's age. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

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**End of Document**



[***Seeing Eye to Eye, In Russian Or English***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTS-MXV1-DXY4-X0NS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 27, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1581 words

**Byline:** By Joshua Barone

**Body**

The first time Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky translated a Russian novel together, it felt as though another man had joined their marriage: Dostoyevsky.

''It was a mariage à trois,'' Volokhonsky said over coffee at her and Pevear's rambling apartment in the 15th arrondissement of Paris. ''Dostoyevsky was always in our mind. We just lived with him.''

They were, Pevear recalled, pouring themselves into ''The Brothers Karamazov,'' Dostoyevsky's immense final novel. ''Well,'' Volokhonsky said, ''at least we like each other.''

Their translation of ''The Brothers Karamazov,'' published in 1990, was so well received that a full-page review in The New York Times Book Review declared, ''The truth is out at last.'' Their edition of the novel, it continued, ''finally gets the musical whole of Dostoyevsky's original.''

Since then, Pevear and Volokhonsky, he now 81 and she 78, have become reigning translators of Russian literature, publishing an average of one volume per year, including classics by Tolstoy and Chekhov, as well as lesser-known books and works by contemporary writers like the Nobel laureate Svetlana Alexievich. In their reach, the couple are the Constance Garnett of our time, making vast swaths of Russia's written word available to the West, for which they have received both adulation and full-throated condemnation.

Their latest project is a translation of Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin's ''Foolsburg: The History of a Town,'' published earlier this month by Vintage. To Anglophone readers, to whom the book is largely unknown, it will be a corrective to the only previous translation available, from 1980, as well as an argument for the book's Swiftian wit and its relevance to Russia and the United States today. There is even a character in it named Trump.

In Russia, ''The History of a Town'' is read in schools and regarded as a masterpiece of 19th-century satire that skewered the country's leaders and commoners alike through a clinically straightforward chronicle of a place called Foolsburg. ''Stupidity, thievery, deceit, skulduggery -- whatever you want to name, it's there,'' Pevear said.

But the previous English translation, by Paul Foote, who died in 2011, is insistently literal, missing the wordplay that makes the book so funny; names, for example, are left in Russian, meaningless to people who don't speak the language. That is the biggest change in the often wry, even laugh-out-loud version by Pevear and Volokhonsky. Foote's Baklan has become Blockheadov; Borodavkin, Wartbeardin; Pryshch, Pustule; and so on. Even the name of the town, in Foote's edition, went untranslated as Glupov, instead of as Foolsburg.

There is a Putinesque leader of the town who dreams of restoring Russia's former glory by returning ''ancient Byzantium under the sway of the Russian state.'' Late in the book, Saltykov introduces a character named Trump (an exact translation of Kozyr), a ''simple ragpicker'' who takes advantage of crisis to make money and switches from one party to another for political gain. He is so careful about covering his tracks that when he is finally brought under real scrutiny, he is found not guilty and deemed ''truly the worthiest citizen, who greatly contributed to the suppression of the revolution.''

Volokhonsky called the book ''timeless,'' adding that, ''it's very much bound with Russian history, but it's also about the human condition.''

She and Pevear translated ''The History of a Town'' using virtually the same method as for ''The Brothers Karamazov.'' They have been together for 42 years, and have collaborated for nearly as long, brought together, they said, seemingly by fate.

Pevear, an American writer who maintained ***working-class*** jobs in places like a New England boat yard, had published an article that caught the attention of a Russian professor named Irina Kirk. She wanted to introduce him to a friend of hers who had emigrated from the Soviet Union: Larissa Volokhonsky, who, while a graduate student in Leningrad (modern-day Saint Petersburg) in 1973, had impulsively moved to the United States by way of Italy.

Volokhonsky, a linguist by training, had enrolled at Yale Divinity School. Pevear, who was living in New York at the time, went up to Connecticut to meet her, not knowing that she was actually in his city renewing her visa. ''It was like Nabokov,'' Volokhonsky said with a laugh.

They eventually met in Connecticut, and when Volokhonsky moved to New York, it was to an apartment across the street from Pevear's building. It wasn't long before they were living together. Then, when she saw that he was reading David Magarshack's translation of ''The Brothers Karamazov,'' she decided to join him, reading the original in Russian. Sometimes, out of curiosity, she would ask how a seemingly idiosyncratic phrase was translated, only to find out that it wasn't.

''Suddenly, a light went on,'' Volokhonsky said. ''We decided that we would translate it.''

She created a word-for-word, phrase-for-phrase translation into English that Pevear, who doesn't speak fluent Russian, then smoothed over. She took that back to the original text and questioned some of his changes; they discussed the entire manuscript, she said, and, setting a precedent that continues today, disagreed without ever fighting. (Like any couple, they bicker instead about everyday things around the home. When, during the visit to their apartment, he asked her whether he was in her way, she responded, ''Yes, you are always in my way.'')

Before sending their translation to the publisher, Pevear read it aloud while Volokhonsky followed along with the original book. The goal, they agreed, was simple: to do in English what Dostoyevsky did in Russian, as opposed to, Pevear said, ''imposing English rules on Russian.''

It wasn't easy to get ''The Brothers Karamazov'' published. They had initially been offered a $1,000 advance, which they were able to negotiate to $6,000. But it was a $36,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities that made the translation possible. With two young children, they moved to Paris, quit outside work and finished the job.

The translation was well received, but a follow-up wasn't necessarily a given. They signed a contract for three additional Dostoyevsky books, which sold well, then moved on to Nikolai Gogol, which didn't. They worked in their Paris apartment, in separate rooms but within shouting distance, so they could communicate. Eventually, they made their way to Tolstoy, with, for example, a version of ''Anna Karenina'' that restored the writer's rhetorical repetition of words, like ''enchanting'' to describe the title character.

Along the way, they established certain red lines. They didn't translate Russian dramas until they started to collaborate with the Chekhov-esque playwright Richard Nelson. They still don't translate poetry. ''Too much gets lost,'' Volokhonsky said. ''When Pushkin translated Dante and Shakespeare, it was Pushkin's poetry, inspired by them. We were asked to translate Pushkin, but it's impossible. There are amazing 'Onegin' translations, but they are not Pushkin.''

A bit of good luck arrived in 2004, when their ''Anna Karenina'' was selected for Oprah's Book Club, an anointment that flipped the fortunes of a commercially modest translation. From the outside, Volokhonsky said, it looked as though she and Pevear had been raised ''out of abject poverty to enormous riches.'' In reality, they finally had a pension fund and an accountant.

Still, they became targets of criticism that they were rampaging through Russian literature as if it were a trove of treasures more literal than figurative. Janet Malcolm, in a scathing essay in The New York Review of Books, accused them of establishing ''an industry of taking everything they can get their hands on written in Russian.'' The scholarly critic Gary Saul Morson also wrote a takedown, called ''The Pevearsion of Russian Literature,'' in which he wrote that their works are ''Potemkin translations -- apparently definitive but actually flat and fake on closer inspection.''

Pevear and Volokhonsky had their defenders, and there were holes in attacks against them. Neither Malcolm nor another harsh critic, Helen Andrews, spoke Russian, for example; they just preferred Garnett's Edwardian translations and seemed to dislike modern translations in general.

In a response to Malcolm's essay, the author and translator Alice Sedgwick Wohl wrote that she preferred Pevear and Volokhonsky's translations ''because I always sense the presence of the original behind the window. I also love Garnett's translations, for all the reasons that Janet Malcolm adduces, although I always feel I am reading an English novel set in Russia.''

Ultimately, how Pevear and Volokhonsky's translations are viewed depends on a reader's philosophy of the craft. Garnett's are eloquently of their time but have been seen by some as infelicitous oversteps that transformed Russian more than translated it. Pevear and Volokhonsky aim for something like objectivity and fidelity; if the diction sounds awkward, it's a reflection of the author's stylistic quirks, not their own.

''We don't try to be different,'' Volokhonsky said. ''It just comes out different. It's nice to be praised, and it's bad to be criticized, and Garnett was a great woman. We just translate differently. People can prefer her translations or ours, and that's fine. People have different tastes.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/26/books/larissa-volokhonsky-richard-pevear.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/26/books/larissa-volokhonsky-richard-pevear.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Larissa Volokhonsky and Richard Pevear at their country home in Anthien, France. (C1)

Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky's latest project, a translation of Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin's ''Foolsburg: The History of a Town,'' was published this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CLARA WATT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C4) This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** August 27, 2024

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[***An American Art Form Flourishes in France***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CP5-7C31-JBG3-60NP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 10, 2024 Saturday

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**Length:** 1358 words

**Byline:** By Jeff Chang and Giulia Frigieri

**Body**

On Friday, breaking makes its Olympics debut at the Place de la Concorde in Paris. This form of dance, created by Black youths in the Bronx in the early 1970s, has traveled far from its birthplace. It is now studied, practiced and performed enthusiastically in countries all over the world -- and has inspired Olympic-bound B-boys and B-girls, as the dancers are called, from a diverse group of countries including Canada, Ukraine, Japan, South Korea and France.

Over a half-century from its origins, breaking has become another American-grown art form that, much like jazz, other nations are now cultivating more imaginatively than we are.

Support for hip-hop education in the States typically comes from nonprofit organizations, after-school programs and for-profit dance schools. Despite breaking's American roots, it has never been institutionally supported in public schools as part of a coordinated national policy. In France, however, an enlightened arts education effort is helping to identify and train the dancers who could represent the form's future.

Consider what's happening in Paris's chic Third Arrondissement, about three miles northeast of the Olympic dance floor. The LycÃ©e Turgot, a public high school housed in a majestic 19th-century building, has for the past seven years been home to France's premier national hip-hop dance program.

Each year, about 50 dancers compete for admission to some 15 slots at LycÃ©e Turgot's ''section of hip-hop dances excellence.'' One-third of the dancers are breakers, while the rest dance in a style that the French call ''debout'' or ''standing'' dance, which includes popping, locking, house and ''hip-hop newstyle.'' The dancers admitted to the program receive three years of some of the best arts education any aspiring breaker could imagine.

In addition to taking courses in traditional academic study, Turgot's hip-hop cohort focuses on developing the elements of breaking -- mind, body and soul -- by following an expansive hip-hop pedagogy. For up to 12 hours a week students train, learn technique and analyze hip-hop history and battle strategy, all while being instructed in respect, openness and self-knowledge.

Each day, the students arrive to dance in a bright room with high ceilings, emerald Ionic columns, and barre railings and mirrors. They move in baggy sweaters and joggers, their sneakers squeaking across the blond hardwood, free to occupy their portions of the floor and make magic with their bodies.

David BÃ©rillon, the founder of Turgot's hip-hop section, runs his students through choreographed routines and improvisational battle sessions. Teaching hip-hop dance requires attention to balance: fostering the excitement of competition with bold, creative expression, while helping the students use movement as a tool of self-inquiry and collective effort.

About 15 middle school hip-hop dance programs across France currently feed applicants to Turgot. Thierry DemaiziÃ¨re and Alban Teurlai's acclaimed 2022 documentary, ''Allons Enfants'' (released in the United States as ''Rookies''), spotlighted Mr. BÃ©rillon and his students. B-girl SeÃ±orita Carlota, who will be competing for France on the Olympic stage, is a current post-baccalaureate student at Turgot.

Many of Turgot's dancers come from the ***working-class*** suburbs that are home to students of African and Arab descent. Applicants have been accepted from as far away as Germany, Norway and RÃ©union, a French island in the Indian Ocean. Educators often point to the school's diversity as a model for France, with its long history of colonialism and racial tensions -- which erupted in widespread riots in 2023.

When 19-year-old Jade Rincla, whose parents are from the French West Indies, first came to the LycÃ©e from the Saint-Ouen-sur-Seine, a suburb north of Paris in Seine-Saint-Denis, she worried she'd feel out of place. Some of her classmates were born to the professional class and carried Balenciaga bags. If they talked about Seine-Saint-Denis, it was, she said, ''often for the wrong reasons.''

The hip-hop section gave her confidence and purpose. ''Entering Turgot also meant maturing,'' she said. She carried the Olympic torch through Seine-Saint-Denis and danced on the barge on the Seine in the opening ceremony, and now plans to attend the UniversitÃ© Paris CitÃ© to study biotechnology.

''Hip-hop allows you to open up to the world,'' she says. ''There are no barriers.''

Hip-hop first landed in France in 1982, when an elite group of ambassadors from New York City, including rappers, D.J.s, graffiti artists, double Dutch dancers and the popular breakers the Rock Steady Crew, toured the country. Crowds were often small, but by the time they had left, a contingent of French fans was hooked, especially on breaking.

Two years later, Mr. BÃ©rillon was one of thousands of French viewers tuning in to a national television show titled ''H.I.P.H.O.P.,'' often cited as the first program of its kind. By the end of the 1980s, France had become the second-biggest hip-hop market in the world.

Mr. BÃ©rillon began breaking at the relatively late age of 22. He was a long jumper studying to become a physical education teacher but was losing interest in track and field. He was galvanized by hearing hip-hop lecturers, including Lamine Diouf from the world champion Vagabond Crew, which inspired him to set out on a 25-year mission to bring hip-hop dance into France's public schools.

In 2017, Mr. BÃ©rillon, who had already been working at the LycÃ©e Turgot, found a principal willing to take risks with the curriculum. Funding from the Ministry of National Education and L'AcadÃ©mie de Paris quickly followed. With the announcement that breaking would debut as an event in Buenos Aires at the 2018 Youth Olympics, Mr. BÃ©rillon's mission seemed visionary. Breaking's success as an Olympic sport in Argentina -- and the infrastructure France had already built around it -- may have figured in the decision to greenlight its debut as an official sport in Paris in 2024.

Rules adopted by the International Olympic Committee in 2014 dictated that, starting with the 2020 Tokyo Games, each host city could submit additional sports to be part of the games. For the 2024 games, Paris lobbied to include breaking, following its 2018 success. The 2028 Olympic Summer Games will be held in Los Angeles, but breaking was not selected by organizers. (Flag football and squash will be making their Olympic debuts in Los Angeles.)

Despite breaking's roots in the United States -- and its global popularity -- it's received little official support in this country, where cultural policy is left largely to the marketplace. In the United States, breakers and a small group of entrepreneurs have relied on private capital, corporate sponsorships and a lot of bootstrapping to build an infrastructure of private academies and national professional tours.

The success of the Turgot school makes a case that breaking should be part of a national curriculum in America. Educators like Mr. BÃ©rillon see in the dance a tool for self-expression, creativity, even spiritual discovery.

The dance battle, performed in a circle called a cypher, remains at the heart of breaking. In a cypher, the dancer is enclosed by a community who've gathered there to witness and affirm their joy, surprise and awe as dancers express themselves.

''Turgot, c'est pour la vie, une grande famille,'' Mr. BÃ©rillon said, which translates as ''Turgot is for life, a big family.''

Jeff Chang is the author of ''Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation,'' and ''Water Mirror Echo,'' a forthcoming biography of the martial artist Bruce Lee.

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Follow the New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, WhatsApp, X and Threads.Mr. Chang is the author of ''Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation.'' Ms. Frigieri is a documentary photographer based inTK place.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/opinion/paris-olympics-breaking-france.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/opinion/paris-olympics-breaking-france.html)

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[***As the U.A.W. Scores Wins in Red States, Tensions Emerge Over Gaza Protests***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C7M-XTC1-DXY4-X4M1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1603 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:** A tentative new contract at an Ohio battery maker on Monday was big for President Biden’s E.V. transition, but for some, the victory was upstaged by the U.A.W.’s activism on college campuses.

**Body**

A tentative new contract at an Ohio battery maker on Monday was big for President Biden’s E.V. transition, but for some, the victory was upstaged by the U.A.W.’s activism on college campuses.

The United Automobile Workers has scored a remarkable string of victories — most recently, a landmark contract on Monday for electric vehicle battery workers — as its new leadership strives to restore the union’s image as the voice of an iconic segment of the American ***working class***.

But competing for headlines is a part of the union that represents tens of thousands of university workers, which at the moment is singularly focused on a mission far from building cars and trucks: ending Israel’s war in Gaza.

U.A.W. leaders insist that they can smooth out the dissonance between the dual thrusts of U.A.W. activism — one on college campuses, the other on red-state assembly lines. But it will not be easy. The U.A.W. signs that are crowding pro-Palestinian encampments on campuses, furnished by the union’s international headquarters in Detroit, have alone struck sour notes among some union members uncomfortable with such outward signs of politics on such a fraught topic.

“It’s so bad for the union,” said Isaac Altman, a U.A.W. member and staff lawyer in the family court bureau of the Legal Aid Society of Nassau County, N.Y., who has clashed with his local over a pro-Palestine resolution he called “slightly more radical than Hezbollah.” (The resolution called for an immediate cease-fire and an end to “the occupation and blockade of Palestinian land, sea and air by Israeli military forces.”)

The competition for attention may only get worse. On Monday, union negotiators reached a tentative agreement with Ultium Cells, General Motors’ joint venture with LG Energy Solution, a Korean company, that could prove to be a landmark in the auto industry’s transition to electric vehicles. It would give huge wage increases and far more safety protections to [*employees at an E.V. battery plant in Lordstown, Ohio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html), solid evidence that President Biden’s efforts to combat climate change could fulfill his promise that a green future will not leave workers behind.

“It’s a huge deal,” said Dave Green, the regional director of the U.A.W. in Ohio and Indiana. “We’ve been trying to have a just transition and stop this race to the bottom for wages for E.V. workers. This contract is very exciting.”

At the same time that the contract emerged, the University of California was suing [*a U.A.W. local*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) in the Golden State that represents 48,000 teaching assistants for [*striking over pro-Palestinian protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html), a less-than-ideal image, union officials say, as the new U.A.W. president, Shawn Fain, tries to organize politically conservative blue-collar workers.

University union members, now back to work, received strike pay — $500 a week — and other support from U.A.W. headquarters from [*the moment that University of California, Santa Cruz, graduate students*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) walked off the job on May 20, no different from the autoworkers [*who manned the picket lines in Michigan, Missouri and Ohio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) last fall.

The union’s blue-collar leadership was not exactly brought kicking and screaming to the Gaza protests. Its higher-education locals pressed the national leadership to get involved, but when, in December, the U.A.W. became the first major union to demand a cease-fire in Gaza, the board vote was unanimous.

Asked about the turmoil at California and New York union locals over Gaza, Mr. Green, who represents the U.A.W. in the Republican states of Ohio and Indiana, answered with a curt “no comment.”

Without question, under Mr. Fain’s muscular leadership, the U.A.W. has made strides toward reconnecting with the ***working class***, a plus for President Biden, whom the union has endorsed. A [*six-week wave of strikes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) against the Big Three automakers last fall yielded the biggest pay raises for autoworkers in decades. An [*11th-hour deal at the edge of a strike*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) in April against Daimler Truck in North Carolina gave workers 25 percent raises.

Just days later, [*workers at a Volkswagen plant in Tennessee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) voted overwhelmingly to join the U.A.W., a breakthrough as the union pushes to organize foreign automakers — especially electric vehicle plants — in the union-hostile Southeast.

It has not all been smooth sailing: Last month, [*workers at two Mercedes-Benz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) factories in Alabama voted against U.A.W. representation. On Monday, [*a court-appointed monitor watching the union*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) for corruption accused Mr. Fain and the new leaders of obstructing attempts to access information in violation of a 2020 consent decree reached by the leaders whom Mr. Fain ousted to avoid a Justice Department takeover of the union.

The tentative contract reached this week at Ultium Cells, an E.V. battery joint venture in the shadow of a shuttered auto plant in Northeast Ohio that former President Donald J. Trump promised but failed to save, was meant to get the union back on a positive track. It includes 30 percent raises over three years for most workers, 112 percent raises for the lowest paid, $3,000 bonuses upon ratification and new positions for health and safety workers.

But just like Mr. Biden, Mr. Fain also has to placate pro-Palestinian activists, who are a legacy of past U.A.W. leadership that set out over the last decade to increase flagging membership by organizing teaching assistants and other employees of higher education, especially on the politically active West and Northeast coasts. For the U.A.W., the biggest success came in the last seven years, when tens of thousands of teaching assistants and other workers at the University of California, the University of Washington, the University of Connecticut, New York University and Harvard voted to join the auto union. More than one-quarter of the union’s 391,000 members now work for universities.

“We have set out to rebuild this union and turn it into a fighting union, one that fights for union-organizing but also for humanity as a whole,” said Brandon Mancilla, a U.A.W. board member who came to the union through organizing Harvard graduate students and has been instrumental in its stand on Gaza. “Of course, when you take on as ambitious and broad a mission as this, you’re going to have issues that a lot of the mainstream don’t see as central to traditional unions.”

Not everyone sees it that way, inside the union and out. Last month, Republicans in Congress got involved when Representative Virginia Foxx of North Carolina, the chair of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, [*subpoenaed the president of a small New York U.A.W. local*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html) that represents legal aid workers over its contentious vote for a cease-fire in Gaza and [*attendant accusations of antisemitism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html).

The local itself is badly split, with some calling the Republican probe a witch hunt and [*others suing their own union*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/23/us/politics/biden-electric-vehicles-uaw.html).

“It completely undermines us with management, it completely undermines us in the court of public opinion, and it distracts from the union doing what it’s supposed to be doing: advocating for workers,” Mr. Altman said. “It’s preposterous.”

U.A.W. leaders sought in interviews to tie together the union’s blue-collar successes, its resurgent political activism on Gaza and the new clash with its federal monitor. An old-line labor union, they said, is ruffling a lot of feathers.

“We encourage the monitor to investigate whatever claims are brought to their office, because we know what they’ll find: a U.A.W. leadership committed to serving the membership and running a democratic union,” Mr. Fain said.

Mr. Fain reasoned that taking a position on the issue was in line with the activism of the union’s longtime president Walter Reuther against the Vietnam War and in support of civil rights, as well as with the U.A.W.’s stand against apartheid in South Africa.

“Everything we’re doing is about us as workers having greater control over working conditions,” said Rafael Jaime, the president of U.A.W. Local 4811 in California and a doctoral student in English at the University of California, Los Angeles. He cited pay, health care and safety, “but also a say in how we engage in protests on campus,” adding, “We want to have a voice.”

U.A.W. officials downplayed any disconnect. Some white, skilled tradesmen in the South may recoil at left-wing activism, officials said, but plenty of Southern workers, especially workers of color, agree with calls for an end to the war in Gaza, especially when it is tied to U.S. tax money, the officials added. Tim O’Hara, who was the vice president of the U.A.W. local in Lordstown, Ohio, when the G.M. plant shut down in 2018, preferred to talk up the new Ultium contract.

Lordstown’s local has always been “iconic,” he said. “They have now set the pattern for the contracts that will be negotiated for the Big 3 battery facilities” across the country.

Mr. Mancilla, the U.A.W. board member, noted that the union had also endorsed Mr. Biden’s re-election, although many workers are not likely to vote for him. The activism on Gaza might not be a “day-to-day conversation” for organizers in Southern auto plants, he said. But he added, “I wouldn’t say anyone is being quiet about anything. We’re not hiding that we endorsed Joe Biden, even though many of our members might have different party affiliations.”

PHOTOS: Members of the United Automobile Workers protested at U.C.L.A., above, over the war in Gaza. As protests have consumed campuses, the union’s new president, Shawn Fain, at left in glasses, has tried to organize conservative workers. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAMIAN DOVARGANES/ASSOCIATED PRESS; KIM CHANDLER/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2024

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[***France Confronts Horror of Rape and Drugging Case as 51 Men Go on Trial***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW2-1HH1-JBG3-6018-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 2, 2024 Monday 12:03 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1605 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:** A man is accused of drugging his wife and then inviting dozens of men to rape her over almost a decade. The questions raised by the case have unsettled the country.

**Body**

A man is accused of drugging his wife and then inviting dozens of men to rape her over almost a decade. The questions raised by the case have unsettled the country.

For years, she had been losing hair and weight. She had started forgetting whole days, and sometimes appeared to be in dreamlike trances. Her children and friends worried she had Alzheimer’s.

But in late 2020, after she was summoned to a police station in southern France, she learned a far more shattering story.

Her husband of 50 years, Dominique Pelicot, had been crushing sleeping pills into her food and drink to put her into a deep sleep, the police said, and then raping her. He had ushered dozens of men into her home to film them raping her, too, they said, in abuse that lasted nearly a decade.

Using the man’s photographs, videos and online messages, the police spent the next two years identifying and charging those other suspects.

On Monday, 51 men, including Mr. Pelicot, went on trial in Avignon, in a case that has shocked France and cast a spotlight on the use of drugs to commit sexual abuse and the broader culture in which such crimes could occur.

The accused men represent a kaleidoscope of ***working-class*** and middle-class French society: truck drivers, soldiers, 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 26 to 74. Many have children and are in relationships.

Most are charged with raping the woman once. A handful are accused of returning as many as six times to rape her.

The victim, Gisèle, who has divorced her husband and changed her surname since his arrest, is now in her 70s.

Since his arrest, Mr. Pelicot, 71, has “always declared himself guilty,” said Béatrice Zavarro, his lawyer. “He is not at all contesting his role.”

Other defendants have denied the rape charges, with some arguing that they had the husband’s permission and thought that was sufficient, while others claimed they believed the victim had agreed to be drugged.

When the police showed her some of the photographs they say her husband had carefully classified and stored, she expressed deep shock. She and her husband had been together since they were 18. She had described him to the police as caring and considerate.

She had no memory of being raped, by him or the other men, only one of whom she recognized, she told the police, as a neighbor in town.

The first time she will consciously witness the rapes with some of the men accused present, her lawyer Antoine Camus says, will be in the courtroom when the video recordings are played as evidence.

The trial comes at a moment of heightened scrutiny of the handling of sexual crimes in the country. Rape is defined in French law as an “act of sexual penetration” committed “by violence, coercion, threat or surprise.” A number of feminist lawmakers want to amend that wording to say explicitly that sex without consent is rape, that consent can be withdrawn at any time, and that consent cannot exist if sexual assault is committed “by abusing a state impairing the judgment of another.”

“There is a kind of naïveté on the topic of predators in France, a kind of denial,” said Sandrine Josso, a lawmaker who led a parliamentary commission into what is known in France as “chemical submission” — drugging someone with malicious intent. She started the commission after she says she became the victim of a drugging last year. A senator is being investigated on accusations that he slipped [*Ecstasy into her Champagne*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/18/world/europe/france-senator-drugging.html).

Ms. Josso hopes that the Avignon trial will draw attention to the use of drugs to prey on women, and also shed light on the wide profile of predators. “They could be your neighbors, without falling into paranoia,” she said.

Mr. Pelicot seemed like a classic man next door. He was a trained electrician, an entrepreneur and an avid cyclist. His middle child and only daughter, Caroline Darian, her pen name, described him as a warm and present father in a book published in 2022 about the case, “And I Stopped Calling You Papa.” She tried to turn her family trauma into action, forming a nonprofit association, “Don’t Put Me to Sleep,” to publicize the dangers of drug-facilitated crimes.

Her father, she wrote, was the one who drove her to school, picked her up late from parties, encouraged her and consoled her. Her mother was the stable breadwinner, working as a manager in a Paris-area company for 20 years.

When the wife retired, they moved to a house with a big garden and pool in Mazan, a small town northeast of Avignon. The couple regularly hosted their three children and grandchildren for summer vacations peppered with late dinners on the terrace, where the family debated, held dance competitions and played Trivial Pursuit.

“I think of us as happy,” his daughter wrote. “I thought my parents were.”

None of them harbored any suspicions. Then, in 2020, three women reported Mr. Pelicot to the police for trying to use his camera to film up their skirts in a grocery store, and he was arrested.

The police seized his two cellphones, two cameras and his electronic devices, including his laptop, before releasing him on bail.

On the devices, the police say they found 300 photographs and a video of an unconscious woman being sexually assaulted by many people. They said they also found Skype messages in which the man boasted of drugging his wife and invited men to join him in having sex with her while she was unconscious.

Over the course of their investigation, the police found more than 20,000 videos and photographs, many of them dated and labeled, in an electronic folder titled “abuse.” The timeline they built began in 2011. The list of suspects grew to 83.

Two months after his initial arrest, Mr. Pelicot was arrested again and charged with aggravated rape, drugging and a list of sexual abuse charges. He is also accused of violating the privacy of his wife, daughter and two daughters-in-law on suspicion of illegally recording, and at times distributing, intimate photos of them.

If he is found guilty, he faces up to 20 years in prison.

During interviews with the police, the details of which were included in an overview of the case by the investigative judge, Mr. Pelicot said he began drugging his wife so he could do things to her, and dress her in things, that she normally refused. Then he started inviting others to participate. He said he never asked for or accepted money.

He met most of the men, the investigating judge’s report stated, in a chat room on a notorious, unmoderated French website implicated in more than 23,000 police cases in France alone from 2021 to 2024. It was finally shut down, and its owner arrested, in June after an 18-month investigation stretching across Europe.

The chat room where most of the men met Mr. Pelicot was called “a son insu,” which means “without their knowledge.”

Over the years, Mr. Pelicot told the police, he developed rules for the visitors to ensure that his wife did not wake: no smoking or cologne; undress in the kitchen; warm hands under hot water or on a radiator, so their cold touch would not jolt her. At the end of each night, according to the investigating judge’s report, he cleaned his wife’s body.

Of the 83 suspects, the police identified and charged 50.

Only one of the men is not charged with rape, assault or attempted rape of Mr. Pelicot’s wife. Instead, that man is accused of following the same model, and drugging his own wife to rape her. Mr. Pelicot is also charged with raping the man’s wife while she was drugged.

Five of the men also face charges for possessing child sexual abuse imagery.

Mr. Pelicot is also being investigated in the rape and murder of a 23-year-old woman in 1991 and the attempted rape of a 19-year-old in 1999. He admitted to the attempted rape, according to Florence Rault, the lawyer representing the victims in both cases, but denies any involvement in the 1991 homicide.

The story has prompted some soul-searching among doctors, since Mr. Pelicot’s former wife had visited gynecologists and neurologists over a series of mystifying symptoms, but had received no diagnosis, according to her daughter.

“What I found disturbing for us doctors was that no doctor considered this hypothesis,” said Dr. Ghada Hatem-Gantzer, a well known obstetrician-gynecologist and expert in violence against women. She and a pharmacist, Leila Chaouachi, have now developed training for doctors and nurses on the symptoms that victims of drug-facilitated assault can experience.

Contrary to popular belief, most cases occur at home, not at bars, said Ms. Chaouachi, who runs annual surveys on such offenses in France. Most victims are women, the surveys show, and around half of the victims do not remember the attack, because of blackouts, she said.

In the case going to court in Avignon, some of the accused admitted guilt to the police. According to the investigating judge’s report, many claimed that they were tricked into having sex with a drugged woman — lured by a husband for a three-way encounter and told she was pretending to sleep, because she was shy.

Several said they believed that she had consented to being drugged and raped as part of a sex fantasy. Some said they did not believe it was rape, because her husband was there and they believed he could consent for both of them.

“It sends shivers down the spine regarding the state of affairs in French society,” said Mr. Camus, who is also representing Ms. Darian and many other members of the family. “If that’s the conception of consent in sexual matters in 2024, then we have a lot, a lot, a lot of work to do.”

This article appeared in print on page A1, A6.

**Load-Date:** September 7, 2024

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[***J.D. Vance Becomes Trump’s New Apprentice; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH9-4D31-JBG3-605H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 18, 2024 Thursday 23:53 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1014 words

**Byline:** James Poniewozik James Poniewozik is the chief TV critic for The Times. He writes reviews and essays with an emphasis on television as it reflects a changing culture and politics.

**Highlight:** In his prime-time debut, the senator and “Hillbilly Elegy” author showed what he has to offer his running mate.

**Body**

In his prime-time debut, the senator and “Hillbilly Elegy” author showed what he has to offer his running mate.

Speaking Wednesday at the Republican National Convention, Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio became the latest, and potentially most consequential, of Donald J. Trump’s apprentices to accept the position in prime time.

For years as the host of “The Apprentice,” Mr. Trump picked out protégés from boardrooms full of young supplicants. There was a delicate art to getting the nod. Offend him and you might be dismissed; appear too thirsty and you could get the boot as well. The key was to be yourself but also be him, to be a mirror but a flattering one, to be an echo auto-tuned to please the boss’s ear.

Mr. Vance spent much of his two years in the Senate [*auditioning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html) for the promotion to vice-presidential nominee, cultivating a relationship, apologizing for his Never-Trumper apostasy and recently [*blaming*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html) Biden campaign rhetoric for leading “directly” to the assassination attempt against Mr. Trump.

Accepting the nomination on Wednesday night, he cast himself as a loyal fighter, an ideological heir and a grateful son of the ***working class*** with roots in Appalachia and the Rust Belt.

With Merle Haggard’s “America First” as his walk-on music, he began his speech praising Mr. Trump: “He didn’t need politics,” Mr. Vance said, “but the country needed him.” Mr. Trump looked on smiling in split-screen, as if watching a winner at a season finale.

When it came to introducing himself, Mr. Vance had a head start and a challenge. He was telling a story he had already told, in the memoir [*“Hillbilly Elegy,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html) and so had Ron Howard, in the [*2020 film adaptation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html).

But that story was in some ways not fitted to this audience. His book made the case that poor Appalachians — part of the rural base of the Trumpist G.O.P. — were often at fault for their own problems of unemployment and addiction and that they told themselves “lies” to blame their woes on outsiders.

Wednesday, the author gave that story a bit of a rewrite. He depicted his hometown, Middletown, Ohio, as having been “cast aside and forgotten by America’s ruling class,” who Mr. Vance said had shipped jobs away and let fentanyl stream in. In this remake, President Biden was the villain, the elites’ longtime capo.

Running mates are often chosen to be attack dogs, and they can use the convention to show their bite. Other times, they’re chosen to fit a cultural niche. For the Midwestern Mr. Vance, part of his assignment was simply geographic. He mentioned Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin so often he could have been a Big Ten football announcer.

But it was also demographic. Like one predecessor, John McCain’s running mate, Sarah Palin, Mr. Vance served as an avatar of a kind of rural American life that his party celebrates as especially authentic.

This part of his story Mr. Vance told with a warmer, personable touch. He regaled the hall with memories of “Mamaw,” the rough-talking grandmother who raised him while his mother, Beverly, struggled with drug addiction, and who kept 19 loaded handguns stashed around the house. He introduced Beverly in the audience, congratulating her on “10 years clean and sober.” He was quick with jokes: When his mention of attending “The Ohio State University” prompted a Michigan “Go Blue!” chant, he said, “We’ve had enough political violence.”

Another essential part of Mr. Vance’s résumé was his birth date. At 39, he is half the age of Mr. Trump, and less than half that of President Biden, and his introduction emphasized this. (So did, inadvertently, the news networks’ split-screen of Mr. Biden’s deplaning at Joint Base Andrews, walking gingerly down the steps after a [*Covid diagnosis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html).)

“Joe Biden has been a politician in Washington for longer than I’ve been alive,” Mr. Vance said. He offered Mr. Trump, 78, a political heir and a little youth serum.

Mr. Vance, the stagecraft suggested, could be Mr. Trump’s son. He could, specifically, be Donald Trump Jr. — who [*advocated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html) Mr. Vance — with a few tweaks. (On Tuesday’s “The Daily Show,” Jon Stewart said that Mr. Vance looked as if the younger Trump were the default avatar in a videogame and Mr. Trump had upgraded his settings.)

Speaking earlier in the hour, Donald Trump Jr. drew a prince-and-the-pauper image of them: “A kid from Appalachia and a kid from Trump Tower in Manhattan!” (Middletown is not actually in Appalachia.) At times, Wednesday’s program felt as if Mr. Vance were being not only hired but also adopted.

His prime-time debut was a family affair. His wife, Usha, gave him an apolitical introduction, recalling how this “meat and potatoes” man had adapted to her vegetarian diet. (She wore blue, as though to signal her past as a [*registered Democrat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html).) He spoke of his affection for her Indian immigrant parents.

All this came in the context of the family-heavy Trump convention — in addition to the Trump children and grandchildren on display, Mr. Trump’s daughter-in-law, Lara Trump, heads the Republican National Committee.

This homey tableau left out a lot. Mr. Vance’s social conservatism was left aside, though earlier in the day CNN [*dug up*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html) a 2022 recording of him saying, “I would certainly like abortion to be illegal nationally.” He did not talk, as he [*had before,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html) of the need to “seize the institutions of the left” and subject them to a “de-woke-ification program” even if courts rule it illegal. There was no rhetoric about stolen elections, or about Mr. Vance’s statements that as vice president he would [*not have certified*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/trump-vance-vp-decision.html) the 2020 results.

There would be time for other aspects of policy, on the campaign trail and if Mr. Vance won the vice presidency. Wednesday night’s introduction was about bringing J.D. Vance into the family, which, in the Trump operation, is all part of the apprenticeship.

PHOTO: Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio accepted the Republican nomination for vice president on Wednesday night, casting himself as an ideological heir to Donald J. Trump. At 39, he is half Mr. Trump’s age. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Love Them or Hate Them, This Couple Reign in Russian Literature***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTK-25N1-JBG3-6008-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 26, 2024 Monday 13:51 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1625 words

**Byline:** Joshua Barone Joshua Barone is the assistant classical music and dance editor on the Culture Desk and a contributing classical music critic.

**Highlight:** For Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky, translating together extended naturally from their relationship as husband and wife. Now, it is their life’s work.

**Body**

The first time Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky translated a Russian novel together, it felt as though another man had joined their marriage: Dostoyevsky.

“It was a mariage à trois,” Volokhonsky said over coffee at her and Pevear’s rambling apartment in the 15th arrondissement of Paris. “Dostoyevsky was always in our mind. We just lived with him.”

They were, Pevear recalled, pouring themselves into “The Brothers Karamazov,” Dostoyevsky’s immense final novel. “Well,” Volokhonsky said, “at least we like each other.”

Their translation of “The Brothers Karamazov,” published in 1990, was so well received that [*a full-page review*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html) in The New York Times Book Review declared, “The truth is out at last.” Their edition of the novel, it continued, “finally gets the musical whole of Dostoyevsky’s original.”

Since then, Pevear and Volokhonsky, he now 81 and she 78, have become reigning translators of Russian literature, publishing an average of one volume per year, including classics by Tolstoy and Chekhov, as well as lesser-known books and works by contemporary writers like the [*Nobel laureate*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html) Svetlana Alexievich. In their reach, the couple are the [*Constance Garnett*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html) of our time, making vast swaths of Russia’s written word available to the West, for which they have received both adulation and full-throated condemnation.

Their latest project is a translation of Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin’s [*“Foolsburg: The History of a Town,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html) published earlier this month by Vintage. To Anglophone readers, to whom the book is largely unknown, it will be a corrective to the only previous translation available still in print, from 1980, as well as an argument for the book’s Swiftian wit and its relevance to Russia and the United States today. There is even a character in it named Trump.

In Russia, “The History of a Town” is read in schools and regarded as a masterpiece of 19th-century satire that skewered the country’s leaders and commoners alike through a clinically straightforward chronicle of a place called Foolsburg. “Stupidity, thievery, deceit, skulduggery — whatever you want to name, it’s there,” Pevear said.

But the previous English translation still in print, by Paul Foote, who died in 2011, is insistently literal, missing the wordplay that makes the book so funny; names, for example, are left in Russian, meaningless to people who don’t speak the language. That is the biggest change in the often wry, even laugh-out-loud version by Pevear and Volokhonsky. Foote’s Baklan has become Blockheadov; Borodavkin, Wartbeardin; Pryshch, Pustule; and so on. Even the name of the town, in Foote’s edition, went untranslated as Glupov, instead of as Foolsburg.

There is a Putinesque leader of the town who dreams of restoring Russia’s former glory by returning “ancient Byzantium under the sway of the Russian state.” Late in the book, Saltykov introduces a character named Trump (an exact translation of Kozyr), a “simple ragpicker” who takes advantage of crisis to make money and switches from one party to another for political gain. He is so careful about covering his tracks that when he is finally brought under real scrutiny, he is found not guilty and deemed “truly the worthiest citizen, who greatly contributed to the suppression of the revolution.”

Volokhonsky called the book “timeless,” adding that, “it’s very much bound with Russian history, but it’s also about the human condition.”

She and Pevear translated “The History of a Town” using virtually the same method as for “The Brothers Karamazov.” They have been together for 42 years, and have collaborated for nearly as long, brought together, they said, seemingly by fate.

Pevear, an American writer who maintained ***working-class*** jobs in places like a New England boat yard, had published an article that caught the attention of a Russian professor named Irina Kirk. She wanted to introduce him to a friend of hers who had emigrated from the Soviet Union: Larissa Volokhonsky, who, while a graduate student in Leningrad (modern-day Saint Petersburg) in 1973, had impulsively moved to the United States by way of Italy.

Volokhonsky, a linguist by training, had enrolled at Yale Divinity School. Pevear, who was living in New York at the time, went up to Connecticut to meet her, not knowing that she was actually in his city renewing her visa. “It was like Nabokov,” Volokhonsky said with a laugh.

They eventually met in Connecticut, and when Volokhonsky moved to New York, it was to an apartment across the street from Pevear’s building. It wasn’t long before they were living together. Then, when she saw that he was reading David Magarshack’s translation of “The Brothers Karamazov,” she decided to join him, reading the original in Russian. Sometimes, out of curiosity, she would ask how a seemingly idiosyncratic phrase was translated, only to find out that it wasn’t.

“Suddenly, a light went on,” Volokhonsky said. “We decided that we would translate it.”

She created a word-for-word, phrase-for-phrase translation into English that Pevear, who doesn’t speak fluent Russian, then smoothed over. She took that back to the original text and questioned some of his changes; they discussed the entire manuscript, she said, and, setting a precedent that continues today, disagreed without ever fighting. (Like any couple, they bicker instead about everyday things around the home. When, during the visit to their apartment, he asked her whether he was in her way, she responded, “Yes, you are always in my way.”)

Before sending their translation to the publisher, Pevear read it aloud while Volokhonsky followed along with the original book. The goal, they agreed, was simple: to do in English what Dostoyevsky did in Russian, as opposed to, Pevear said, “imposing English rules on Russian.”

It wasn’t easy to get “The Brothers Karamazov” published. They had initially been offered a $1,000 advance, which they were able to negotiate to $6,000. But it was a $36,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities that made the translation possible. With two young children, they moved to Paris, quit outside work and finished the job.

The translation was well received, but a follow-up wasn’t necessarily a given. They signed a contract for three additional Dostoyevsky books, which sold well, then moved on to Nikolai Gogol, which didn’t. They worked in their Paris apartment, in separate rooms but within shouting distance, so they could communicate. Eventually, they made their way to Tolstoy, with, for example, a version of “Anna Karenina” that restored the writer’s rhetorical repetition of words, like “enchanting” to describe the title character.

Along the way, they established certain red lines. They didn’t translate Russian dramas until [*they started to collaborate*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html) with the Chekhov-esque playwright Richard Nelson. They still don’t translate poetry. “Too much gets lost,” Volokhonsky said. “When Pushkin translated Dante and Shakespeare, it was Pushkin’s poetry, inspired by them. We were asked to translate Pushkin, but it’s impossible. There are amazing ‘Onegin’ translations, but they are not Pushkin.”

A bit of good luck arrived in 2004, when their “Anna Karenina” was selected for Oprah’s Book Club, an anointment that flipped the fortunes of a commercially modest translation. From the outside, Volokhonsky said, it looked as though she and Pevear had been raised “out of abject poverty to enormous riches.” In reality, they finally had a pension fund and an accountant.

Still, they became targets of criticism that they were rampaging through Russian literature as if it were a trove of treasures more literal than figurative. Janet Malcolm, [*in a scathing essay*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html) in The New York Review of Books, accused them of establishing “an industry of taking everything they can get their hands on written in Russian.” The scholarly critic Gary Saul Morson [*also wrote a takedown*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html), called “The Pevearsion of Russian Literature,” in which he wrote that their works are “Potemkin translations — apparently definitive but actually flat and fake on closer inspection.”

Pevear and Volokhonsky had their defenders, and there were holes in attacks against them. Neither Malcolm nor another harsh critic, [*Helen Andrews*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html), spoke Russian, for example; they just preferred Garnett’s Edwardian translations and seemed to dislike modern translations in general.

In a response to Malcolm’s essay, the author and translator [*Alice Sedgwick Wohl wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/11/books/dostoyevsky-with-all-the-music.html) that she preferred Pevear and Volokhonsky’s translations “because I always sense the presence of the original behind the window. I also love Garnett’s translations, for all the reasons that Janet Malcolm adduces, although I always feel I am reading an English novel set in Russia.”

Ultimately, how Pevear and Volokhonsky’s translations are viewed depends on a reader’s philosophy of the craft. Garnett’s are eloquently of their time but have been seen by some as infelicitous oversteps that transformed Russian more than translated it. Pevear and Volokhonsky aim for something like objectivity and fidelity; if the diction sounds awkward, it’s a reflection of the author’s stylistic quirks, not their own.

“We don’t try to be different,” Volokhonsky said. “It just comes out different. It’s nice to be praised, and it’s bad to be criticized, and Garnett was a great woman. We just translate differently. People can prefer her translations or ours, and that’s fine. People have different tastes.”

PHOTOS: Larissa Volokhonsky and Richard Pevear at their country home in Anthien, France. (C1); Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky’s latest project, a translation of Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin’s “Foolsburg: The History of a Town,” was published this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CLARA WATT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C4) This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** August 29, 2024

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[***Essay / Harry, Barry and Larry***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXC-6471-DXY4-X1VC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 8, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 16; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1705 words

**Byline:** By Dwight Garner

**Body**

Harry Crews, Barry Hannah and Larry Brown were part of a Southern writers' movement that centered dissidents and outsiders. They're still worth reading.

In and around Oxford, Miss., about three decades ago, it wasn't uncommon to drive along a rural route and pass a car with a bumper sticker that said, ''I'd rather be reading Airships.'' The people in those cars tended to have their windows rolled down, and they looked awfully happy. These were the kind of free and literate souls, with their muddy boots and eyeglasses, that a bar-stool sociologist might call liberal rednecks. Someone slapped a copy of that bumper sticker on William Faulkner's grave in Oxford. No one thought it vandalism.

Do you remember ''Airships''? Published in 1978, it's a collection of 20 short stories by Barry Hannah that slowly became a classic of a then-new style of Southern literature. Hannah was from Mississippi. His writing was anarchic and wonderfully funny. He sounded like what you'd get if you stirred three heaping teaspoons of Thomas Pynchon and Terry Southern into a jar of Eudora Welty.

I was 13 when ''Airships'' came out; it took me two decades to catch up with it. When I did, yikes, I was troubled by the rebarbative flecks of its racial content. ''Airships'' was the wrong book to hang a movement on. But let's hold that thought for a moment. Because in retrospect ''Airships'' was a small, misshapen and early part of an era that would come to mean a lot to me and to many other readers I know, an era that should not be left to pass without comment.

This was a movement for which I'm tempted to use a shorthand drawn from three of its best writers: Harry, Barry and Larry. I am talking about Harry Crews (1935-2012), Barry Hannah (1942-2010) and Larry Brown (1951-2004). They were at the vanguard of a genre sometimes referred to as Grit Lit, or Rough South.

The ''sensitive guy at the dogfight'' -- that's what Tom Franklin, a Rough South novelist himself, said these writers sounded like. The genre's heyday was during the 1980s and '90s. It wasn't entirely a boys' club: Bobbie Ann Mason and Dorothy Allison were paid-up members, and Jayne Anne Phillips was a brilliant and moody adjunct from West Virginia, where I spent the first eight years of my life.

I've never loved the phrase ''Rough South.'' It's too coarse. (The term ''Americana,'' for the more literate variety of country music, has an artsy-craftsy Betsy Ross vibe that's even worse.) The Harry, Barry and Larry crowd and their progeny have mostly dwindled away, perhaps for good reason. But I sometimes stare at their age-speckled paperbacks on my shelves, and I wonder: What was that all about?

They were very different writers. Crews's stuff is intensely masculine and often violent. Like Flannery O'Connor, he has an affinity for grotesques, and for shame in its umpteen varieties. Herman Mack, the protagonist of his pulverizing novel ''Car,'' commences to eat an entire Ford Maverick on a stage. Crews had a commanding hold on what Philip Roth called the ''American berserk.'' His memoir, ''A Childhood,'' about his impoverished upbringing near Georgia's Okefenokee Swamp, is as powerful an American story as I know.

We've talked about Hannah. Digression piles on digression in his stories and his novels, which include ''Geronimo Rex,'' ''Ray'' and ''Yonder Stands Your Orphan.'' Hannah snorted the chalky line between seriousness and playfulness. A typical sweet and funky declaration of love in his work is, ''I want to sleep in her uterus with my foot hanging out.''

Finally, there's Brown. His prose has a more placid surface, but he has a deep feeling for blue-collar life and the gentle humor in his work rises to the surface like a trout after a fly. His novel ''Joe'' was made into a Nicolas Cage movie, but his work lives most fully in his come-as-you-are short stories, collected in a book called ''Tiny Love,'' and a near-perfect memoir, ''On Fire,'' about working for the Oxford Fire Department.

I owe an enormous debt to the irreverent and well-read English teachers in my public high school in Florida. They noticed how happy the frazzled humor in Welty's work made me, and they turned me onto these younger Southern writers. They sent me home with Randy Newman, John Prine and Lucinda Williams records, too. They guessed, correctly, that I'd take to these like a pup going for a walk.

My teachers' blended recommendations for books and music, in retrospect, make sense. No literary genre has been so closely tied to a musical one as has Rough South to Americana. (Williams's father was the poet Miller Williams, and she grew up chasing the peacocks in Flannery O'Connor's yard.) If you spent time around Oxford in the 1990s, it was possible to envision an alternative America in which Rosanne Cash was president, Chuck Berry was secretary of transportation, Newman ran the Navy and Bobby Bland oversaw keeping the lights down low in nightclubs.

If Partisan Review was the house organ of the New York Intellectuals, the keeper of the Rough South's flame was The Oxford American, a quarterly that debuted in 1992. The movement's high church, clubhouse and psychiatric headquarters was a bookstore: Square Books, in downtown Oxford, not far from Faulkner's home. It remains one of the best bookstores in the English-speaking world.

Over time, my sets of Harry's, Barry's and Larry's oeuvres became dusty. I grew out of their work, or I told myself that I did. Crews and Hannah began to resemble literary character actors; their talents were sharp but narrow. Often, they strained for effect. Brown never strained for anything. But he, too, has his limitations, especially a certain tonal repetitiveness. Once I'd discovered Iris Murdoch, Ralph Ellison, Mary Gaitskill, Martin Amis and John Updike, to name but a few titanic sensibilities, my attention drifted from the Rough South in the way that your attention will drift, for years or even decades, from bands that mattered to you. Not that I didn't return for visits.

Some of their work has aged poorly. If the Rough South crowd was not exclusively a boys' club, it was a white one. I wish a few of these writers had done certain things differently. For the most part they skittered around the subject of race and around what the critic Louis Rubin called the ''impossible load of the past.'' But Hannah throws the N-word around too freely in ''Airships,'' usually but not always in the voice of an addled narrator steeped in the prejudices of an earlier time.

To his credit, Hannah grew out of this predilection, and his best stories -- collected in a euphoric career retrospective titled ''Long, Last, Happy'' -- are not marred by it. The sexism in some of Crews's work is ripe, but it generally bleeds over into obvious parody. (Kim Gordon, Lydia Lunch and Sadie Mae once formed a thrash supergroup called Harry Crews.) If Norman Mailer had handled snakes and was into muddy, open-wheeled auto sports, he might have sounded a bit like Crews.

Here's the thing I came to say, though. I feel lucky to have found Harry, Barry and Larry when I did. They provided me, in a way more highbrow writers might not have, with core literary values. Among them: Dry is better than wet. Funny beats somber. Liberal (in the small ''l'' sense) is better than conservative. Writing about ordinary lives is, nine times out of 10, more valuable and more interesting than reading about cosseted or artistic ones.

There is more. Like the filmmaker Mike Leigh, Harry, Barry and Larry refused to condescend to ***working-class*** people. (One character in ''Airships'' announces, to no one in particular, that he went to junior college, ''which is to say, I can read and feel fine things and count.'') Crews and Brown knew what it was to chop cotton; Brown worked factory jobs. They were in absolute sync with the world's misfits, dissidents and jokers. All three had a mistrust of authority. Few writers have better lived up to Charlotte Brontë's epic declaration in ''Jane Eyre'': ''I would always rather be happy than dignified.''

These writers barely existed in publications such as The New York Review of Books. (No Crews book was reviewed there. One of Brown's was, in a group review. Three of Hannah's were, also in group notices, the steerage of arts criticism.) I sensed early that if I took too many cues from that austere publication, my reading life would be as cold and stunted as a pebble in a middling Bergman movie.

It's best to enter the literate world like a cat burglar, I've long suspected -- through a window, that is, rather than through the front door. Kids, you must find these windows on your own. Then you drift down the stairs and kick open the main entrance.

Were the Rough South's books aimed solely at readers of the honky persuasion? I don't think so. The most fun I've had in literary conversation in the past few years was driving around rural Virginia with the crime writer S.A. Cosby, who has an encyclopedic knowledge of Crews's work, as well as that of other Rough South writers. We geeked out together. (Cosby wrote the introduction to a new edition of Crews's 1988 novel ''The Knockout Artist.'')

I've been grateful that Harry, Barry and Larry gave me the eyes to see Black novelists such as Charles Wright, Fran Ross and Paul Beatty, the ones who blend the pain with the funny, the ones who do battle with tedium in every paragraph. It's a pleasure to note that the powerful and earthy Mississippi writer Jesmyn Ward was a writer in residence at Ole Miss -- a title Hannah held for more than 25 years. If the new Southern literature has an avatar, it's surely Ward.

Larry Brown used to hand out a business card that had the words ''Human Being'' under his name. I'm lucky to have one of them. His work, like Crews's and Hannah's, had a humane and deep-souled quality that declared, at bottom: You can decide to believe in yourself.

There is a perfect moment in Ted Geltner's 2017 biography of Crews, ''Blood, Bone and Marrow,'' in which Crews informs his mother that he's sold his first novel. She is incredulous. ''You mean, you made it all up, and they taken it and give you real money for it?'' she asks.

''Yes, Ma,'' he replies. ''Yes, they have.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/books/review/harry-crews-barry-hannah-larry-brown.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/21/books/review/harry-crews-barry-hannah-larry-brown.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Harry Crews (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE FLORIDA TIMES-UNION-USA TODAY NETWORK)

Larry Brown (PHOTOGRAPH BY NANCY R. SCHIFF/GETTY IMAGES)

Barry Hannah (PHOTOGRAPH BY ROLLIN RIGGS) (BR16)

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES) Popular titles by the trio of writers. Top right: Larry Brown's business card. (BR17) This article appeared in print on page BR16, BR17.

**Load-Date:** September 8, 2024

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[***Super PAC Eyes Ad Blitz For Trump In Key States***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C69-1YW1-DXY4-X02D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 684 words

**Byline:** By Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan

**Body**

In a memo for donors obtained by The New York Times, the group also said it viewed Pennsylvania as critical to the Trump campaign's success in November.

The original super PAC supporting Donald J. Trump's presidential campaign plans to report that it raised nearly $70 million in May, and that it will spend a further $100 million through Labor Day, according to a memo written for the group's donors.

The super PAC, Make America Great Again Inc., is preparing an advertising blitz focused on a handful of key states in the Rust Belt and the Sun Belt, where several polls show Mr. Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, leading President Biden.

The memo, a copy of which was provided to The New York Times by someone who received it, was written by the group's chief executive, Taylor Budowich. The burst of fund-raising it describes is on track with the surge that the Trump campaign has said it experienced after Mr. Trump was convicted last week in a Manhattan courtroom on 34 counts of falsifying business records intended to conceal a hush-money payment to a porn star in 2016.

The Trump campaign has said that it raised $141 million in the days after the verdict on May 30. That, along with the MAGA Inc. figure, cannot be independently verified until campaign finance reports are made public. But by all accounts, Mr. Trump and his allied groups are moving to chip away at what has been an enormous cash advantage held by Democrats.

Mr. Budowich argued that the conviction in the Manhattan case had not changed the fundamentals of a race in which Mr. Biden is running as an incumbent with dangerously low approval ratings.

In the memo, Mr. Budowich said the money would be used to continue to try to peel off Black and Latino voters, from whom Mr. Trump is currently attracting more support than he has in the past. The money will also be spent in the Rust Belt, where Mr. Trump's longtime base of white ***working-class*** voters dominates.

The memo provides insight into how Mr. Trump's extended orbit views his paths to the 270 electoral votes necessary to win the presidency, and how pivotal one state in particular -- Pennsylvania -- is to their plans.

Democrats ''need to both solidify the blue wall states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, while keeping President Trump defensive in the Sun Belt states of Georgia, Arizona, North Carolina and Nevada,'' Mr. Budowich wrote.

He noted that Mr. Trump had been faring better in the Sun Belt states, adding: ''That doesn't mean it's a certainty -- but we are well positioned. That's why MAGA Inc.'s summer investments will prioritize providing Team Trump with the most electoral paths to victory, while narrowing the battlefield geographically come fall.''

He wrote that Pennsylvania is ''the ballgame,'' but also said Georgia's 16 electoral votes presented, through the south, ''the best gateway to the White House for President Trump -- delivering the targeted 270 electoral votes.''

The super PAC has focused heavily on Pennsylvania, where Mr. Biden's support is stronger than in other Rust Belt states.

Mr. Budowich noted that Mr. Biden's campaign had spent aggressively on advertising, but that the outlays had not yet materialized into a more expansive block of support for the president. Repeatedly, he pointed out that Mr. Trump was being outspent even as he maintained a solid position in polls.

And he said that MAGA Inc. would work off a targeted voter model with its spending in Arizona, Georgia, Nevada and Pennsylvania.

''We may not be able to outspend Democrats, but we can ensure the messages that are being distributed are done so using the targeting that each individual voter requires,'' he wrote.

While MAGA Inc. was the first blessed super PAC supporting Mr. Trump, another group, Right for America, is being led by a Trump ally, Sergio Gor. In addition, Miriam Adelson, the megadonor and widow of the casino magnate Sheldon Adelson, plans to fund a separate entity supporting Mr. Trump, called Preserve America. That group was initially formed in 2020, when Mr. Trump was running for re-election.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/05/us/politics/trump-super-pac-fundraising.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/05/us/politics/trump-super-pac-fundraising.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** June 6, 2024

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[***America Is on the Brink of a Great Political Realignment. It’s Already Visible in Arizona.; Michelle Goldberg***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D63-KCV1-JBG3-62V3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 14, 2024 Monday 21:29 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2957 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:** He and his acolytes purged the G.O.P. to make it smaller and more strident.

**Body**

One day each month, Charlie Kirk, one of the country’s most influential Republican activists, holds an event called Freedom Night in America at Dream City Church, a Pentecostal megachurch on the outskirts of Phoenix. “I truly believe that God has voted early in this election,” he said on a Wednesday in early October, addressing well over 1,000 people from a stage bathed in red, white and blue lights. “I believe that God voted early on July 13, when he spared the life of Donald Trump.”

Kirk was only 18 when he helped found the group Turning Point USA as a sort of youth wing of the Tea Party, and for years it was a secular, libertarian-leaning organization. But as the MAGA movement has grown more explicitly Christian nationalist, so has he. “I do not believe that if you love the Lord, read the Bible and call yourself a Christian, that you can vote for Kamala Harris for president,” he said at Dream City.

Today Turning Point has become a pillar of the Republican Party, especially in the swing state of Arizona, where Trump’s campaign has outsourced much of its ground operation to the group. Its strategy, which it calls “chase the vote,” is to tap into new parts of the electorate by targeting what the campaign calls “low-propensity voters,” the sort of alienated, disconnected people, especially men, who’d presumably gravitate toward Trump if they could be bothered to cast ballots at all. “We’re going to make it too big to rig on Election Day,” said Kirk.

This untested approach carries obvious risks for the Trump campaign. Movements sometimes imagine they can bring new people into the voting pool as a way of avoiding the compromises necessary to reach those who are already there, but it rarely succeeds. Just look at Bernie Sanders’s [*primary campaign*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) in 2020, which counted on mobilizing the politically disengaged with a fiery populist message, only to lose decisively in Michigan. Maybe the right-wing version of this game plan will work, but no one will know until after Election Day.

At Dream City, though, I started to understand why the Trump campaign feels that it needs to rely on irregular voters in Arizona to augment the traditional Republican electorate. Kirk’s guest for October’s Freedom Night was Ben Carson, the housing secretary in the Trump administration. Much of what they said was MAGA boilerplate. But a surprising subtext of their conversation was the problems that Trump’s character and personality create for Republican turnout.

How is it, asked Kirk, that some Christians are voting for Harris? “You know what they say, well, ‘Donald Trump is mean,’ and all these different things,” said Kirk. He made the familiar argument that America needs a strongman, invoking the example of Samson, the biblical hero who massacred a Philistine army using only a donkey’s jawbone.

But then he made a subtler point, stressing that it’s not actually Trump whom conservatives are voting for but the 5,000 political appointees he’ll sweep into office behind him. “Those 5,000 people matter a lot more than whether or not, well, ‘I don’t like Trump because he’s not very nice,’” said Kirk.

In this citadel of MAGA spirituality — the ex-president himself spoke there at a Turning Point event in June — I’d expected to hear Trump praised in exalted terms, not justified as the lesser of two evils. But Carson argued that unless Jesus Christ himself is on the ballot, the lesser evil is the choice in every election. “There are certain individuals that some people just detest because they don’t like their tweets and things like that,” said Carson. He asked, “But do you hate that person more than you love your children and your grandchildren?”

The Harris campaign’s outreach to Republicans has created a fair bit of angst among some progressives. At their convention, Democrats refused activist entreaties to allow a Palestinian to speak, even as they highlighted Republicans backing Harris such as the former representative Adam Kinzinger and John Giles, the mayor of Mesa, Ariz. Harris’s campaign has touted the endorsement of Dick Cheney, archvillain of the George W. Bush era. It’s made the strict border bill co-written by the Oklahoma Republican senator James Lankford the center of its messaging on immigration. In Arizona last week, Harris announced plans to create a bipartisan council of advisers, saying, “We have to have a healthy two-party system.”

“Gone today is that desire to broaden the horizon of political possibility — less ‘unburdened by what has been,’ to borrow another of the vice president’s mantras, than stubbornly chained to it,” [*lamented*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) New York magazine’s Zak Cheney-Rice.

There are reasons to be skeptical of this approach. In 2016, Democrats hoped that Trump’s evident indecency would spur a significant number of Republicans to vote for Hillary Clinton. “For every blue-collar Democrat we lose in western Pennsylvania, we will pick up two moderate Republicans in the suburbs in Philadelphia,” predicted Chuck Schumer, a Democratic senator from New York. It didn’t work out that way. By trying to represent normality and stability, the Democratic Party threatens to become the party of the status quo in a country where the status quo feels increasingly untenable.

But on the ground in Arizona, it’s clear why Harris thinks she can garner a potentially meaningful number of Republican votes. The dynamic Schumer identified in 2016 was real; it just wasn’t far enough along to save Clinton. During the Trump years, as Republicans have improved their margins with ***working-class*** voters, Democrats have made gains with educated suburbanites and, more broadly, with those who fundamentally trust American civic institutions. This realignment is remaking politics in states such as Georgia, which is now a swing state, and Ohio, which [*used*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) to be one but isn’t anymore. But perhaps no place has undergone a partisan revolution quite like Arizona’s.

Until recently, the Republican Party dominated Arizona, the home of Barry Goldwater, whose failed 1964 presidential run helped birth contemporary conservatism. From 1952 to 2016, Arizona voted Republican in [*every presidential election but one*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan). When Trump took office, it had two Republican senators, John McCain, a towering figure and former presidential candidate, and the ultraconservative Jeff Flake, who had been the executive director of the Goldwater Institute, a right-wing think tank in Phoenix. Doug Ducey, a Republican who served as governor from 2015 to 2023, won his 2018 re-election by more than 14 points.

Today things look very different. Arizona voted for Joe Biden in 2020, albeit by the smallest margin of any state, fewer than 11,000 votes. The state has one Democratic senator, Mark Kelly, and one Democrat-turned-independent, Kyrsten Sinema, who is likely to be replaced by a Democrat, Representative Ruben Gallego. The governor and the attorney general are both Democrats. Republicans maintain a one-seat majority in both houses of the legislature, but Democrats could flip them both in this election. And the 2024 presidential race is in [*a dead heat*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan).

Democratic Party organizers surely deserve some of the credit for Arizona’s transformation. Demographic change has also played a role; Arizona is a fast-growing state with hundreds of thousands of new people moving there each year. But Arizona’s G.O.P. wouldn’t have lost its unilateral grip on the state without Trump and his acolytes.

Speaking in his office in Mesa, Arizona’s third-largest city, Giles told me he’s been active in the Arizona Republican Party for his entire adult life. “There was always a strong right-wing element to the Republican Party, kind of the John Birch wing of the party,” he said, referring to the John Birch Society, a far-right, conspiracy-ridden anti-Communist organization. “I never felt particularly comfortable with those folks, but the Republican Party was a big tent, and you could be a John McCain-style Republican and feel at home in the Republican Party. That’s no longer the case.”

The extremism of the current Arizona G.O.P. is hard to overstate. Kelli Ward, a former state party chair, was indicted in April along with 17 others over her efforts to overturn the 2020 election, and the conviction that the election was stolen pervades the party at every level. In 2022, Republicans nominated Mark Finchem, a onetime member of the Oath Keepers militia, to be secretary of state. Now running for State Senate, he recently retweeted a QAnon video accusing the Rothschild banking family of engineering the Civil War. Rusty Bowers, a very conservative former speaker of the Arizona House, has been driven out of Republican politics for refusing to go along with the “stop the steal” movement. He lost his last primary to David Farnsworth, a businessman who described the 2020 election as “a real conspiracy headed up by the devil himself.”

Turning Point, which moved its headquarters to Phoenix in 2018, is fully committed to the notion that Biden’s victory was illegitimate, and it’s been effective in enforcing ideological discipline in Arizona. “They have a bigger impact than any other Republican group I know,” the Trump operative Jeff DeWit [*told*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) The Washington Post in 2022, describing Turning Point as more powerful than the Republican National Committee.

Election conspiracy theories nullify any incentive for the party to moderate after its losses, since defeat only demonstrates the monstrous scale of the plot arrayed against it. But on some level, even Kirk must know that the Republican Party in Arizona has contracted, a process he’s played an essential role in.

It was Turning Point, after all, that turbocharged the political campaign of Kari Lake, an extraordinarily unpopular Republican Senate candidate. In 2021, Lake, a former local TV anchor, was running a long-shot race for the Republican gubernatorial primary when she impressed Trump at a Turning Point event in Phoenix. His fulsome endorsement helped catapult her to victory in a crowded primary. As The Post reported, she staffed her campaign with former Turning Point employees.

Lake mimicked Trump’s well-known antipathy to McCain, which probably endeared her to the former president; at one point she was seen as a possible Trump running mate. But building a political identity around contempt for McCain’s wing of the party was an odd choice in a state where he’s still widely revered. “We drove a stake through the heart of the McCain machine,” she boasted at a Conservative Political Action Conference in 2022. At a rally shortly before that year’s election, she asked, “We don’t have any McCain Republicans in here, do we? Get the hell out!”

Many of them did. “Two years ago, you had Kari Lake literally telling people like me to get the hell out of the party,” said Giles. “So they’ve been successful, you know, in rooting out people that don’t align with a MAGA point of view.”

Giles is just one of several old-guard Republicans in Arizona who have endorsed Harris. Flake came out for her in September. Bettina Nava, McCain’s former Arizona state director, told me that everyone she knows from McCain’s operation is a Harris supporter. Harris and Tim Walz, she said, “don’t necessarily represent the Democratic Party. They just represent a path for possibility, because I think they have reached across the aisle.” After Trump’s campaign stunt in Arlington National Cemetery in August, McCain’s youngest son, Jim McCain, both endorsed Harris and registered as a Democrat.

After Giles’s Democratic convention speech, he was prepared for abuse from MAGA die-hards, and he got it. Mesa, after all, is a very conservative area; one of its congressmen is Andy Biggs, who was actively [*involved*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) in trying to overturn the results of the 2020 election. But what surprised Giles were all the people in his right-leaning community who approached him in restaurants and grocery stores to thank him. Some of them were Democrats and independents, but there were Republicans as well. “The negative reaction was expected and predictable,” he said. “The positive reaction was more than I expected.”

The Harris campaign clearly sees an opportunity in Arizona. Last Wednesday, the day early voting began, Walz campaigned there with Jim McCain and Gallego, Lake’s opponent. Seven thousand people attended a Harris rally in Chandler, outside Phoenix, on Thursday. Jill Biden visited, as did a bevy of pro-Harris [*celebrities*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan), including Jennifer Garner, Kerry Washington, Glenn Close and Jessica Alba. Barack Obama is headed there this week.

Democrats are hoping that a ballot initiative to enshrine abortion rights in the state Constitution will help drive turnout. “Arizona, we need to fight this battle on every front,” Harris said on Thursday. “And in this election, you have the chance on the state level to vote yes on Proposition 139 and protect your right to make your own health care decisions.”

But while Proposition 139 is expected to pass handily, the vice president still faces strong headwinds. Many of the problems that have soured some voters on Biden’s administration are particularly acute in Arizona. At one point in 2022, the Phoenix metro area had the highest inflation rate in America, driven in part by an explosion in housing prices during the pandemic, though it’s since cooled off significantly. Arizona is a border state where many voters are deeply upset about illegal immigration; a [*ballot measure*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) giving the state and local police authority to arrest undocumented immigrants is widely expected to pass.

Republicans still lead the state in voter registration, followed by independents. Democrats are just 29 percent of the state’s voters. “Look, the economy in Arizona does not favor Democrats, and Arizona is a conservative state,” said the Republican strategist Barrett Marson. “We’re just not a Trump state.” As Marson noted, even when Trump won Arizona in 2016, he did so with less than 50 percent of the vote. More than 7 percent of the vote that year went to third parties, led by the Libertarians. “Nikki Haley, if she were atop the ticket, this wouldn’t be a competitive state,” he said.

Even if Trump wins Arizona in November, the damage he’s done to the state’s Republican Party could keep its candidates on the ropes for the foreseeable future. The party’s MAGA-fueled erosion is perhaps most visible in the pitiful state of Lake’s campaign. Observers have started [*comparing*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) her to Mark Robinson, the Trump-endorsed Republican candidate for governor of North Carolina. The analogy feels a little unfair, given that Lake has never, at least to my knowledge, called herself a Nazi, expressed a wish to own slaves or fantasized about committing obscene acts with an in-law in the comments section of a porn site. But it gets at the depth of Lake’s reputational collapse.

Recently, Emerson College [*released*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) side-by-side surveys of Arizona and North Carolina. In Arizona it found Trump leading Harris by three percentage points, 50 to 47, but Gallego ahead of Lake by 11 points. As Emerson pointed out, 10 percent of Trump voters in Arizona said they were supporting Gallego, comparable with the 12 percent of Trump voters who were supporting the Democratic candidate for governor in North Carolina, Josh Stein, over Robinson.

Other polls show Arizona’s Senate race tighter, but Gallego is ahead in almost all of them. In some ways, it’s hard to understand why Arizonans appear to dislike Lake so much more than they do Trump, since she’s worked so hard to fashion herself in his image. Misogyny surely plays a role, as does the distinct appeal that Gallego, a Latino Marine veteran, has to other Latino men.

Then there’s the fact that Lake made Republican [*enemies*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) in a reality-TV-style feud with DeWit, the former Trump staff member who became chair of the state party in 2023. Seeing Lake as unelectable, he offered her a lucrative job in exchange for stepping aside. She was recording the conversation, and after it [*leaked*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan), DeWit had to resign. “I liken it to an unsanctioned mob hit against a Trump insider,” said Marson.

But ultimately, Republicans are probably going to lose the Arizona Senate race for the same reason they lost it in 2022, when they nominated the MAGA venture capitalist and gun fetishist Blake Masters, or the Georgia Senate race that year, when they chose the accused domestic abuser Herschel Walker. Trump, who cares only for praise and fealty, has a natural affinity for grifters and fanatics. He elevates figures who share many of his faults but not his Mephistophelean charisma.

I kept asking people if they thought there would be a reckoning among Arizona Republicans if Trump lost. Few said yes.

“There’s part of me that is pessimistic, that thinks that the Republican Party might be a lost cause,” said Giles. He wondered if a new conservative party could emerge. “Maybe we have three parties for a while in our country. But we need to have more than one strong party, and we don’t have that now,” he said.

We still don’t know how Trump’s reshuffling of our political coalitions is going to shake out. Right now, though, Harris sees an opportunity, and she’s trying to seize it.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/current/bernie-sanderss-electability-argument-falls-apart-in-michigan).

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PHOTOS: Far left, a Trump supporter at a Turning Point USA event at the Dream City Church in Phoenix in June. Top, the Arizona delegation’s seating area at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee in July. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CARLOS BARRIA/REUTERS; LANDON NORDEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (SR6; SR7) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

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[***In North Carolina, the Math for a Supermajority May Come Down to 1***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVW-CXV1-JBG3-607R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By David W. Chen

**Body**

It's one of several states where legislators of one party have overridden vetoes from a governor of the opposing party. Several tossup races will determine if that continues.

This fall, as Democrats and Republicans vie for control of state legislatures across the country, much of the attention has focused on states like Michigan, Pennsylvania and Arizona, where one or two seats could tip the balance.

But in a handful of states, the legislature is dominated by one party, while the governor's office is held by another. In those states, a high-stakes effort is underway to either preserve an existing supermajority -- which confers the ability to override a governor's veto -- or to break it.

Nowhere has the battle been more magnified than in North Carolina, a heavily gerrymandered state where Republicans hold the 60 percent minimum required for an override in both chambers, even though registered Democratic voters outnumber Republicans.

Last year, after State Representative Tricia Cotham unexpectedly switched her party affiliation from Democrat to Republican, Republican leaders were able to enact a 12-week limit on most abortions, overriding Gov. Roy Cooper, a Democrat.

Now, Republican legislators cannot afford to lose a single seat, in either chamber, if they want to continue to override his vetoes.

''Remember, one legislator delivered the supermajority,'' Beth Helfrich, a Democrat running for the state House of Representatives, said during a recent town hall in Davidson, N.C. ''My math says one can break it.''

Similar situations are playing out in other states.

Gov. Laura Kelly of Kansas, a Democrat, has vetoed bills on abortion, criminal justice and other issues, only to be overridden by the Republicans' two-thirds supermajority in that state's Legislature. Democrats need to net two seats in the House, or three in the Senate, to break that pattern.

In Nevada, Gov. Joe Lombardo, a Republican, vetoed a record 75 bills in 2023, frustrating Democrats, who have a two-thirds supermajority in the House, but are one short in the Senate. Republicans do not want to lose that seat.

Republicans with their supermajority in North Carolina have been able to loosen campaign finance rules, strip the governor's power to appoint members to state boards and block efforts to update energy efficiency rules for new homes, all over Mr. Cooper's objections.

To preserve that advantage, Republicans there are spending $5.3 million on television ads to bolster candidates in 10 House districts, including Ms. Cotham's, where the Democratic nominee, Nicole Sidman, a director at a Charlotte synagogue, has outraised Ms. Cotham by 4 to 1. At the national level, the Republican State Leadership Committee, pinpointing North Carolina as among the states where Democrats want to ''dismantle Republican supermajorities,'' are investing a record $38 million in state legislative races this year.

On the flip side, The States Project, a Democratic-aligned group, is spending $70 million on legislative races in nine states, including ones for several House seats in North Carolina. The Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee is highlighting 14 North Carolina House and Senate races as part of a $10 million push to convince voters of the importance of controlling state legislatures, said Jeremy Jansen, the group's political director.

''We have an opportunity here in North Carolina to be able to give power back, or at least give some semblance of a balance of power back, by giving the veto pen to the governor,'' he said.

One notable tossup, according to an analysis of partisan leanings by the John Locke Foundation, a conservative think tank, is the 25th district in Nash County, a rural and ***working-class*** area east of Raleigh, where State Representative Allen Chesser, a first-term Republican, is being challenged by Lorenza M. Wilkins, an executive at an anti-hunger nonprofit.

That is also Mr. Cooper's home district. Brenda Brown, the Republican mayor of Nashville, who lives around the corner from where the governor grew up, gushed about the Coopers: ''Just good people.''

Still, Ms. Brown, a retired school principal, enthusiastically endorsed Mr. Chesser, saying he had notched vital grants, such as $5 million in state funding to modernize the county jail.

Mr. Chesser, 39, joined the Army after Sept. 11 and worked as a police officer before working in security and technology. A former high school soccer player, he co-founded a Christian youth soccer league with his wife.

''I played the position of sweeper -- the very last defender,'' he said over breakfast at a restaurant in Middlesex. ''That's kind of my political philosophy as well. I am a true believer in individual rights and freedoms. Limited government in the truest sense.''

He sponsored a bill allowing people with concealed carry permits to bring handguns into churches that also serve as schools. Calling himself ''100 percent pro-life,'' he voted to restrict abortion and give parents more control over school curriculums.

Two of his bills were signed by Mr. Cooper: one enabling patients with rare diseases to receive experimental drugs or medical treatments not approved by the Food and Drug Administration, and another easing the rules for families to adopt foster children.

''I'm a bit of a unicorn,'' said Mr. Chesser, who defeated a two-term Democratic incumbent in 2022. ''I never campaigned on bringing the supermajority to Nash County.''

But Owen H. Strickland II, mayor of Bailey, population 564, said that preserving the Republican supermajority was ''vitally important,'' since Democrats are favored to retain the governorship.

''Whether it's $5 or $5 million for a local bill to help us with whatever, I have to be able to pick up the phone and say, 'Hey, I need this done,''' said Mr. Strickland, a former Democrat. ''The only way it's going to get done is if you have a supermajority.''

Mr. Chesser's challenger, Dr. Wilkins, 51, holds a doctorate in business administration and boasts a wide-ranging résumé including stints as a locomotive engineer and human resources manager.

In an interview at the Nash County Democratic headquarters in Rocky Mount, Dr. Wilkins said his top priority was public education. Unlike Mr. Chesser, he is leery of North Carolina Opportunity Scholarships, which provide state-funded vouchers for private schools. He also sounded the alarm on Project 2025, a package of conservative proposals.

''What's within that document will start to filter down to the state level,'' he said. ''You want to remove the Department of Education. What is that going to do to impoverished kids and school districts?''

A graduate of North Carolina Central University, a historically Black school, and a resident of a district that is 41 percent Black and 8 percent Hispanic, Dr. Wilkins worries about a supermajority bent on gutting diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives.

Dr. Wilkins has been endorsed by state and national labor, reproductive rights and environmental groups -- as has Ms. Helfrich, a former English teacher and school administrator who is running in the 98th district, an affluent and highly educated pocket north of Charlotte.

The seat in the 98th district is held by Representative John R. Bradford III, one of several moderate Republicans who ignored Mr. Cooper's entreaties to break with his caucus on abortion. He turned his sights on Congress, but lost in the Republican primary, and Melinda Bales, a former mayor of Huntersville, is the Republican pick for his old seat.

Ms. Helfrich has raised $243,000 -- versus $91,000 for Ms. Bales -- with nearly 40 percent of her donors living outside the state.

Ms. Helfrich has stressed that gerrymandered maps and politically motivated redistricting in North Carolina and other states damage democracy. She is also tapping into anger over the new abortion restrictions. Indeed, Ms. Cotham's mother was trounced unexpectedly in a Democratic primary for re-election to the Mecklenburg County Board of Commissioners, in what was widely viewed as a proxy vote against her daughter.

In an interview at the home of her father, a retired theater professor at Davidson College, Ms. Helfrich recounted listening to the abortion override vote. She has five children, but has also experienced miscarriages.

''I think a lot of people end up asking the question, what can I do?'' said Ms. Helfrich, 43. ''And lo and behold, what I can do is put together a coalition and build enough momentum in this one district.''

Ms. Bales declined to be interviewed.

A native of Eastern Tennessee, Ms. Bales, 54, logged 12 years as an elected commissioner and mayor in fast-growing Huntersville. Her platform centers on education, transportation and economic development.

Within a half-mile of her house, few residents said they had heard of Ms. Bales.

Betsy Neumann, 39, who described herself as being in the middle, politically, said she worried about Republicans continuing to ''take freedoms away from other people,'' citing abortion and gay marriage.

But Dawn Gilpatrick, 60, who described herself as ''a pretty strong Republican,'' praised Ms. Bales's efforts to bring more companies to Huntersville to increase the tax base. She wants Ms. Bales to join Republicans in pushing for voter ID restrictions and school vouchers.

At a hot dog picnic in Mint Hill, hosted by the Mecklenburg County Republican Party, Ken May, the founding director of the Hornet's Nest Men's Republican Club, praised Ms. Bales as ''not fiery, not blustery. She works across the aisle and is super friendly.''

Then Mr. May excused himself to introduce one of several local and statewide candidates in attendance: Ms. Cotham.

Wearing a red dress to match a sea of MAGA hats, Ms. Cotham noted that while this was her seventh campaign, ''this is my first time running as a Republican, and I am so excited!''

She vowed to tackle crime and beef up the economy. Then she mentioned Governor Cooper.

''It's a glorious day when you get to override his veto,'' she beamed.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/us/veto-override-north-carolina.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/us/veto-override-north-carolina.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Allen Chesser, a state representative running for re-election, said, ''I am a true believer in individual rights and freedoms.''

Brenda Brown, the Republican mayor of Nashville and retired school principal, endorsed Mr. Chesser in the tossup race.

Lorenza M. Wilkins, an executive at an anti-hunger nonprofit group, is the Democratic candidate challenging Mr. Chesser.

Beth Helfrich, a Democrat running for the North Carolina House, campaigning in Huntersville.

State Representative Tricia Cotham, center, switched her affiliation from Democrat to Republican. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CORNELL WATSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***On the Waterfront, a Break From Urban Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVW-CXV1-JBG3-607V-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Liam Stack

**Body**

When the sun comes out, New Yorkers flock to the city's piers. They bring picnic blankets and coolers, sunscreen and speakers, to places where decades ago longshoremen unloaded goods from cargo ships.

New York has changed since then, and so too have its piers.

The city was once a major industrial center, producing everything from Pepsi-Cola to World War II munitions. The waterfront brought those goods to the world, and New York's piers buzzed with the loading and unloading of ships.

But the decline of manufacturing left the piers derelict and unused, both a symbol and a symptom of the city's changing fortunes. They were often rife with crime and drug use at a time when both ills brought New York to the edge of ruin.

That began to change in the 1990s, after a sharp drop in crime, an economic boom and the city's shift to a knowledge-based economy. New York started to reimagine the waterfront as a common good and many piers have been transformed into well-kept public backyards.

Queens: A Gateway to a Booming Borough

Gantry Plaza State Park in Long Island City teems with life on a sunny day.

Dance troupes practice their kicks and twirls. Children run from tree to tree, their exhausted parents not far behind. Young lovers seek solitude at the end of the piers, to either make out or break up.

It was not always like this. The park is named for the towering machines called gantries that once unloaded cargo ships at the piers. Several of them still stand in the park, which is also dotted with old railroad tracks.

Patricia Foley, 60, sat on a bench in the middle of the tracks while her dog Callie, 15, lounged in a stroller nearby. Ms. Foley often comes here from the Upper East Side to relax and take in views of Manhattan across the East River.

''I tell my friends about the park here,'' she said. ''They say, 'Oh, you want us to come to Long Island City?' Before you wouldn't do that, but it's so nice here now.''

Jason D. Antos, the executive director of the Queens Historical Society, did spend time on these piers back in the day. But not in the way that Ms. Foley and so many others do now.

The park did not exist when he was a child. He came to the warehouses with his parents, who owned a luncheonette, to buy bulk restaurant supplies -- tin foil, napkins, plastic forks -- in the 1980s and '90s. Sometimes he would help carry their wares back to the car.

''You had to be careful because you'd have like 1,000 napkins tied together and if you dropped them, forget it, they'd fly all over the place,'' he laughed.

Back then, the pier was ''very desolate and very eerie,'' said Mr. Antos.

''To see its transformation is amazing.''

Brooklyn: An Escape to Another World

Travelers once came to the piers in Bay Ridge to board ferries to Staten Island, before the Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge connected the two boroughs in 1964.

Today, people mainly come to the American Veterans Memorial Pier here for striped bass and sunsets.

Arika Brown, 25, and her wife, Julia Heaney, 26, bike to the pier from their apartment every day at dusk. From there, they get a cinematic view of the bridge, Staten Island, the Jersey City skyline, the Statue of Liberty and the towers of Lower Manhattan.

''So many people live in Brooklyn but they don't come down here,'' said Ms. Brown. ''They think Bay Ridge is too far away.''

Bay Ridge has often felt a bit different from the rest of New York. It is buffeted by sea wind on two sides, and enjoys a view available in few other neighborhoods.

That is why Ken Wang, 27, and his girlfriend Jiaqui Zhou, 24, love it.

''You feel a lot of stress in Manhattan,'' said Mr. Wang, who works at a Manhattan bank. ''But when you come here you feel different.''

On a recent day, children raced scooters; older men fished for bluefish, flounder and fluke; and young lovers planned for the future, even if that just meant looking up nearby dinner spots on Yelp.

Mr. Wang smiled broadly, and gestured to the expanse of water all around him and Ms. Zhou.

''Look at this view,'' he said. ''This is why we come here.''

Manhattan: A Haven on the Edge of the City

The Christopher Street Pier is a luxurious grassy beach on the West Side.

On a recent Friday, diners enjoyed lobster BLTs at the pier's upscale restaurant, while fit men sunbathed nearby. Couples danced the tango to music blasting from a portable speaker.

Joseph Soul, 36, stops at the Christopher Street Pier on his daily afternoon jog, sometimes taking in the sunset, because ''it is so pretty and well managed.''

The pier became famous as a gay hangout during the 1970s and '80s, when it was decrepit and abandoned. Back then, society was far less accepting of L.G.B.T.Q. people, and in the '80s and early '90s, the AIDS crisis was at its peak. The crowd at the piers was largely made up of poor and ***working-class*** gay and transgender people of color, a scene that was documented by the photographers Peter Hujar and Alvin Baltrop.

It was a haven, but it was not safe.

Marsha P. Johnson, a central player in the early L.G.B.T.Q. rights movement, used to hang out there, and in 1992 she was found dead in the water. Her ashes were sprinkled in the Hudson River nearby.

Today, the composition of the crowd at the pier has changed.

Greenwich Village is now one of the most expensive neighborhoods in the country and the pier now draws many well-heeled New Yorkers who come to relax.

The pier still attracts a largely L.G.B.T.Q. crowd, however, and the community of poor and homeless queer youth has remained.

Ivan Marcano, 35, lay reading in the sun after work on a Friday afternoon.

''The pier is great because it's a bit of greenery in the city and it's mostly queer,'' said Mr. Marcano, who left Venezuela almost 20 years ago to live more openly as a gay man.

''It's nice to have a break from all the concrete,'' he said. ''There aren't many places in the city that feel like an escape.''

Staten Island: A View of Water and Dolphins

When you stand on the Ocean Breeze Fishing Pier, New York City feels 1,000 miles away.

The only evidence of the skyline is the spire of the World Trade Center, visible over the tree tops of central Staten Island. The pier reaches out from the Midland Beach neighborhood, 800 feet into Lower New York Bay, which opens onto the Atlantic Ocean.

From the pier's tip, you can watch cruise ships disappear over the horizon, and on a lucky day you might see dolphins or whales pass by.

Oscar Herrera, 40, brings his children to the pier almost every weekend.

''I like to get the kids out of the house, because otherwise they just spend all day watching TV or on the tablets,'' said Mr. Herrera, who has lived nearby for almost 20 years. As he spoke, his son, Enrique, 4, curiously poked his finger into a cup full of bait worms.

The biggest fish his children ever caught was about eight inches long, Mr. Herrera said, but he has had better luck. Earlier this year, he caught a 38-inch-long striped bass. And three years ago, a friend of his caught a turtle that weighed 60 pounds. It took three men to hoist the animal back into the sea.

In the early 20th century, the area was home to a busy shore front entertainment district, with amusement park rides and casinos, said Carli DeFillo, the collections manager at Historic Richmond Town, the local historical society.

Later, the area became blighted. Roughly one dozen fires were set by vandals over the years.

The pier opened in 2003 to great fanfare. These days, the sandy beaches on the shore are clean and the summer air is filled with the song of cicadas.

The Bronx: A Miniature Oasis in a Busy Hub

While crowds flock to some of the city's piers, others remain solitary places.

The Hunts Point neighborhood in the Bronx still retains some of the industrial character that used to define the waterfront across the city. It is home to one of the world's biggest wholesale distributors, where an estimated 4.5 billion pounds of meat, fish and produce is sold each year.

Not far from there, just off Food Center Drive, is the pier at Hunts Point Landing. It is a quiet and sometimes forgotten patch of calm in a hectic area. The grass is overgrown, and it draws few of the families or sunbathers so often found at piers elsewhere in the city.

Fishermen sometimes cast their lines into the water near where the Bronx River and the East River meet. Across the bay is a view of La Guardia Airport and Rikers Island, two of the city's less scenic attractions.

But it is still an oasis amid the parking lots and warehouses overflowing with fish, produce and meat for the hungry city, as many of the piers of New York once were.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/nyregion/summer-piers-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/nyregion/summer-piers-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Justyn Clarke at Gantry Plaza State Park in Long Island City, Queens. Second row from left: Christopher Street Pier in Manhattan

Ivan Marcano there

and George DeNoto at the American Veterans Memorial Pier in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn. Third row from left: Jiaqui Zhou and Ken Wang in Bay Ridge

Alimila Balghinbektegi and her daughter, Begimai, at Gantry Plaza State Park

and children at play there. Above from left: at the Ocean Breeze Fishing Pier on Staten Island, Monisha Paul (center right) and Aurgho Sarker posing for pictures after a surprise engagement

and Brandon Mosley at Hunts Point Landing in the Bronx (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JUTHARAT PINYODOONYACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SEAN SIROTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

OLGA GINZBURG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ELIAS WILLIAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page MB4.

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**End of Document**



[***Decoding JD Vance's Brand of Nationalism***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKK-GN61-JBG3-64FW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 29, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 16; FARAH STOCKMAN

**Length:** 1219 words

**Byline:** By Farah Stockman

**Body**

Is America an idea or a homeland? That question lies at the heart of this roller coaster of a presidential race. It's about whether we Americans should continue to set our sights on global leadership and enforcing universal principles or instead hunker down and take care of our own.

President Biden, in his speech on Wednesday explaining why he withdrew his candidacy, described America as ''the most powerful idea in the history of the world.'' In language echoing legacy Republicans like Ronald Reagan, Mr. Biden said that it was ''an idea stronger than any army, bigger than any ocean, more powerful than any dictator or tyrant.''

But Donald Trump's Republican Party is turning away from that kind of language. At the Republican convention, JD Vance, his running mate, made a point of saying that America is ''not just an idea'' but a ''homeland,'' evoking a mountain cemetery in Eastern Kentucky where he said his ancestors are buried and where he hopes that he and his children will be buried as well.

Some of his critics immediately denounced those references to his family's land and lineage as coded ''blood and soil'' nationalism, the ideology of Nazis. In The Atlantic, Adam Serwer accused Mr. Vance of signaling an ''exclusivist vision of America to his far-right allies'' when he asserted that America is a country made up of people who share a history rather than a ''creedal nation'' -- one primarily based on ideas like freedom and equality. ''If America is a creedal nation, then anyone can be an American,'' Mr. Serwer wrote. ''But if real Americans are those who share a specific history, then some of us are more American than others.''

These critiques ignore the sense of duty that human beings everywhere feel to the places and people that raised us. Americans are no exception. And dismissing the intense debate about whether America is a creedal nation versus a specific place of specific people who share land, history and culture misses a chance to understand something important about the MAGA movement's appeal.

People who speak of America as an idea tend to have a global outlook, arguing for more immigration, free trade and a robust role for the United States around the world. Those who emphasize that it's also a homeland see the country's resources as being squandered on outsiders, while the needs of citizens are brushed aside.

There is so much that is troubling about Mr. Vance and the MAGA movement in general -- election denialism and support for insurrections come to mind -- but this message resonates, especially among the ***working class***. I've spoken with American workers who compete with undocumented immigrants for low-wage jobs in home construction and landscaping and they speak of the downside of the notion that America is an idea -- anybody can walk across the border to claim it. Any soldier in an ill-fated war that tried to export America's self-evident truths to foreign lands may understandably prefer to think about the country as a homeland rather than a set of principles that must be defended everywhere.

There's another reason that people might be attracted to the idea of an American homeland. The modern world can be disorienting, as people lose their vital ties to the places they are from. The rise of cellphones, social media and globalized commerce has created a sense of ''placelessness'' that often robs people of the rootedness that human beings need to flourish, along with the motivation to live ''purposeful lives of self-government and civic engagement,'' according to Wilfred McClay and Ted McAllister, editors of the anthology ''Why Place Matters: Geography, Identity and Civic Life in Modern America.'' The impulse to reclaim a sense of place in the world could be part of why nationalism is on the rise in many countries.

I can understand the risks of talking about the country as an abstract idea. Being from somewhere specific obliges us to grapple with the problems of the people who live there. Ideas, on the other hand, demand little. They are universal and portable, perfect for remote workers moving to Portugal on a golden visa, but less useful for those who have never left their hometowns.

The irony here is that Mr. Biden has done a great deal for the forgotten hometowns that Mr. Vance speaks to.

But this debate lives on, partly because, for conservatives, this is about not just economic populism but also cultural change. Carson Holloway, a fellow at the Claremont Institute, laid out the case against thinking of America primarily as a creedal nation last year in an essay in ''Up From Conservatism: Revitalizing the Right After a Generation of Decay.'' Mr. Holloway argues that overemphasizing universal ideas that liberals like to talk about -- freedom and equality -- as the source of American identity has allowed the country to be ''hijacked by novel and radical notions of freedom'' that left American society adrift, full of young people who believe in gay marriage and, he told me, ''an immigration policy that seeks low-wage workers rather than virtuous citizens.''

When Mr. Vance spoke about the country as a homeland, he appeared to be distinguishing himself from the corporatist, globalist part of the Republican Party. His words seemed intended to repudiate those of Paul Ryan -- another young Republican vice-presidential pick from a very different era -- who declared in 2013: ''America is more than just a country. It's more than Chicago or Wisconsin. It's more than our borders,'' in a speech supporting legal immigration.

Mr. Vance is clearly skeptical about unchecked immigration and the cultural change that it can bring. But his speech was far from a call to end all immigration, or to view all immigrants as second-class citizens, let alone an appeal to Nazi ideology.

Indeed, Mr. Vance heaped praise on his wife -- a Southern California native and the daughter of immigrants from India -- who introduced him at the convention. Mr. Vance said that it was an American tradition to welcome ''newcomers into our American family'' -- as long as it is ''on our terms.'' That's not so different from the way many people -- liberal and conservative -- with decades of family ties to their communities think about newcomers.

As I write this, I'm sitting in a neighborhood in Detroit where people size up whether or not you truly belong by how long your grandmama lived on the block. My neighbor left me a nasty message last weekend after I parked too close to his car: ''You are the new neighbor on the block and need to fall in line with reasonable requests and be respectful of those who have been and will continue to be here long after you are bored with your new purchase.''

It was brutal. But he had a point. Belonging to a place is more than a notion. It takes time, effort and willingness to adhere to community norms. That's true of the country, too. America can be an inspiring idea. But for that idea to have meaning to those who live here, the country also must feel like home.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/28/opinion/jd-vance-nationalism.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/28/opinion/jd-vance-nationalism.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***At This Summer Camp, Ticks and Archery Aren’t the Biggest Dangers; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CCV-N7Y1-JBG3-60NW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 2, 2024 Tuesday 10:38 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 862 words

**Byline:** Kate Tuttle

**Highlight:** In Liz Moore’s new novel, “The God of the Woods,” a pair of missing siblings spark a reckoning on the banks of an Adirondack lake.

**Body**

In Liz Moore’s new novel, “The God of the Woods,” a pair of missing siblings spark a reckoning on the banks of an Adirondack lake.

THE GOD OF THE WOODS, by Liz Moore

Liz Moore’s “The God of the Woods” opens in nostalgic territory: It’s 1975, and Barbara and Tracy are cabin mates at Camp Emerson in the Adirondacks.

Tracy is 12 and gawky, only there because her father has forced her to attend so he can spend more time with his new girlfriend. (Her parents are divorced — yet another factor that’s adding to Tracy’s feelings of awkwardness and disconnection.) Barbara is a mature and rebellious 13, coolly self-assured and into punk rock. She’s also the only living child of the extremely wealthy family that founded the camp.

As summer progresses from camp’s early days to the annual survival trip to the final dance, the girls form a bond of friendship and fascination, broken only on the morning their counselor wakes up and notices that Barbara’s bunk is empty.

Those of us with fond memories of summer camp (mine was Al-Gon-Quian in northern Michigan) will recognize the way campers enter into intense relationships, test themselves against childhood fears and begin to grow into who they’ll become, all under the less-than-watchful eyes of young counselors concerned with dramas of their own.

When Barbara’s counselor, Louise, realizes that one of her campers is missing, she knows exactly what’s at stake: Barbara is one of the Van Laars. Her summer house looms over the camp. Moore writes of this family, “They function as a distant presence on a hill to the north, frequently sighted local celebrities about whom the children and counselors of Camp Emerson speculate and gossip.”

It turns out that, instead of watching over her charges the night before, Louise was at a clandestine campfire with her secret boyfriend, John Paul McLellan, a godson of the Van Laars. She fears losing her job and having to return to a dismal home life with an alcoholic mother in Shattuck, the drab, ***working-class*** hamlet nearby.

“The God of the Woods” moves swiftly from the drama at camp to the shock and horror of Barbara’s mother. Alice hasn’t been particularly close to her daughter, but the girl’s disappearance is eerily reminiscent of an earlier tragedy, when her first child, an 8-year-old son nicknamed Bear, went missing in 1961. He was never found. This staggering loss left Alice a wraith, addicted to sedatives and incapable of mothering Barbara beyond the occasional hectoring at her to eat less and dress better, believing that “part of a mother’s duty was to be her daughter’s first, best critic.” No matter how often Alice’s husband, Peter, and the local police argue that Barbara is likely a runaway, it’s impossible for Alice to ignore the echoes of that first loss.

Alice isn’t alone; others also see connections between the children’s disappearances. Both occurred during house parties where the Van Laars hosted friends and business associates. The police are a presence, of course, as they were in the days following Bear’s vanishing. It soon becomes clear that, from the stone-faced family to their hung-over guests to the salt-of-the-earth camp directors, everyone has secrets to hide.

But Moore’s novel is more than just a mystery about children lost in the woods. It concerns the relationships between parents and children and haves and have-nots. From the start, it’s clear that Moore is firmly on the side of Louise and all the good-hearted people of Shattuck who spent days trying to find Bear. They get the best lines. A local man jokes that the Van Laars’ summer house is named Self-Reliance despite the fact that the townspeople hauled all the building supplies through rough woods on behalf of Barbara’s great-grandfather. The Van Laars do nothing to correct this impression. As Judy, an ambitious police investigator, muses, rich people “generally become most enraged when they sense they’re about to be held accountable for their wrongs.”

I wish Moore had painted the reprehensible Van Laars with more nuance; villains are better when we can see ourselves in them, after all. A few red herrings fall away without resolution, and there are some less-than-convincing details. Would an adolescent from Albany, no matter how sophisticated, really be into punk rock in the summer of 1975, a year before the Ramones released their first album and the Sex Pistols put out their first single? Would an old New York family like the Van Laars, with all the ancestral prejudices that implies, really be so entangled, personally and professionally, with the Irish Catholic McLellans?

These are small complaints. Moore’s portrayal of Alice’s maternal devastation is acutely, painfully real. And her fictional summer camp felt as vivid to me as my own (although we did not shower daily as her campers do — perhaps Al-Gon-Quian was simply a grungier place).

There are a lot of ways to get lost, Moore suggests. If you’re lucky, a path in the woods will help you find your way home.

THE GOD OF THE WOODS | By Liz Moore | Riverhead | 496 pp. | $27

Kate Tuttle needs a bio. tkt kt tk tkt kt tk tkt kt kt kt tkt kt kt kt tkt kt kt kt kt

This article appeared in print on page BR21.

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Artists Remaking Everyday Buildings in Dollhouse Scale***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNR-K6X1-DXY4-X16X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 8, 2024 Thursday 18:14 EST

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**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 1398 words

**Byline:** Zoey Poll

**Highlight:** Miniaturists are memorializing the architecture of quickly changing cities with meticulous renderings of corner stores, restaurants and even dumpsters.

**Body**

IN A QUIET studio on Skeppsholmen, the small, wooded island in central Stockholm, the Swedish artist Christopher Robin Nordström spends hours immersed in a miniature version of Tokyo. He tracks the slow deterioration of the Japanese city’s more nondescript storefronts and homes via Google Maps: the way awnings fade, the path that water damage takes across a facade. His work consists of remaking these buildings, with their mundane imperfections, at sizes that mean they could fit neatly into his bike basket. “It intrigues me that Tokyo is a megacity built up of mini houses,” says Nordström, 44, who designed accessories for a major fast-fashion brand before shifting his attention to scale-model making during the pandemic. He fell in love with the city on his first visit, in 2018, and recently spent over a year creating a knee-high likeness of a three-story apartment block in the Taito Ward, which he was drawn to for what he calls its “very normal” residential quality. The walls are stuccoed in fine-grained sand repurposed from nesting materials for guinea pig habitats, and the frosted windows were cut from the plastic of translucent three-ring binders. Peering through the panes, you can make out a stack of thimble-like ramen bowls, each one formed with the help of a machine used to cast molds of teeth.

Hyperrealist structures like Nordström’s — often compact enough to sit on a mantel and depicting unassuming buildings, sometimes in a state of minor disrepair — have multiplied across social media and in galleries in recent years. It’s an art form perfect for our trompe l’oeil-obsessed digital age: pieces so detailed they require a spare coin or USB drive for scale to prove their true, tiny size. The work owes a debt to older miniaturist traditions, including the making of hobbyists’ model kits — think polystyrene replicas of World War II planes — professional architectural models and, of course, dollhouses, which evolved from 16th-century Bavarian baby houses, shrunken versions of real grand dwellings. But today’s practice upends the expectations of preciousness that often come with these child-friendly dimensions, swapping out fantasy for grime. Indeed, if the style has a birthplace, it’s New York, where fine artists, including the sculptor Alan Wolfson and the mixed-media duo Lori Nix and Kathleen Gerber, have long paid tribute to the city’s streetscapes, down to tiny effigies of trash cans.

This new generation of makers works in scales ranging from 1:24 to the sometimes ceiling-grazing heights of the painted cardboard sculptures by the Philadelphia-based artist Kambel Smith, 37, known for recreating monumental structures that he measures entirely by sight. His nearly 27-foot-tall version of the Burj Khalifa in Dubai — at 2,717 feet, the world’s tallest skyscraper — breaks into five interlocking towers. At any size, the work can be tedious and time-consuming; makers may spend weeks handcrafting seemingly unromantic items like air-conditioners. But for many, including the Canadian set designer and miniatures artist Tracy Ealdama, 45, the satisfaction of problem solving makes up for the frustrations, much like, she says, “completing a thousand-piece puzzle.” Resourceful by necessity, she relies on odds and ends foraged from junk drawers and her children’s toy boxes: The red vinyl counter stool seats at her eight-inch-tall take on a cafe in Miami’s Little Havana neighborhood are, in fact, painted googly eyes.

UNLIKE DOLLHOUSES, DESIGNED as spaces for collaborative play, miniature buildings allow an artist to impose their own vision of a place. “You feel like you’re Godzilla roaming around the city,” says the Manhattan-based artist Nicholas Buffon, 36, who was first drawn to the craft for the sense of control it gave him at a time when he was, he says, “superbroke and living from sublet to sublet.” Since then, working in foam core and polymer clay, he has created scaled-down odes to New York’s queer institutions — such as Julius’, the historic tavern in Greenwich Village, whose TripAdvisor decals and rainbow garlands Buffon reproduced in paint and cut paper — as well as East Village bars where he’s gone on dates.

The French artist Nicolas Pierre, 38, produces scale models to preserve a record of Paris as it was just a few years ago. He specializes in nostalgic portraits of the gentrifying northern arrondissements and the nearby banlieues, such as Saint-Ouen, where he grew up and still lives and works. “I don’t want to suggest that it was better before, which isn’t necessarily true,” he says. “But these places are changing a lot, and I just want to make them live forever.” In 2021, he added the Barbès flagship of the Tati discount department store chain, which closed that year, to his collection of disappearing ***working-class*** Parisian iconography, which also features harshly lit betting cafes and alimentations générales, or local corner stores.

The same impulse for preservation animates the work of the Brooklyn-based artist Danny Cortes, 43. Time capsules of New York City in the 1980s and ’90s, his sculptures of graffiti-covered bodegas and street furniture, including dilapidated iceboxes and newspaper dispensers, are inseparable from the hip-hop hits of those decades when he was growing up in Bushwick listening to the Wu-Tang Clan and Jay-Z. “People say they can feel the weather and hear the music, the cars honking, arguments, laughter,” he says. “They can picture older folks playing dominoes, girls playing double Dutch.”

For such artists — so devoted to realism that they sometimes depict specks of gum on sidewalks — the hardest part of miniature making can be knowing when to stop. Cortes’s mailboxes and lampposts are covered in spray-painted tags left by not only real but also imaginary street artists of his own creation, two of whom, he has decided, “have beef now and go over each other’s names.” Likewise, the 39-year-old former stencil artist turned miniaturist Joshua Smith, who is based in South Australia, wheat pastes his petite abandoned buildings with matchbox-size concert posters for made-up bands playing at actual venues. He once went so far as to install a run-down employee bathroom at the rear of a deli. “No one can see it,” says Smith, “but I know it’s there.”

PHOTOS: Below, from left: a Brooklyn dumpster (five inches tall) by Danny Cortes; a Parisian bakery (11 inches tall) by Nicolas Pierre; a Tokyo police station (13 inches tall) by Christopher Robin Nordström; a New York jazz club (eight inches tall) by Tracy Ealdama; a New York luncheonette (eight inches tall) by Joshua Smith. Opposite: a miniature street scene featuring, from left, New York’s Odessa Restaurant (40 inches tall) by Nicholas Buffon; Philadelphia’s Uptown Theater (43 inches tall) by Kambel Smith; New York’s B &amp; H Dairy lunch counter (20 inches tall) by Buffon; Philadelphia’s Blue Horizon boxing venue (25 inches tall) by Smith.(PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID CHOW; VICTORIA PETRO-CONROY) DANNY CORTES, “BROOKLYN DUMPSTER,” 2020, CALVIN KLEIN SHOE BOX, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST; NICOLAS PIERRE, “LE FOURNIL DE PARIS,” 2021, FOAM BOARD, CARDBOARD, 3-D-PRINTED PARTS AND ACRYLIC PAINT, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST; CHRISTOPHER ROBIN NORDSTRÖM, “KOBAN,” 2020, MEDIUM-DENSITY WOOD FIBERBOARD, STYRENE PLASTIC, BRASS AND WOOD, PRIVATE COLLECTION, NYC; TRACY EALDAMA, “JAZZ CLUB,” 2020, INSPIRED BY THE PIXAR FILM “SOUL,” 2020, CARD STOCK, CRAFT FOAM BOARD, WOOD SKEWERS, CRAFT WIRE, CLEAR GLASS BEADS, SANDPAPER AND ACRYLIC PAINT, COURTESY OF DOPL, N.Y.; JOSHUA SMITH, “TRIBUTE TO THE VANISHING LUNCHEONETTE,” 2022, MEDIUM-DENSITY FIBERBOARD, PAPER, CARDBOARD, PLASTIC, STYRENE AND RESIN PRINTED PARTS, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND THE COLLECTION OF MARC JURIS. OPPOSITE, FROM LEFT: NICHOLAS BUFFON, “ODESSA,” 2016, FOAM, GLUE, PAPER AND PAINT, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND MARINARO, NEW YORK; KAMBEL SMITH, “UPTOWN THEATER,” 2023, CARDBOARD, SPRAY PAINT, GLUE, CHARCOAL, BOND PAPER AND FOAM CORE, COURTESY OF ELAINE DE KOONING HOUSE, EAST HAMPTON, N.Y.; NICHOLAS BUFFON, “B &amp; H DAIRY,” 2018, FOAM CORE, BRISTOL PAPER, ACRYLIC PAINT, GLUE, SCULPEY AND PINS, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND MARINARO, NEW YORK; KAMBEL SMITH, “BLUE HORIZON,” 2023, CARDBOARD, SPRAY PAINT, GLUE, CHARCOAL, BOND PAPER AND FOAM CORE, COURTESY OF ELAINE DE KOONING HOUSE, EAST HAMPTON, N.Y. This article appeared in print on page M2122, M2123.

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2024

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[***6 New Books We Recommend This Week; editors’ choice***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BSD-TCB1-DXY4-X013-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 11, 2024 Thursday 08:57 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 459 words

**Highlight:** Suggested reading from critics and editors at The New York Times.

**Body**

Suggested reading from critics and editors at The New York Times.

Our recommended books this week include two satirical novels — one about identity politics and victimization, the other about artificial intelligence and gender roles — along with Tana French’s second crime novel about a Chicago police officer who retired to the Irish countryside. In nonfiction, we recommend the story of a deadly avalanche, a philosopher’s exploration of the concept of giving up, and the gratifyingly intimate audio version of Barbra Streisand’s recent memoir, which she narrates herself. Happy listening, and happy reading. — Gregory Cowles

[*MY NAME IS BARBRA*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/books/my-name-is-barbra-audiobook-review.html)

Barbra Streisand

Certain of the, shall we say, eccentricities (oh … the ellipses!) in Streisand’s 992-page doorstop of a memoir get wonderfully ironed out in audio form. Its sprawling a-star-is-born anecdotes seem to find their natural form in the towering performer’s 48-plus hours of discursive, disarming and often gloriously off-the-cuff narration.

Penguin Audio | 48 hours, 17 minutes

[*VICTIM*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/books/my-name-is-barbra-audiobook-review.html)

Andrew Boryga

Boryga’s debut is a lively social satire about the fetishization of victimhood, following a young ***working-class*** student, Javi, who uses exaggerated stories of tragedy to earn attention and success. Boryga is having fun, and he’s inviting us to join in.

Doubleday | $27

[*ANNIE BOT*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/books/my-name-is-barbra-audiobook-review.html)

Sierra Greer

On the surface, “Annie Bot” is a story about an A.I. sex robot that grows more and more sentient, but underneath this high-tech premise is a sharp and smart exploration of misogyny, toxic masculinity, selfhood and self-determination.

Mariner | $28

[*ON GIVING UP*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/books/my-name-is-barbra-audiobook-review.html)

Adam Phillips

In his latest book, Phillips’s exploration of “giving up” covers the vast territory between hope and despair. We can give up smoking, sugar or a bad habit; but we can also give up on ourselves. Phillips proposes curiosity and improvisation as antidotes to absolute certainty.

Farrar, Straus &amp; Giroux | $26

[*THE DARKEST WHITE:*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/books/my-name-is-barbra-audiobook-review.html)

[*A Mountain Legend and the Avalanche That Took Him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/books/my-name-is-barbra-audiobook-review.html)

Eric Blehm

In January 2003, seven skiers and snowboarders were killed in an avalanche on a glacier in western Canada. Among them was the American snowboarder Craig Kelly, and the adventure writer Blehm turns this page-turner not just into a biography of the athlete, but a tribute to the sport itself: addictive, thrilling — sometimes deadly.

Harper | $32

[*THE HUNTER*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/books/my-name-is-barbra-audiobook-review.html)

Tana French

For Tana French fans, every one of the thriller writer’s twisty, ingenious books is an event. This one, a sequel to “The Searcher,” once again sees the retired Chicago cop Cal Hooper, a perennial outsider in the Irish west-country hamlet of Ardnakelty, caught up in the crimes — seen and unseen — that eat at the seemingly picturesque village.

Viking | $32

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2024

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[***Why Walz Will Be a Potent Weapon for Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNR-6H51-DXY4-X0JS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 8, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1295 words

**Byline:** By Ross Barkan

**Body**

Kamala Harris's selection of Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota as her running mate was, like most events of this turbulent political season, mostly unforeseeable just a few weeks ago.

Instead of bolstering her ticket with a Democrat from a crucial swing state -- or even one that routinely elected Republicans up and down the ballot -- seemingly at the 11th hour, Ms. Harris opted for Mr. Walz, a 60-year-old former congressman. Mr. Walz is a white Midwestern governor from a largely agrarian state. His selection holds the potential of winning back some rural regions and even states that are now staunchly Republican. This could make for a winning strategy in the Electoral College, which is now daunting for Democrats.

Mr. Walz will be a potent weapon Ms. Harris can readily deploy on her behalf. But he carries downsides that shouldn't be overlooked, beginning with geography and extending to his time as governor during a period of immense upheaval for Minnesota and the country.

Mr. Walz's strengths are clear: He spent over a decade as a public school teacher and football coach and served in the Army National Guard; in 2006, he flipped a Republican-held House district in rural Minnesota and beat back G.O.P. opposition in several trying election cycles. He's relatively progressive and a gun owner.

Democrats have several enormous challenges that the Harris campaign, no matter how well it might function, cannot readily solve. The selection of Mr. Walz could help remedy the problem of ***working-class*** voters who have been bleeding out of the Democratic coalition, especially since Donald Trump won the presidency in 2016. White voters are by far the largest segment, but there have been defections among socially conservative Black and Latino voters, as well.

Two other factors work in his favor: Progressives like him, and he performs well on television. The latter may have mattered even more to Ms. Harris's team. Mr. Walz rocketed to prominence by lashing Republicans as ''weird,'' which became something of a rallying cry after the criticism of JD Vance's comment about ''childless cat ladies.''

The contrasts are stark between Mr. Vance and Mr. Walz, and that's what Democrats like. Mr. Walz is 20 years older, boasts a much deeper record in government and appears at the minimum to be much more telegenic.

Ms. Harris would be the first woman elected president, and only the second nonwhite one, and she seems to have determined that a politician decidedly unlike her is required for this campaign against Mr. Trump. Mr. Walz's liberalism isn't California-inflected. He is of a vanishing political breed: the heartland left populist.

Within the Biden administration, Ms. Harris was often sidelined on major policy initiatives. She remains, for all her time in the public eye, something of a blank slate. In some ways, this makes her choice of vice president more critical as it offers her supporters a sense of what President Harris could achieve distinct from her role as vice president.

On policy matters, in particular the Israel-Hamas war, Mr. Walz assuages, momentarily at least, the restive progressive wing of the Democratic Party. He has a deepening populist track record that could buoy Ms. Harris, signed into law a raft of pro-worker legislation, like a standards board for nursing homes, a ban on noncompete clauses and a bar on anti-union captive-audience meetings. As governor of Minnesota, he quickly codified abortion rights after the fall of Roe v. Wade, signed legislation to safeguard gay and trans rights and helped to create a state-run program to provide paid and family medical leave to workers. Other accomplishments that thrilled the left included driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants, legalizing marijuana, a ''red flag'' gun law and universal school meals. He also signed legislation restoring voting rights to felons who have completed their sentences.

Mr. Walz's foreign policy views are thinly sketched, but he notably lacks Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania's record of forcefully backing Israel and clashing with the pro-Palestinian protesters who came to the fore after the Oct. 7 attacks. When Mr. Biden was the presumptive nominee, Democrats feared mass protests at the Chicago convention later this month, and a Harris-Walz ticket could defuse some of these tensions. In the swing state of Michigan, with its disproportionately large Arab American population, Mr. Walz will at least have more of an ability to reset relations that had deteriorated under the Biden administration.

Typically, the conventional wisdom on running mates is correct: They do not matter all that much. Voters focus on the top of the ticket. But there are genuine risks to picking Mr. Walz over Mr. Shapiro. As the statistician Nate Silver recently argued, Pennsylvania might be the ''tipping point'' state in this election, the single factor that decides whether Mr. Trump returns to the White House. Mr. Biden barely carried the Keystone State in 2020 after Mr. Trump flipped it, also by a minuscule margin, in 2016. Forgoing Mr. Shapiro, who won the governorship by 15 points in 2022, will put that much more pressure on the Harris-Walz ticket to win potentially the party's most vital electoral asset.

The distinct advantages of bringing on Mr. Walz are less clear. Mr. Walz's own state has become competitive for Republicans, but Democrats haven't lost it since Richard Nixon's landslide in 1972. Mr. Walz wasn't needed to rescue Minnesota, and he's not well-known enough in the so-called blue wall states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

No matter Mr. Walz's advantages or disadvantages, Republicans will get to work picking apart his gubernatorial record. He was the governor of Minnesota in 2020, when George Floyd was killed and riots consumed Minneapolis. Ms. Harris's support of criminal justice reform and fleeting embrace of the protest movement that year -- she tweeted in support of a Minnesota bail fund for protesters in the state -- has been fodder for the Trump camp already.

There are other policy decisions that could come back to haunt Mr. Walz on the campaign trail. Just as Republicans have assailed Ms. Harris for the migrants crossing the border and filling American cities, they could hammer Mr. Walz for giving driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants, a policy that is popular in Democratic states but that can be viewed critically elsewhere. The Trump campaign is already criticizing Mr. Walz for granting voting rights to felons who have completed their sentences -- an initiative that conservative and moderate voters could view skeptically. Mr. Walz ''is obsessed with spreading California's dangerously liberal agenda far and wide,'' said Karoline Leavitt, a Trump campaign press secretary.

For now, Democrats have the momentum, with polls showing Ms. Harris on the rise and the Walz selection already exciting the base. Their convention, like the Republicans' in July, is expected to be a show of unity and even euphoria.

And then, just as it did for the G.O.P. convention, reality will set in: A bitter, incredibly close election will be settled in just a few short months. Mr. Walz, for now, meaningfully fortifies Ms. Harris. And he shows just where she felt, as a political candidate, that she may have been falling short.

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.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/opinion/tim-walz-kamala-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/opinion/tim-walz-kamala-harris.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** August 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***It Was 'Love at First Sight' in the Center of Rome. But for Which Apartment?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C9Y-F5D1-DXY4-X02V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section RE; Column 0; Real Estate Desk; Pg. 4; THE HUNT

**Length:** 776 words

**Byline:** By Lana Bortolot

**Body**

Douglas Ritter long envisioned retiring in Rome with his wife, Nancy. Born in New York City, then raised mostly in Rome thanks to his father's career, he eventually made his own career as a marketing executive in the Dallas-Fort Worth area.

Nancy died in 2017, leaving Mr. Ritter, then 64, at a crossroads. The next year he moved to Bassano del Grappa, Italy, at the foothills of the Dolomite Mountains. ''I planned to bicycle my life away in retirement,'' he said. But his story took another turn in 2019 when a friend introduced him to Rosaria Silvano, then 60 and living in Milan.

''It was colpo di fulmine,'' said Mr. Ritter, using the Italian expression for ''love at first sight,'' but which literally translates to ''lightning strike.'' They dated long distance for a few months, and in March 2020 he proposed. That night, Italy went into pandemic lockdown and the couple were separated for the next six months. When the restrictions were lifted, they were married in a small civil ceremony and moved into a one-bedroom that Mr. Ritter had bought in Milan.

The place was too small, and the couple wanted a big-city lifestyle. They bought an 800-square-foot flat in Rome, but it was also a bit tight, especially when hosting guests, including Ms. Silvano's daughter, 43.

After looking at dozens of apartments in neighborhoods close to the city center, the couple homed in on Trastevere, Rome's ancient ***working-class*** neighborhood, now a popular spot for newcomers and tourists.

''We saw every two-bedroom, two-bathroom apartment that came on the market for a year,'' Mr. Ritter said.

With a budget of up to $950,000, they were looking for ''an apartment already restored, with a terrace and two bathrooms,'' Ms. Silvano said. And they hoped to be near the cycling path along the Tiber River.

Among their options:

1. New in the Heart of Trastevere

New construction in this historic neighborhood is rare, so when a two-bedroom on the fourth floor of this new building became available, they raced to see it. The ?920,000 ($985,000) asking price was above their budget, but it was move-in ready and about two blocks from the Tiber. The open living room/kitchen was spacious, but the bedrooms were on the small side. Homeowner association fees were ?200 ($215) a month.

2. Dated Two-Bedroom Near the Tiber

This sunny two-bedroom, on the fifth floor of a six-story building from 1890, had been renovated in 1984 by the architect Fabrizio Bruno, who had opened up the floor plan and added Scandinavian design wood finishings. There was a roof terrace, and only one bathroom. But it was in the center of Trastevere, close to the Tiber River and right on Piazza San Cosimato, a lively square full of shops and food. The asking price was ?750,000 ($802,000), but Mr. Ritter figured that the renovations in a century-old building would add over $100,000. Condo fees were ?1,000 ($1,080) a year.

3. Two-Bedroom in a Palazzo

This two-bedroom, two-bath, 1,292-square-foot flat was in a six-story, turn-of-the century palazzo on Viale di Trastevere. It had two large common rooms, though Ms. Silvano felt that the floor plan was restricted. The kitchen was also dated. The location was great -- three blocks from the river. The price was ?690,000 ($738,000), plus ?1,500 ($1,600) a year in condo fees.

Their Choice

The new condo was ''super luxury,'' Mr. Ritter said, while the two-bedroom in the palazzo ''ticked some of the boxes, but there wasn't any emotional grab.''

But, like the couple's meeting in Bassano five years ago, he said, ''it was love at first sight'' when they entered the architect-designed space in the center of Trastevere.

The apartment and the location ''were like poetry,'' Ms. Silvano said.

Their real estate agent, Antonio Lacetra, owner of the Alpha Immobiliare agency, said that Trastevere has long housed students in study abroad programs, but that its composition is shifting to an older and more American demographic.

The couple left the midcentury details, including wood finishes, built-ins and hardwood floors. They replaced the kitchen and all the windows, rebuilt the bathroom and added a new one, removed the drop ceilings and ''tore out every tube that carries water and every electrical line,'' Mr. Ritter said.

The three-month renovation cost ?120,000 ($129,000), bringing the entire cost slightly over budget. But in the end, he said, ''we got everything we wanted.''

The couple arrived in April and quickly came to love their new neighborhood.

''It's distant from the globalization of the world,'' Ms. Silvano said, adding, ''It's like living in a picture, both inside and out.''EMAIL [*thehunt@nytimes.com*](mailto:thehunt@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/19/realestate/it-was-love-at-first-sight-in-the-center-of-rome-but-for-which-apartment.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/19/realestate/it-was-love-at-first-sight-in-the-center-of-rome-but-for-which-apartment.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Buyers Rosaria Silvano and Douglas Ritter in Rome. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SUSAN WRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

The Options This article appeared in print on page RE4.

**Load-Date:** June 23, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Tim Sheehy Wins G.O.P. Nod to Challenge Tester for Senate in Montana***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C62-C951-JBG3-600R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 4, 2024 Tuesday 09:19 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 686 words

**Byline:** Kellen Browning Kellen Browning is a Times reporter covering the 2024 election, with a focus on the swing states of Nevada and Arizona.

**Highlight:** Mr. Sheehy will face a formidable opponent in Senator Jon Tester, the Democratic incumbent who has survived past challenges in his red state by leaning on his farming roots and bipartisan brand.

**Body**

Mr. Sheehy will face a formidable opponent in Senator Jon Tester, the Democratic incumbent who has survived past challenges in his red state by leaning on his farming roots and bipartisan brand.

Tim Sheehy, a businessman and former Navy SEAL, won the Republican primary for U.S. Senate in Montana on Tuesday, according to The Associated Press, setting him up for a November showdown against Senator Jon Tester, the Democratic incumbent.

With roughly half of the vote counted, Mr. Sheehy had 73 percent, well ahead of his lesser-known opponents. Brad Johnson, Montana’s former secretary of state, had 19 percent of the vote, and Charles Walkingchild had 7.5 percent.

“As a Navy SEAL, I’ve always put country before self and I’m running for the U.S. Senate to end Joe Biden and Jon Tester’s inflation, seal our border, secure our children’s future, and put America First,” Mr. Sheehy said in a statement, adding that he was “humbled and honored by all the support.”

The Republican primary was essentially a foregone conclusion since February, when Representative Matt Rosendale [*abruptly exited the race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/15/us/politics/matt-rosendale-drops-out-montana-senate.html) — less than a week after he entered it — citing former President Donald J. Trump’s endorsement of Mr. Sheehy. Mr. Rosendale, a right-wing hard-liner, had been viewed as the only serious challenger to Mr. Sheehy, for whom the Republican establishment had worked to clear the field. His victory is a boon for Republicans as they work to recapture control of the Senate, competing on a favorable map in which a number of vulnerable Democrats face tough re-election battles.

“Tim Sheehy is a strong conservative, an American hero and a successful businessman who will bring an outsider’s perspective to a broken Washington,” said Senator Steve Daines, the Montana Republican who leads the National Republican Senatorial Committee, which works to elect Republicans to the Senate. “The clearest path to a Republican Senate majority runs through Montana.”

Mr. Sheehy will face a formidable opponent in Mr. Tester, a popular incumbent who has survived past challenges in his ruby-red state by leaning on his background as a third-generation Montana farmer and his reputation of bipartisanship. Recent polls have suggested a tight race, and the nonpartisan Cook Political Report rates Montana a “tossup.” Mr. Tester officially captured the Democratic nomination on Tuesday.

In a [*post on X*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/15/us/politics/matt-rosendale-drops-out-montana-senate.html) on Tuesday night, Mr. Tester acknowledged his November opponent: “It’s official. I’m facing off against Mitch McConnell’s handpicked candidate Tim Sheehy for Montana’s U.S. Senate seat. And I’m going to win.”

Mr. Tester has a cash advantage; he raised $4.1 million between April 1 and May 15, according to recent financial filings, and his campaign has $11.7 million cash on hand. Mr. Sheehy’s campaign raised $2.1 million in the same period — including $600,000 the candidate lent himself — and had $2.2 million cash on hand.

But Republicans believe Mr. Tester, first elected in 2006, is especially vulnerable this election. After more than 17 years in Washington, they think his rural, ***working-class*** narrative has worn thin with Montanan voters, and argue he has been a reliable vote for laws signed by President Biden, who is unpopular with the state’s voters. They plan to pin the border crisis and [*the rising costs of living in Montana*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/15/us/politics/matt-rosendale-drops-out-montana-senate.html) on Mr. Biden and, by extension, Mr. Tester.

Democrats have countered with attacks on Mr. Sheehy’s biography. As a wealthy businessman who grew up in Minnesota and moved to Montana a decade ago, they say he epitomizes a trend of rich transplants moving to the state and driving up housing prices, which has infuriated longtime residents. (Mr. Sheehy, who runs an aerial firefighting company and owns a stake in a cattle ranch, made his wealth after moving to the state.)

They have also poked holes in his back story, pointing especially to [*lingering questions over how he sustained a gunshot wound*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/15/us/politics/matt-rosendale-drops-out-montana-senate.html) that he has said came from his time in Afghanistan.

PHOTO: Tim Sheehy won the Republican primary for U.S. Senate in Montana on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tailyr Irvine for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***New York City’s Piers, Once Abandoned, Are Now Full of Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVM-K501-JBG3-60M0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 31, 2024 Saturday 13:49 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1565 words

**Byline:** Liam Stack Liam Stack is a Times reporter who covers the culture and politics of the New York City region.

**Highlight:** In each of New York City’s boroughs, decrepit piers that once fed city industries have been brought back to life. Out over the water, they offer beauty, fun and respite from the city’s buzz.

**Body**

When the sun comes out, New Yorkers flock to the city’s piers. They bring picnic blankets and coolers, sunscreen and speakers, to places where decades ago longshoremen unloaded goods from cargo ships.

New York has changed since then, and so too have its piers.

The city was once a major industrial center, producing everything from Pepsi-Cola to World War II munitions. The waterfront brought those goods to the world, and New York’s piers buzzed with the loading and unloading of ships.

But the decline of manufacturing left the piers derelict and unused, both a symbol and a symptom of the city’s changing fortunes. They were often rife with crime and drug use at a time when both ills brought New York to the edge of ruin.

That began to change in the 1990s, after a sharp drop in crime, an economic boom and the city’s shift to a knowledge-based economy. New York started to reimagine the waterfront as a common good and many piers have been transformed into well-kept public backyards.

Queens: A Gateway to a Booming Borough

Gantry Plaza State Park in Long Island City teems with life on a sunny day.

Dance troupes practice their kicks and twirls. Children run from tree to tree, their exhausted parents not far behind. Young lovers seek solitude at the end of the piers, to either make out or break up.

It was not always like this. The park is named for the towering machines called gantries that once unloaded cargo ships at the piers. Several of them still stand in the park, which is also dotted with old railroad tracks.

Patricia Foley, 60, sat on a bench in the middle of the tracks while her dog Callie, 15, lounged in a stroller nearby. Ms. Foley often comes here from the Upper East Side to relax and take in views of Manhattan across the East River.

“I tell my friends about the park here,” she said. “They say, ‘Oh, you want us to come to Long Island City?’ Before you wouldn’t do that, but it’s so nice here now.”

Jason D. Antos, the executive director of the Queens Historical Society, did spend time on these piers back in the day. But not in the way that Ms. Foley and so many others do now.

The park did not exist when he was a child. He came to the warehouses with his parents, who owned a luncheonette, to buy bulk restaurant supplies — tin foil, napkins, plastic forks — in the 1980s and ’90s. Sometimes he would help carry their wares back to the car.

“You had to be careful because you’d have like 1,000 napkins tied together and if you dropped them, forget it, they’d fly all over the place,” he laughed.

Back then, the pier was “very desolate and very eerie,” said Mr. Antos.

“To see its transformation is amazing.”

Brooklyn: An Escape to Another World

Travelers once came to the piers in Bay Ridge to board ferries to Staten Island, before the Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge connected the two boroughs in 1964.

Today, people mainly come to the American Veterans Memorial Pier here for striped bass and sunsets.

Arika Brown, 25, and her wife, Julia Heaney, 26, bike to the pier from their apartment every day at dusk. From there, they get a cinematic view of the bridge, Staten Island, the Jersey City skyline, the Statue of Liberty and the towers of Lower Manhattan.

“So many people live in Brooklyn but they don’t come down here,” said Ms. Brown. “They think Bay Ridge is too far away.”

Bay Ridge has often felt a bit different from the rest of New York. It is buffeted by sea wind on two sides, and enjoys a view available in few other neighborhoods.

That is why Ken Wang, 27, and his girlfriend Jiaqui Zhou, 24, love it.

“You feel a lot of stress in Manhattan,” said Mr. Wang, who works at a Manhattan bank. “But when you come here you feel different.”

On a recent day, children raced scooters; older men fished for bluefish, flounder and fluke; and young lovers planned for the future, even if that just meant looking up nearby dinner spots on Yelp.

Mr. Wang smiled broadly, and gestured to the expanse of water all around him and Ms. Zhou.

“Look at this view,” he said. “This is why we come here.”

Manhattan: A Haven on the Edge of the City

The Christopher Street Pier is a luxurious grassy beach on the West Side.

On a recent Friday, diners enjoyed lobster BLTs at the pier’s upscale restaurant, while fit men sunbathed nearby. Couples danced the tango to music blasting from a portable speaker.

Joseph Soul, 36, stops at the Christopher Street Pier on his daily afternoon jog, sometimes taking in the sunset, because “it is so pretty and well managed.”

The pier became famous as a gay hangout during the 1970s and ’80s, when it was decrepit and abandoned. Back then, society was far less accepting of L.G.B.T.Q. people, and in the ’80s and early ’90s, the AIDS crisis was at its peak. The crowd at the piers was largely made up of poor and ***working-class*** gay and transgender people of color, a scene that was documented by the photographers [*Peter Hujar*](https://peterhujararchive.com/images_tags/piers/) and [*Alvin Baltrop*](https://peterhujararchive.com/images_tags/piers/).

It was a haven, but it was not safe.

Marsha P. Johnson, a central player in the early L.G.B.T.Q. rights movement, used to hang out there, and in 1992 [*she was found dead in the water*](https://peterhujararchive.com/images_tags/piers/). Her ashes were sprinkled in the Hudson River nearby.

Today, the composition of the crowd at the pier has changed.

Greenwich Village is now one of the most expensive neighborhoods in the country and the pier now draws many well-heeled New Yorkers who come to relax.

The pier still attracts a largely L.G.B.T.Q. crowd, however, and the community of poor and homeless queer youth [*has remained*](https://peterhujararchive.com/images_tags/piers/).

Ivan Marcano, 35, lay reading in the sun after work on a Friday afternoon.

“The pier is great because it’s a bit of greenery in the city and it’s mostly queer,” said Mr. Marcano, who left Venezuela almost 20 years ago to live more openly as a gay man.

“It’s nice to have a break from all the concrete,” he said. “There aren’t many places in the city that feel like an escape.”

Staten Island: A View of Water and Dolphins

When you stand on the Ocean Breeze Fishing Pier, New York City feels 1,000 miles away.

The only evidence of the skyline is the spire of the World Trade Center, visible over the tree tops of central Staten Island. The pier reaches out from the Midland Beach neighborhood, 800 feet into Lower New York Bay, which opens onto the Atlantic Ocean.

From the pier’s tip, you can watch cruise ships disappear over the horizon, and on a lucky day you might see dolphins or whales pass by.

Oscar Herrera, 40, brings his children to the pier almost every weekend.

“I like to get the kids out of the house, because otherwise they just spend all day watching TV or on the tablets,” said Mr. Herrera, who has lived nearby for almost 20 years. As he spoke, his son, Enrique, 4, curiously poked his finger into a cup full of bait worms.

The biggest fish his children ever caught was about eight inches long, Mr. Herrera said, but he has had better luck. Earlier this year, he caught a 38-inch-long striped bass. And three years ago, a friend of his caught a turtle that weighed 60 pounds. It took three men to hoist the animal back into the sea.

In the early 20th century, the area was home to a busy shore front entertainment district, with amusement park rides and casinos, said Carli DeFillo, the collections manager at Historic Richmond Town, the local historical society.

Later, the area became blighted. Roughly [*one dozen fires were set by vandals*](https://peterhujararchive.com/images_tags/piers/) over the years.

The pier opened in 2003 to great fanfare. These days, the sandy beaches on the shore are clean and the summer air is filled with the song of cicadas.

The Bronx: A Miniature Oasis in a Busy Hub

While crowds flock to some of the city’s piers, others remain solitary places.

The Hunts Point neighborhood in the Bronx still retains some of the industrial character that used to define the waterfront across the city. It is home to one of the world’s biggest wholesale distributors, where an estimated 4.5 billion pounds of meat, fish and produce is sold each year.

Not far from there, just off Food Center Drive, is the pier at Hunts Point Landing. It is a quiet and sometimes forgotten patch of calm in a hectic area. The grass is overgrown, and it draws few of the families or sunbathers so often found at piers elsewhere in the city.

Fishermen sometimes cast their lines into the water near where the Bronx River and the East River meet. Across the bay is a view of La Guardia Airport and Rikers Island, two of the city’s less scenic attractions.

But it is still an oasis amid the parking lots and warehouses overflowing with fish, produce and meat for the hungry city, as many of the piers of New York once were.

PHOTOS: Top, Justyn Clarke at Gantry Plaza State Park in Long Island City, Queens. Second row from left: Christopher Street Pier in Manhattan; Ivan Marcano there; and George DeNoto at the American Veterans Memorial Pier in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn. Third row from left: Jiaqui Zhou and Ken Wang in Bay Ridge; Alimila Balghinbektegi and her daughter, Begimai, at Gantry Plaza State Park; and children at play there. Above from left: at the Ocean Breeze Fishing Pier on Staten Island, Monisha Paul (center right) and Aurgho Sarker posing for pictures after a surprise engagement; and Brandon Mosley at Hunts Point Landing in the Bronx (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JUTHARAT PINYODOONYACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; SEAN SIROTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; OLGA GINZBURG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ELIAS WILLIAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page MB4.

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The ‘Blood Bath’ Battle and the Electric Car War; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BM9-XP81-DXY4-X00B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 23, 2024 Saturday 14:28 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 898 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat Ross 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:** Does President Biden expect to win on a Jan. 6 strategy alone?

**Body**

If you believe President Biden’s aides and allies, he intends to fight the 2024 election primarily on the threat that Donald Trump poses to American democracy. In their view, this worked in 2020, when Biden promised to protect the “soul of the nation” from Trump’s depredations, and again in the 2022 midterms, when Biden made the threat to democracy his closing argument and Democrats then overperformed. So there’s no reason it can’t work just one more time.

By the time November rolls around, Biden’s longtime adviser Mike Donilon [*told*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile) The New Yorker’s Evan Osnos recently, “the focus will become overwhelming on democracy. I think the biggest images in people’s minds are going to be of Jan. 6.”

I have been unsure how seriously we should take this kind of talk. Biden’s argument about democratic norms did seem to pay off in some key races in 2022, but I’m less convinced that it made the difference in 2020, at least relative to Biden’s promise to be a steady hand and his reputation for ideological moderation. And either way, 2024 is a different context still, in which Biden appears to be struggling most with [*disaffected* ***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile), a constituency that you would expect to respond more strongly to material appeals than to high-minded arguments about civics.

To the extent that the White House knows this, we should probably take quotes like Donilon’s with a grain of salt. Maybe he was just dispatched to manage Biden’s liberal base, to preach the gospel of anti-Trumpism to a liberal publication’s readers while someone else gets to work on the more traditional economic appeals to swing voters.

But the past week has given us a good illustration of what it would look like if the White House fully believed in Donilon’s argument and regarded its invocations of Jan. 6 as a potent alternative to the usual forms of outreach and moderation.

First you had the zeal with which the president’s campaign latched onto Trump’s comments, at an Ohio rally, about the “[*blood bath*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile)” that would supposedly follow Biden’s re-election. In context, the term “blood bath” definitely referred to a predicted collapse of the U.S. auto industry if Biden gets another term and arguably predicted some form of general chaos or disaster. But it was immediately elevated and interpreted by Biden (or his social media ghostwriter) as proof that Trump “[*wants another Jan. 6*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile).”

Then, just as the great “blood bath” debate began dying down, Biden’s E.P.A. [*announced*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile) sweeping new emissions rules intended to accelerate the adoption of electric vehicles, taking their sales from [*around 8 percent*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile) of the U.S. market today to 56 percent in 2032.

These rules have been in the works for some time, and from the point of view of climate activists and internal Democratic Party politics, their substance represents a political compromise, wherein the biggest shift is pushed off by a few years and hybrids as well as fully electric cars count toward the target.

From the point of view of swing-voter outreach in a presidential election year, however, the new rules seem like a pretty reckless bet. Explicitly seeking the rapid disappearance of the kinds of automobiles used by a vast majority of Americans would be politically fraught under any circumstances. It’s even more fraught in an election where states like Michigan hold the key to an Electoral College victory.

And it is especially fraught at a time when higher interest rates have made automobile loans more expensive for the American consumer — who is, in effect, now being told by an unpopular incumbent president, “If you like your car, I don’t want you to keep it.”

To summarize: First, Trump made an apocalyptic statement about the effects of Biden’s policies on the auto industry. Then the Biden team eagerly overhyped that statement as proof of Trump’s unfitness. Then the Biden administration rolled out a plan to radically transform the auto industry, which, even if it worked as intended, would, as a newsroom colleague reported, “require enormous changes in manufacturing, infrastructure, technology, labor, global trade and consumer habits.”

In other words, the Biden camp elevated Trump’s rant against their car-industry policies and then set up the ripest possible policy target for his next round of attacks.

This is probably just an instance of an administration’s political arm and its policy shop operating without any especially savvy coordination. But it’s a good case study of how a “Jan. 6 trumps everything” theory of 2024 could go badly wrong — by encouraging a fatal insouciance about the material concerns of ***working-class*** Americans on the theory that any Trumpian attempt to exploit those concerns can be pre-emptively defused by casting the former president as a fascist.

The path to a Biden victory involves making the case against Trump on anti-authoritarian grounds and material grounds at the same time. Whereas imagining that the anti-authoritarian card is powerful enough to let you get away with unpopular liberal activism on other issues seems like the likeliest path to a Biden defeat.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile), [*Instagram*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile), [*TikTok*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile), [*X*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile) and [*Threads*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/11/joe-biden-profile).

This article appeared in print on page SR2.

**Load-Date:** March 25, 2024

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[***In North Carolina, the Math for a Supermajority May Come Down to One***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVM-X5F1-DXY4-X1PJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1763 words

**Byline:** David W. Chen David W. Chen reports on state legislatures, state level policymaking and the political forces behind them.

**Highlight:** It’s one of several states where legislators of one party have overridden vetoes from a governor of the opposing party. Several tossup races will determine if that continues.

**Body**

It’s one of several states where legislators of one party have overridden vetoes from a governor of the opposing party. Several tossup races will determine if that continues.

This fall, as Democrats and Republicans vie for control of state legislatures across the country, much of the attention has focused on states like Michigan, Pennsylvania and Arizona, where one or two seats could tip the balance.

But in a handful of states, the legislature is dominated by one party, while the governor’s office is held by another. In those states, a high-stakes effort is underway to either preserve an existing supermajority — which confers the ability to override a governor’s veto — or to break it.

Nowhere has the battle been more magnified than in North Carolina, a [*heavily gerrymandered state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) where Republicans hold the 60 percent minimum required for an override in both chambers, even though [*registered Democratic voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) outnumber Republicans.

Last year, after State Representative Tricia Cotham unexpectedly [*switched her party affiliation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) from Democrat to Republican, Republican leaders were able to enact a 12-week limit on most abortions, overriding Gov. Roy Cooper, a Democrat.

Now, Republican legislators cannot afford to lose a single seat, in either chamber, if they want to continue to override his vetoes.

“Remember, one legislator delivered the supermajority,” Beth Helfrich, a Democrat running for the state House of Representatives, said during a recent town hall in Davidson, N.C. “My math says one can break it.”

Similar situations are playing out in other states.

Gov. Laura Kelly of Kansas, a Democrat, has vetoed bills on abortion, criminal justice and other issues, only to be overridden by the Republicans’ two-thirds supermajority in that state’s Legislature. [*Democrats need to net*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) two seats in the House, or three in the Senate, to break that pattern.

In Nevada, Gov. Joe Lombardo, a Republican, [*vetoed a record 75 bills in 2023*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html), frustrating Democrats, who have a two-thirds supermajority in the House, but are one short in the Senate. Republicans do not want to lose that seat.

Republicans with their supermajority in North Carolina have been able to [*loosen campaign finance rules*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html), [*strip the governor’s power*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) to appoint members to state boards and [*block efforts to update energy efficiency rules for new homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html), all over Mr. Cooper’s objections.

To preserve that advantage, Republicans there are [*spending $5.3 million on television ads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) to bolster candidates in 10 House districts, including Ms. Cotham’s, where the Democratic nominee, Nicole Sidman, a director at a Charlotte synagogue, has [*outraised Ms. Cotham by 4 to 1*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html). At the national level, the Republican State Leadership Committee, [*pinpointing North Carolina as among the states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) where Democrats want to “dismantle Republican supermajorities,” are investing a record $38 million in state legislative races this year.

On the flip side, The States Project, a Democratic-aligned group, [*is spending $70 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) on legislative races in nine states, including ones for several House seats in North Carolina. The Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee is highlighting 14 North Carolina House and Senate races as part of a [*$10 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) push to convince voters of the importance of controlling state legislatures, said Jeremy Jansen, the group’s political director.

“We have an opportunity here in North Carolina to be able to give power back, or at least give some semblance of a balance of power back, by giving the veto pen to the governor,” he said.

One notable tossup, according to [*an analysis of partisan leanings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) by the John Locke Foundation, a conservative think tank, is the 25th district in Nash County, a [*rural*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) and ***working-class*** area east of Raleigh, where State Representative Allen Chesser, a first-term Republican, is being challenged by Lorenza M. Wilkins, an executive at an anti-hunger nonprofit.

That is also Mr. Cooper’s home district. Brenda Brown, the Republican mayor of Nashville, who lives around the corner from where the governor grew up, gushed about the Coopers: “Just good people.”

Still, Ms. Brown, a retired school principal, enthusiastically endorsed Mr. Chesser, saying he had notched vital grants, such as [*$5 million in state funding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) to modernize the county jail.

Mr. Chesser, 39, joined the Army after Sept. 11 and worked as a police officer before working in security and technology. A former high school soccer player, he co-founded a [*Christian youth soccer league*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) with his wife.

“I played the position of sweeper — the very last defender,” he said over breakfast at a restaurant in Middlesex. “That’s kind of my political philosophy as well. I am a true believer in individual rights and freedoms. Limited government in the truest sense.”

He sponsored a bill allowing people with concealed carry permits to bring [*handguns into churches*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) that also serve as schools. Calling himself “100 percent pro-life,” he voted to restrict abortion and give parents more control over school curriculums.

Two of his bills were signed by Mr. Cooper: one enabling patients with rare diseases to [*receive experimental drugs or medical treatments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) not approved by the Food and Drug Administration, and another [*easing the rules*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) for families to adopt foster children.

“I’m a bit of a unicorn,” said Mr. Chesser, who defeated a two-term Democratic incumbent in 2022. “I never campaigned on bringing the supermajority to Nash County.”

But Owen H. Strickland II, mayor of Bailey, population 564, said that preserving the Republican supermajority was “vitally important,” since [*Democrats are favored*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) to retain the governorship.

“Whether it’s $5 or $5 million for a local bill to help us with whatever, I have to be able to pick up the phone and say, ‘Hey, I need this done,’” said Mr. Strickland, a former Democrat. “The only way it’s going to get done is if you have a supermajority.”

Mr. Chesser’s challenger, Dr. Wilkins, 51, holds a doctorate in business administration and boasts a wide-ranging résumé including stints as a locomotive engineer and human resources manager.

In an interview at the Nash County Democratic headquarters in Rocky Mount, Dr. Wilkins said his [*top priority*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) was public education. Unlike Mr. Chesser, he is leery of [*North Carolina Opportunity Scholarships*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html), which provide state-funded vouchers for private schools. He also sounded the alarm on [*Project 2025*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html), a package of conservative proposals.

“What’s within that document will start to filter down to the state level,” he said. “You want to remove the Department of Education. What is that going to do to impoverished kids and school districts?”

A graduate of North Carolina Central University, a historically Black school, and a resident of a district that is [*41 percent Black and 8 percent Hispanic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html), Dr. Wilkins worries about a supermajority bent on gutting diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives.

Dr. Wilkins has been endorsed by state and national labor, reproductive rights and environmental groups — [*as has*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) Ms. Helfrich, a former English teacher and school administrator who is running in the 98th district, an [*affluent and highly educated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) pocket north of Charlotte.

The seat in the 98th district is held by Representative [*John R. Bradford III*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html), one of several moderate Republicans who ignored [*Mr. Cooper’s entreaties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) to break with his caucus on abortion. He turned his sights on Congress, but lost in the Republican primary, and Melinda Bales, a former mayor of Huntersville, is the Republican pick for his old seat.

Ms. Helfrich has [*raised $243,000*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) — versus [*$91,000 for Ms. Bales*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) — with nearly 40 percent of her donors living outside the state.

Ms. Helfrich has stressed that gerrymandered maps and politically motivated redistricting in North Carolina and other states damage democracy. She is also tapping into anger over the new abortion restrictions. Indeed, Ms. Cotham’s mother [*was trounced unexpectedly in a Democratic primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) for re-election to the Mecklenburg County Board of Commissioners, in what was widely viewed as a proxy vote against her daughter.

In an interview at the home of her father, a retired theater professor at Davidson College, Ms. Helfrich recounted listening to the abortion override vote. She has five children, but has also experienced miscarriages.

“I think a lot of people end up asking the question, what can I do?” said Ms. Helfrich, 43. “And lo and behold, what I can do is put together a coalition and build enough momentum in this one district.”

Ms. Bales declined to be interviewed.

A native of Eastern Tennessee, Ms. Bales, 54, logged [*12 years as an elected commissioner and mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) in fast-growing Huntersville. Her platform [*centers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/us/politics/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander.html) on education, transportation and economic development.

Within a half-mile of her house, few residents said they had heard of Ms. Bales.

Betsy Neumann, 39, who described herself as being in the middle, politically, said she worried about Republicans continuing to “take freedoms away from other people,” citing abortion and gay marriage.

But Dawn Gilpatrick, 60, who described herself as “a pretty strong Republican,” praised Ms. Bales’s efforts to bring more companies to Huntersville to increase the tax base. She wants Ms. Bales to join Republicans in pushing for voter ID restrictions and school vouchers.

At a hot dog picnic in Mint Hill, hosted by the Mecklenburg County Republican Party, Ken May, the founding director of the Hornet’s Nest Men’s Republican Club, praised Ms. Bales as “not fiery, not blustery. She works across the aisle and is super friendly.”

Then Mr. May excused himself to introduce one of several local and statewide candidates in attendance: Ms. Cotham.

Wearing a red dress to match a sea of MAGA hats, Ms. Cotham noted that while this was her seventh campaign, “this is my first time running as a Republican, and I am so excited!”

She vowed to tackle crime and beef up the economy. Then she mentioned Governor Cooper.

“It’s a glorious day when you get to override his veto,” she beamed.

PHOTOS: Allen Chesser, a state representative running for re-election, said, “I am a true believer in individual rights and freedoms.”; Brenda Brown, the Republican mayor of Nashville and retired school principal, endorsed Mr. Chesser in the tossup race.; Lorenza M. Wilkins, an executive at an anti-hunger nonprofit group, is the Democratic candidate challenging Mr. Chesser.; Beth Helfrich, a Democrat running for the North Carolina House, campaigning in Huntersville.; State Representative Tricia Cotham, center, switched her affiliation from Democrat to Republican. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CORNELL WATSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris and Trump Battled for the Midwest***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNK-N7T1-DXY4-X0CR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1271 words

**Byline:** Matthew Cullen Matthew Cullen is the lead writer of The Evening, a Times newsletter covering the day&amp;#8217;s top stories every weekday.

**Highlight:** Also, rain from Debby pounded the Carolinas. Here’s the latest at the end of Wednesday.

**Body**

Also, rain from Debby pounded the Carolinas. Here’s the latest at the end of Wednesday.

The Harris and Trump campaigns made dueling appearances today in the same Upper Midwest cities, providing a split screen that emphasized the importance of the region in this year’s election.

Vice President Kamala Harris and her newly selected running mate, Tim Walz, held a packed rally this afternoon in Eau Claire, Wis., where they [*issued a full-throated appeal to rural America*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), promoting her economic policies and his Midwestern bona fides. Tonight, Harris and Walz will host another campaign event in Michigan.

At the same time, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, Donald Trump’s Midwestern man and running mate, held campaign events of his own in Eau Claire and Michigan. The rival campaigns even passed by each other at an airport.

Harris picked Walz, the Minnesota governor, in part because she believed that his identity — a football coach and gun owner who speaks like a Midwesterner — would appeal to voters in states like Wisconsin and Michigan. “He sort of embodies the Midwest,” Ernesto Londoño, my colleague based in Minnesota, said. “She clearly thinks that that’s going to bring the kind of moderate, white ***working-class*** voters that the campaign needs.”

When we asked undecided voters how they felt about the Democratic ticket, [*several were still unsure*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing). But Walz’s [*extraordinarily ordinary life*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) has helped energize Harris’s base and generated tens of millions in donations.

Here’s what else to know:

* Trump has [*embraced new, sometimes novel tax cuts*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) in an attempt to shore up support with major constituencies.

1. In a Missouri House primary, [*Wesley Bell defeated Cori Bush*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), a prominent progressive incumbent.
2. When a conspiracy theory about President Biden was proved wrong, those pushing it [*doubled-down or moved on*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Do you have questions about the election? [*Send them to us, and we’ll find the answers.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)

Stay up to date: [*Live coverage*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) | [*Poll tracker*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) | [*The “Run-Up” podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) | [*On Politics newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)

Britain braced for protests

Thousands of police officers fanned out across Britain today amid [*fears that protests planned by far-right groups*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) would descend into fresh violence after days of anti-immigrant riots.

But at least as of early evening, large far-right protests had not materialized and only a handful of arrests had been made. Instead, thousands of antiracism protesters gathered in cities across the country, including Bristol, Birmingham, Liverpool and London.

Rain from Debby pounded the Carolinas

Parts of South Carolina were [*flooded today after receiving more than a foot of rain*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) from Tropical Storm Debby. The storm is loitering off the coast but is forecast to come ashore again overnight.

North Carolina looks to be the area of greatest concern tomorrow, forecasters said, before rain from Debby [*moves into the Mid-Atlantic and New England*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Extreme heat is threatening the Great Barrier Reef

This generation will probably see the demise of the Great Barrier Reef unless humanity acts with far more urgency to rein in climate change, according to new research.

The study found that ocean temperatures surrounding the Great Barrier Reef, the largest coral reef system in the world, are at their highest [*in at least 400 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing). The extreme heat causes the coral to bleach, meaning it loses the symbiotic algae it needs to survive.

More top news

* Ukraine: Troops have [*crossed into Russia’s western Kursk region*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) and appeared to be advancing, in a major incursion onto Russian soil.

1. Middle East: Several Arab countries [*are encouraging Iran to exercise restraint*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) in responding to the assassination of Hamas’s political leader in Tehran last week.
2. Abortion: Planned Parenthood announced this week that its only Manhattan clinic would [*stop performing abortions after 20 weeks*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).
3. Thailand: The Constitutional Court [*disbanded the country’s most popular political party*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) over charges that some of its proposals were an attempt to overthrow the monarchy.
4. Health: Federal health officials urged doctors to address pain [*from the process of getting an IUD*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).
5. Taylor Swift: Three of her concerts in Austria were canceled after officials [*arrested two men accused of plotting a terrorist attack*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).
6. Space: NASA says problems with Boeing’s Starliner may lead two astronauts to [*flying home on SpaceX in 2025*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

TIME TO UNWIND

The sport flipping, twisting and pushing for respect

Being an artistic swimmer at the Olympics takes a dancer’s grace, a gymnast’s flexibility, a deep-sea diver’s lung capacity — and a large packet of gelatin, dissolved in water and applied to the head like shellac. Today, China won the team event, while the U.S. came away with a silver medal.

The event, previously known as synchronized swimming, is a flashy crowd-pleaser, and increasingly elaborate acrobatic lifts have made it much more physically demanding. But year after year, it [*has had to make the case, at least to the general public, that it is even a sport at all*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

For more: [*What to watch*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) | [*Live updates*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) | [*Medal count*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) | [*Photo highlights*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) | [*Olympics Briefing*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)

How ‘Inside Out’ changed therapy

Olivia Carter, a school counselor, said that before 2015 she had tried out many different strategies to help her students understand how to communicate their feelings. But after Pixar released “Inside Out,” all she had to ask was who had seen the movie.

In the animated film, and its sequel “Inside Out 2,” emotions like joy, sadness and anxiety operate a control panel inside a child’s brain. Therapists we spoke to [*said that concept has been transformative*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) by providing a common language for children and adults to discuss their emotions.

Dinner table topics

* When reality became debatable: Twenty-five years ago, “The Blair Witch Project” compelled audiences to ask, “Was that real?” [*The question now permeates our modern era*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

1. Touch-screen dining: In his last essay as a restaurant critic, Pete Wells reflected on some of [*the ways the dining world has changed*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), and not for the better.
2. The gamer and the psychiatrist: Did Dr. Alok Kanojia’s livestreamed conversations with a troubled video game champion [*cross an ethical line*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)
3. Getting fit: N.F.L. players have [*fallen in love with Pilates*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

WHAT TO DO TONIGHT

Cook: Serve this [*zucchini scampi*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) with crusty bread, or as a side dish to any summery meal.

Watch: “The Imaginary” is one of the [*best children’s movies to stream*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Read: The novelist Peter Heller recommended [*his favorite books about Denver*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Listen: Our critic made a playlist of [*songs with great guitar cues*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Travel: Southern Sardinia is [*wild, beautiful and overlooked*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Exercise: Trainers often say to “engage your core.” [*Here’s what that actually means*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Dig: The right shovel can [*last a lifetime in the garden*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Play: Here are today’s [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing) and [*Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing). Find [*all of our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

ONE LAST THING

Meet the winners of a zillion blue ribbons

It’s peak state-fair season in America, when the spotlight hits concession stand foods like pecan pie on a stick and deep-fried ranch dressing ([*yes, that’s a thing*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing)). But the real culinary action happens inside pavilions, where thousands of the best cake bakers, jam makers and vegetable canners compete for blue ribbons.

The most dedicated competitors analyze categories, pick out the best produce and study how to impress judges. Year after year, they don’t just take home a ribbon or two; they dominate. [*We talked to seven state-fair all-stars about how they do it*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

Have a victorious evening.

Thanks for reading. I’ll be back tomorrow. — Matthew

Kirsten Luce was our photo editor.

We welcome your feedback. Write to us at [*evening@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/evening-briefing).

PHOTO: In Eau Claire, Wis. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Charles Rex Arbogast/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 7, 2024

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[***Vance Attacks Walz’s Military Record, Accusing Him of Avoiding a Tour in Iraq***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNK-JVY1-DXY4-X0C6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2024 Wednesday 13:10 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1235 words

**Byline:** Michael C. Bender and Thomas Gibbons-Neff Michael C. Bender is a Times political correspondent covering Donald J. Trump, the Make America Great Again movement and other federal and state elections. Thomas Gibbons-Neff is a Ukraine correspondent and a former Marine infantryman.

**Highlight:** Senator JD Vance of Ohio also claimed Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota had exaggerated his service record. Mr. Walz said a decision to retire and run for Congress came months before any notice of deployment.

**Body**

Senator JD Vance of Ohio also claimed Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota had exaggerated his service record. Mr. Walz said a decision to retire and run for Congress came months before any notice of deployment.

Senator JD Vance of Ohio accused Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota on Wednesday of quitting the Army National Guard two decades ago to avoid being deployed to Iraq and of exaggerating his service record to claim falsely that he had served in combat.

Both provocative charges amounted to some of the sharpest Republican attacks yet on the Minnesota governor, and appeared aimed at disrupting what has been a run of positive news coverage of the Democratic ticket since Vice President Kamala Harris replaced President Biden as the party’s nominee.

The accusations by Mr. Vance, who served a four-year active duty enlistment in the Marine Corps, about Mr. Walz, whose career in the national guard spanned 24 years, also served to pit the military records of the two major party’s vice-presidential candidates against each other.

Speaking at the police department in Shelby Township, Mich., on Wednesday morning, Mr. Vance said Mr. Walz had effectively deserted his fellow soldiers to avoid serving in Iraq because he retired from the National Guard in May 2005, several months before his artillery unit received orders to deploy there.

“You abandoned your unit right before they went to Iraq,” Mr. Vance said.

Mr. Vance based his accusations on a Facebook [*post*](https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2192940227614940&amp;set=pcb.2192944367614526) from 2018, and a [*paid letter to the editor*](https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2192940227614940&amp;set=pcb.2192944367614526) to The West Central Tribune that same year in which the writers, Thomas Behrends and Paul Herr, both retired command sergeant majors in the Minnesota National Guard, accused Mr. Walz of “conveniently retiring a year before his battalion was deployed to Iraq.”

The criticisms were first leveled by Mr. Behrends and Mr. Herr during Mr. Walz’s first campaign for governor.

But Joseph Eustice, a 32-year veteran of the national guard who led the same battalion as Mr. Walz and served under him, said in an interview on Wednesday that the governor was a dependable soldier and that the attacks by his fellow comrades were unfounded.

“He was as good a soldier as you’d find, and to have two former sergeant majors say that he wasn’t, it’s just not true,” Mr. Eustice said, adding that he disagreed with Mr. Walz’s politics and most likely would not vote for him in November even though they were friends.

Mr. Eustice recalled that Mr. Walz’s decision to run for Congress came months before the battalion received any official notice of deployment, though he said there had been rumors that it might be deployed.

The two men were exercising in early 2005, when Mr. Walz, who was then a command sergeant major, turned to Mr. Eustice, who was then a first sergeant, and said: “I got to ask you something. I’m thinking about running for Congress,” Mr. Eustice recalled.

“I said, ‘What the hell’s wrong?’” he added. “I mean, why would you want to do such a thing?”

The Harris-Walz campaign did not provide any new details about the timeline of Mr. Walz’s decision to retire. Instead, it pointed to other [*past*](https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2192940227614940&amp;set=pcb.2192944367614526) [*comments*](https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2192940227614940&amp;set=pcb.2192944367614526) from fellow guardsmen who said that Mr. Walz had been considering running for office for some time and that the decision to retire from the military had weighed heavily on him.

“After 24 years of military service, Governor Walz retired in 2005 and ran for Congress, where he chaired Veterans Affairs and was a tireless advocate for our men and women in uniform,” said Ammar Moussa, a campaign spokesman, “and as vice president of the United States, he will continue to be a relentless champion for our veterans and military families.”

On Wednesday, Mr. Vance also seized on a remark by Mr. Walz in a [*video clip*](https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2192940227614940&amp;set=pcb.2192944367614526) that the Harris campaign had promoted on social media on Tuesday, in which the governor told a crowd about support for gun control, saying that “we can make sure that those weapons of war that I carried in war is the only place where those weapons are at.”

Mr. Walz never served in combat, however, which prompted Mr. Vance to accuse him of “stolen valor.”

“I’d be ashamed if I was him and I lied about my military service like he did,” Mr. Vance said.

Mr. Walz was deployed after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks as part of Operation Enduring Freedom, but not in a combat zone.

“The governor carried, fired and trained others to use weapons of war innumerable times,” Mr. Moussa said. “Governor Walz would never insult or undermine any American’s service to this country — in fact, he thanks Senator Vance for putting his life on the line for our country. It’s the American way.”

Mr. Vance assailed Mr. Walz over his military record in response to a reporter’s question about Mr. Walz’s suggestion, in his debut speech alongside Ms. Harris the previous night, that Mr. Vance had misrepresented himself as a voice of the ***working class***.

“Like all regular people I grew up with in the heartland, JD studied at Yale, had his career funded by Silicon Valley billionaires and wrote a best seller trashing that community,” Mr. Walz had said. “Come on. That is not what Middle America is.”

But Mr. Vance’s comments were also reminiscent of the “Swift boat” attacks in 2004 that effectively cast doubt on the military exploits of Senator John Kerry, then the Democratic presidential nominee. A key strategist behind those attacks, which helped doom Mr. Kerry’s bid for the White House, was Chris LaCivita, who is a senior strategist for the Trump campaign.

Mr. Walz’s long years in uniform began when he enlisted as an infantryman in the Nebraska Army National Guard in 1981, a few days after his 17th birthday. When he transferred to the Minnesota National Guard in the 1990s, his job changed to artillery.

He retired in 2005 as a master sergeant but had served earlier as a command sergeant major, one of the Army’s highest enlisted ranks.

The accusation also recalled similar criticisms that former President Donald J. Trump has faced about avoiding military service. The three-time Republican presidential nominee sidestepped the war in Vietnam thanks to a deferment related to bone spurs in his heel, a medical assessment that was made as a favor for Mr. Trump’s father, the doctor’s daughter [*told*](https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2192940227614940&amp;set=pcb.2192944367614526) The New York Times in 2018.

Patrick Murphy, a former U.S. Army captain who was a roommate of Mr. Walz’s when both served in the U.S. House, said he was dismayed by the attacks on Mr. Walz’s military record.

“Anyone who tries to criticize his record but looks the other way at Donald Trump’s six deferments to Vietnam is beyond the pale,” said Mr. Murphy, a Pennsylvania Democrat.

Mr. Vance was on active duty with the Marine Corps from 2003 to 2007 during the Iraq war.

Mr. Vance, who then went by the name James D. Hamel, was assigned to the Second Marine Aircraft Wing, one of the Marine Corps’ largest subordinate commands that oversees aircraft such as fighter jets and helicopters. He was deployed to Iraq in 2005 and 2006 with the aircraft wing but did not see combat as a frontline combatant.

His official military occupation, known as a combat correspondent, meant he was tasked with basic communication roles such as writing articles about the happenings in his unit.

John Ismay contributed reporting.

John Ismay contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Senator JD Vance of Ohio, former President Donald J. Trump’s running mate, speaking in Philadelphia on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 8, 2024

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[***What's the Matter With Ohio?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BM3-7XV1-JBG3-601P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 22, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 27; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 954 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

For many years, Ohio has been thought of as a bellwether state: With rare exceptions, whoever won Ohio in a presidential election won the nation as a whole. But in 2020, Donald Trump won Ohio by about eight points even as Joe Biden led the national popular vote by more than four points and, of course, won the Electoral College vote.

Then Ohio's 2022 Senate election was won by J.D. Vance, who has staked out a hard-line ideological position that may be more thoroughly MAGA than that of Trump himself. And in Tuesday's Republican Senate primary, Trump's endorsement was enough to propel Bernie Moreno, a former car dealer who has never held elected office, to victory over the preferred candidates of the state's relatively moderate Republican establishment.

So I've been trying to understand what happened to Ohio, and what it can teach us about America's future. My short answer is that the United States of America has become the Disconnected States of America, on several levels.

Once upon a time, Ohio's bellwether status could be explained by the fact that in some sense it looked like America. These days, no state really looks like America because the economic fortunes of different regions have diverged so drastically. And Ohio has found itself on the losing side of that divergence.

You might expect Ohio voters to support politicians whose policies would help reverse this relative decline. But there's a striking disconnect between who voters, especially ***working-class*** white voters, perceive as being on their side and politicians' actual policies. For that matter, as I wrote earlier this week, there's a striking disconnect between voters' views of what is happening with the economy and their personal experiences. It's vibes all the way down.

OK, some facts.

One quick way to see the divergence in regional fortunes is to compare per capita income of a given state with income in a relatively rich state like Massachusetts. During the generation-long boom that followed World War II, Ohio and Massachusetts were basically tied. Since around 1980, however, Ohio has been on a long relative slide; its income is now about a third less than that of Massachusetts.

A lot of this has to do with the loss of well-paid manufacturing jobs. There are considerably fewer manufacturing jobs in Ohio than there used to be, partly because of foreign competition, including the famous ''China shock'' -- the surge of Chinese imports between the late 1990s and around 2010 that resulted in manufacturing job losses -- although deindustrialization has been happening almost everywhere, even in Germany, which runs huge trade surpluses.

And wages for production workers in Ohio have lagged behind inflation for 20 years. That probably has a lot to do with the collapse of unions, which used to represent a quarter of Ohio's private-sector workers, but are vanishing from the scene.

More broadly, the 21st-century economy has favored metropolitan areas with highly educated work forces; Ohio, with its relatively low share of college-educated adults, has been left behind.

So it makes sense for Ohio voters to feel disgruntled. But again, you might have expected disgruntled voters to support politicians actually trying to address the state's problems. The Biden administration certainly hoped that its industrial policies, which have led to a surge in manufacturing investment, would win over more blue-collar voters. You might also have expected Democrats to get some dividend from the fact that unemployment in Ohio is now significantly lower than it was under Trump, even before the Covid-19 pandemic struck. But that doesn't seem to have happened.

What about Trump? In most ways he governed as a conventional right-wing Republican, among other things trying to reverse the success of Obamacare, which had greatly reduced the percentage of Ohioans without health insurance. Trump did, however, break with G.O.P. orthodoxy by launching a trade war, with substantial tariffs on some manufactured imports.

In economic terms, the trade war failed. A new paper, whose authors include the authors of the original China shock analysis, confirms the results of other studies finding that the Trump tariffs didn't raise manufacturing employment. The authors go further by breaking down the regional effects and find specifically that the trade war ''has not provided economic help to the U.S. heartland.''

Yet, they found, the trade war appears to have been a political success. Regions whose industries were protected by tariffs became more likely to vote for Trump and Republicans in general, even though the tariffs didn't result in a boost to employment. This, as the authors rather discreetly note, is ''consistent with expressive views of politics.'' That is, in 2020, many ***working-class*** voters in Ohio and elsewhere saw Trump as being on their side even though his policies didn't help them. And if you look at some of today's polling, it appears that they refuse to give President Biden credit for policies that actually do help workers.

I'm not making a prediction for November. Perceptions of the economy have improved, even if they're still somewhat depressed. So the economy may be good enough for other issues, like reproductive rights, to carry Biden over the top.

But it's still disturbing to see just how disconnected views about politicians have become from what those politicians really do.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DUSTIN FRANZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A27.

**Load-Date:** March 22, 2024

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[***Yacht's Sinking Just Off Coast Poses Mystery***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSX-S7K1-JBG3-606J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 23, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1456 words

**Byline:** By Emma Bubola and Michael J. de la Merced

**Body**

As bodies were recovered, the authorities and experts wondered how a $40 million, stable and secure vessel could have sunk so quickly.

Two months after being cleared in a bruising legal battle over fraud charges, the British tech mogul Mike Lynch celebrated his freedom with a cruise. He invited his family, friends and part of his legal team on board his luxury sailing yacht, a majestic 180-foot vessel named Bayesian after the mathematical theorem around which he had built his empire.

On Sunday night, after a tour of the Gulf of Naples, including Capri, and volcanic islands in the Eolian archipelago, the boat anchored half a mile off the Sicilian coast in Porticello, Italy. It chose a stretch of water favored by the Phoenicians thousands of years ago for its protection from the mistral wind and, in more recent times, by the yachts of tech billionaires. The boat was lit ''like a Christmas tree,'' local residents said, standing out against the full moon.

But about 4 a.m., calamity unfolded. A violent and fast storm hit the area with some of the strongest winds locals said they had ever felt. Fabio Cefalù, a fisherman, said he saw a flare pierce the darkness shortly after 4.

Minutes later, the yacht was underwater. Only dozens of cushions from the boat's deck and a gigantic radar from its mast floated on the surface of the sea, fishermen said.

In all, 22 people were on board, 15 of whom were rescued. Six bodies -- five passengers and the ship's cook -- had been recovered by Thursday afternoon, including that of Mr. Lynch, an Italian government official said, adding that the search was continuing for his daughter.

It was a tragic and mystifying turn of events for Mr. Lynch, 59, who had spent years seeking to clear his name and was finally inaugurating a new chapter in his life. Experts wondered how a $40 million yacht, so robust and stable could have been sunk by a storm near a port within minutes.

''It drives me insane,'' said Giovanni Costantino, the chief executive of the Italian Sea Group, which in 2022 bought the company, Perini, that made the Bayesian. ''Following all the proper procedures, that boat is unsinkable.''

The aura of misfortune only deepened when it emerged that Stephen Chamberlain, 52, a former vice president of finance for Mr. Lynch's former company and a co-defendant in the fraud case, was killed two days earlier, when he was hit by a car while jogging near his house in England.

Since June, the two men had been in a jubilant mood. A jury in San Francisco had acquitted both on fraud charges that could have sent them to prison for two decades. There were hugs and tears, and they and their legal teams went for a celebratory dinner party at a restaurant in the city, said Gary S. Lincenberg, a lawyer for Mr. Chamberlain.

The sea excursion was meant as a thank-you by Mr. Lynch to those who had helped him in his legal travails. Among the guests was Christopher J. Morvillo, 59, a scion of a prominent New York family of lawyers who had represented Mr. Lynch for 12 years. He and his wife, Neda, 57, were among the missing.

So, too, was Jonathan Bloomer, 70, a veteran British insurance executive who chaired Morgan Stanley International and the insurer Hiscox.

The body of the ship's cook, Recaldo Thomas, was recovered. All the other crew members survived. Among them was Leo Eppel, 19, of South Africa, who was on his first yacht voyage working as a deck steward, said a friend, who asked not to be identified.

Since the sinking, the recovery effort and investigation have turned the tiny port town of Porticello, a quiet enclave where older men sit bare-chested on balconies, into what feels like the set of a movie.

Helicopters have flown overhead. Ambulances have sped by with the sirens blaring. The Coast Guard has patrolled the waters off shore, within sight of a cordoned-off dock that had been turned into an emergency headquarters.

On Wednesday afternoon, a church bell tolled after the first body bag was loaded into an ambulance, a crowd watching in silence.

The survivors were sheltering in a sprawling resort near Porticello, with a view of the shipwreck spot, and had so far declined to comment.

Attilio Di Diodato, director of the Italian Air Force's Center for Aerospace Meteorology and Climatology, said that the yacht had most likely been hit by a fierce ''down burst'' -- when air generated within a thunderstorm descends rapidly -- or by a waterspout, similar to a tornado over water.

He added that his agency had put out rough-sea warnings the previous evening, alerting sailors about storms and strong winds. Locals said the winds ''felt like an earthquake.''

Mr. Costantino, the boat executive, said the yacht had been specifically designed for having a tall mast -- the second-tallest aluminum mast in the world. He said the Bayesian was an extremely safe and secure boat that could list even to 75 degrees without capsizing.

But he said that if some of the hatches on the side and in the stern, or some of the deck doors, had been open, the boat could have taken on water and sunk. Standard procedure in such storms, he said, is to switch on the engine, lift the anchor and turn the boat into the wind, lowering the keel for extra stability, closing doors and gathering the guests in the main hall inside the deck.

The New York Times attempted to reach the captain, James Cutfield, who had survived, for comment through social media, his brother and the management company of the yacht (which did not hire the crew), but did not make contact.

So far none of the surviving crew members have made a public statement about what happened that night.

Fabio Genco, the director of Palermo's emergency services, who treated some of the survivors, said that the victims had recounted feeling as if the boat was being lifted, then suddenly dropped, with objects from the cabins falling on them.

The Italian Coast Guard said it had deployed a remotely operated vehicle that can prowl underwater for up to seven hours at a depth of more than 980 feet and record videos and images that they hoped would help them reconstruct the dynamics of the sinking. Such devices were used during the search and rescue operations of the Titan vessel that is believed to have imploded last summer near the wreckage of the Titanic.

After rescuers broke inside the yacht, they struggled to navigate the ropes and many pieces of furniture cluttering the vessel, said Luca Cari, a spokesman for Italy's national firefighter corps.

Finally, as of Thursday morning, they had managed to retrieve all but one of the missing bodies, and hopes of finding the missing person alive were thin. ''Can a human being be underwater for two days?'' Mr. Cari asked.

What was certain was that Mr. Lynch's death was yet another cruel twist of fate for a man who had spent years seeking to clear his name.

He earned a fortune in technology and was nicknamed Britain's Bill Gates. But for more than a decade, he had been treated as anything but a respected tech leader.

He was accused by Hewlett-Packard, the American technological pioneer that had bought his software company, Autonomy, for $11 billion, of misleading it about his company's worth. (Hewlett-Packard wrote down the value of the transaction by about $8.8 billion, and critics called it one of the worst deals of all time.) He had been increasingly shunned by the British establishment that he sought to break into after growing up ***working-class*** outside London.

He was extradited to San Francisco to face criminal charges, and confined to house arrest and 24-hour surveillance on his dime. In a townhouse in the Pacific Heights neighborhood -- with security people he jokingly told associates were his ''roommates'' -- he spent his mornings talking with researchers whom he funded personally on new applications for artificial intelligence. Afterward, he devoted hours to discussing legal strategy with his team.

Despite his persistent claims of innocence, even those close to Mr. Lynch had believed his odds of victory were slim. Autonomy's chief financial officer, Sushovan Hussain, was convicted in 2018 of similar fraud charges and spent five years in prison.

During Mr. Lynch's house arrest, his brother and mother died. His wife, Angela Bacares, frequently flew over from England, and she became a constant presence in the San Francisco courtroom during the trial.

After he was finally acquitted, Mr. Lynch had his eye on the future. ''I am looking forward to returning to the U.K. and getting back to what I love most: my family and innovating in my field,'' he said.

Elisabetta Povoledo contributed reporting from Pallanza, Italy.Elisabetta Povoledo contributed reporting from Pallanza, Italy.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/world/europe/sicily-yacht-mike-lynch.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/world/europe/sicily-yacht-mike-lynch.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Rescue workers lifting a body bag Wednesday after a yacht carrying the British entrepreneur Mike Lynch and others sank off the Sicilian coast Monday. A handout photo from the Perini Navi shipyard shows the sailing yacht. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUGLIELMO MANGIAPANE/REUTERS

PERINI NAVI PRESS OFFICE/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

**Load-Date:** August 23, 2024

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[***Can Pro Sports and Drag Queens Coexist? A Mill Town Finds Out.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D38-SKT1-JBG3-645G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 1, 2024 Tuesday 22:02 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 2350 words

**Highlight:** A gay couple embraced inclusion after buying an English rugby team. To their surprise, the fans bought in, too.

**Body**

A gay couple embraced inclusion after buying an English rugby team. To their surprise, the fans bought in, too.

Kaue Garcia and Ryan O’Neill had owned a sports team for no more than six months when they decided the time was right to shake things up. What they needed more than anything else, they felt, was a drag queen.

They were not entirely sure what the reaction would be. Keighley Cougars, the English club they had bought almost as an act of mercy, was not an obvious place to start pushing boundaries.

Keighley is an old textile town, surrounded by the windswept moors of Yorkshire’s Brontë Country. The scars of postindustrial decay remain livid here: spectacular scenery that houses some of the most deprived areas in England. And the Cougars play Rugby League, an especially brutal iteration of a famously bruising discipline.

Largely the exclusive preserve of old pit towns in northern England and northeastern Australia, Rugby League involves 26 musclebound players charging into each other at full speed for 80 minutes. Think N.F.L.-level collisions, but without all the helmets and padding. It is a tough game, played by tough people, in tough places.

The plan hatched by Mr. Garcia and Mr. O’Neill, then — to arrange a Pride-themed day at Keighley’s stadium, and to employ a drag queen as the pregame entertainment — seemed ambitious.

“We were worried nobody would come,” Mr. O’Neill said. His husband feared an even more stinging rebuke. “We’d put a drag queen on the middle of the field, have a big party, and everyone would just disappear,” Mr. Garcia said.

On the other hand, there were some reasons for hope. When they had bought the team, at the start of 2019, they had become — as far as they knew — the only gay owners of a men’s sports team anywhere outside the United States. (They have never investigated that status in any great depth, and The New York Times was unable to find any evidence to disprove it.)

Nobody had really seemed to mind. More than anything, the town seemed grateful for their presence. Far more important than their sexuality was that they had saved Keighley’s beloved team from the brink of bankruptcy. By this year, they had plenty of credit in the bank.

Rugby League, too, had proved a more welcoming space. The men’s version of the sport has had a number of openly gay players and referees, something that cannot be said — for example — of men’s soccer, Britain’s great sporting hegemon.

The couple realized, though, that tolerance and acceptance are not necessarily synonyms.

They knew that a drag queen might be pushing their luck. But they knew, too, that they were going to do it anyway.

Flying the Flag

The name of the Cougars’ stadium is rather grander than its reality: the roofs of the two covered grandstands at Cougar Park are weather-beaten, corroded and pockmarked with dents left by stray rugby balls. The other two sides consist of exposed concrete terraces. Under Mr. Garcia and Mr. O’Neill’s tenure, all of it has also become a riot of color.

This year, I have been to a handful of the Cougars’ games, watching the team in the spitting rain of spring, the fine drizzle of summer, and the torrential downpours of autumn. On each occasion, my 6-year-old son has come along, too, partly because he suffers terribly from FOMO and partly because it means an afternoon watching sports can be called “parenting.”

My son does not see Cougar Park as a tumbledown sort of a place, four rickety stands in a drab industrial park just around the corner from the place we go to drop off the recycling. It is, in his mind, bright and captivating: the lurid neons of the candy stall; the deep green and red of the Cougars flag he waves during games; and, most of all, the rich, vivid hues of the rainbow.

That is the most obvious impact Mr. Garcia and Mr. O’Neill have had: Just about every available surface at Cougar Park is plastered with the colors of both the Pride and the Progress flags. They flutter from soaring flagpoles, towering over the stands. They have been fastened to crowd-control barriers.

They have made it onto the field, too. The team started to swap out its traditional green, red and white jerseys for ones incorporating the Pride colors. Next season, [*the players will wear*](https://keighleycougars.uk/) the colors of the trans rights movement. Nobody, Mr. Garcia said, should be in any doubt: “Everyone is welcome here.”

He and his husband had not bought the team for the express purpose of using it to make a statement. They had, instead, fallen into running it almost by accident. Five years ago, Mr. O’Neill saw a couple of news reports that suggested the Cougars, after years of mismanagement, might be about to be shuttered for good.

He had grown up nearby. In the 1990s, his father had invested in the team. As a child, he had been an ardent fan. He knew how important the Cougars were to the town, and persuaded his husband — born in Brazil, blissfully ignorant of the existence of both Rugby League and Keighley itself — that they should step in to keep it alive.

Neither of them thought they would have to run it.

“We thought we’d save it, go back to London and get on with our lives,” Mr. O’Neill said. “Someone had been running it for all these years. We just thought we’d leave it to be run by whoever that was.”

It did not take long for that particular illusion to be shattered. On the day they took possession of Cougar Park, a staff member pressed an invoice for £25,000 into Mr. O’Neill’s hands: the bill for the team’s uniforms. That was just the first debt that needed to be paid. They met the staff and asked who was in charge of this stuff. “They told us that was us,” Mr. O’Neill said.

The couple checked into a local hotel. They would, it turned out, be sticking around. “Imagine, your husband tells you you’re going to stay in a hotel for three months,” Mr. Garcia said. “You think that would be nice. Instead it’s a Travelodge. And you’re here, every day, cleaning. I didn’t read the fine print. Lesson learned.”

Having grown up in the area, Mr. O’Neill did not remember it as a bastion of tolerance. He knew that Keighley is the sort of place politicians and provocateurs like to cast as being overlooked and underestimated by the distant, sneering elite, the sort of place presented as a repository of traditional — a synonym for right-wing — values.

Memory might have led him to downplay his sexuality, to hope it faded into the background, but he is — by his own volition — a “natural campaigner.” He had never really meant to run the club, but if he was going to do so, he was going to do it his way. “Sport is just such a powerful platform for these messages,” he said.

The rainbow flags went up. The jersey was redesigned. And plans for what they believed to be the first designated Pride game in British sports, complete with a drag queen, started to be formed.

Showtime

Initially, the scheme concocted by Mr. O’Neill and Mr. Garcia might be described, perhaps a touch unkindly, as harebrained. As well as the drag queen, they tried to hire Katie Price — a well-known British glamour model — to appear at Cougar Park, too. They thought that might soften the blow to any fragile masculine egos.

When Ms. Price backed out on her initial acceptance, citing illness, they decided to press ahead anyway. The day of the Pride game, they were sure, had been a success. They had sold out of jerseys. The stadium had been far busier than normal. And, watching on from the sidelines, it seemed most of the fans had enjoyed Miss Ivy Rose’s performance of “Lola” and “It’s Raining Men.”

And then, a few minutes later, they noticed a fan marching toward them. Through the medium of mime, Mr. Garcia intimates that the man in question was older, possibly tattooed, and similar in scale to some of the team’s players.

“I remember it to this day: He walked up to us, this big guy,” Mr. Garcia remembered. “And then he shook our hands. He told us he’d never met any gay people before. He’d had this different idea of what ‘gay’ was. But he had absolutely loved it.”

The Keighley that Mr. Garcia and Mr. O’Neill have found is not the Keighley of popular perception. It is not even the Keighley that Mr. O’Neill remembers from his childhood. Every time they have worried they might be moving too quickly, they have found the club — and the town — running alongside them.

The flags are now simply a part of the skyline. Some fans sit and drink lager from plastic pint cups, happily wearing replica jerseys bearing the Pride flag. Others stand on the terrace that has been repainted in the rainbow colors. The longstanding fans have kept coming, and they have been joined by sections of the town that might once have regarded a Rugby League stadium as hostile territory.

“Gay people and trans people did not have a place to go in Keighley,” Mr. Garcia said. “But now you can have these friendships here. You are not going to find a more welcoming place. The club has always been at the center of the community. A home game really is the best day out in Keighley.”

All they have done is make more members of that community feel as if they have access to it. “We just added rainbows,” he said.

All sports owners face criticism, of course. At various times, Mr. Garcia and Mr. O’Neill have been taken to task over results, over coaching appointments, over player recruitment: all of the standard stuff.

But there have been times, too, when they have had to deal with more pointed and more personal attacks: Online, there are occasional bouts of homophobic invective; in real life, there is its more insidious cousin. “People do sometimes ask whether we really have to make such a big deal of it,” Mr. Garcia said.

Five years in, though, they remain pleasantly surprised that those instances remain the exception, rather than the rule.

Their confidence has grown to such an extent that earlier this year, they invited India Willoughby, a high-profile trans activist, to become the club’s patron. She accepted the role in the hospitality suite at Cougar Park, as sponsors and families ate a roast beef dinner cooked under the watchful eye of Mr. O’Neill’s mother, Jacqui.

The soft-spoken Mr. O’Neill felt unusually anxious that day. Ms. Willoughby has long been [*a target for abuse*](https://keighleycougars.uk/) on social media, where trans rights have become a particularly toxic issue. While Mr. O’Neill wore a T-shirt emblazoned with the slogan “Trans Rights Are Human Rights,” his voice quavered as he invited her to speak.

Two minutes later, as she finished, she was met with a storm of applause. Mr. O’Neill was almost a little shaken. “To see a trans woman get a response like that in Keighley,” he said, “that’s a big thing.”

Rebel Game

Owning a sports team, Mr. Garcia knows, is supposed to be a glamorous occupation, the preserve of megalomaniacal billionaires and unaccountable princelings and finance bros clad in expensive vests and unflinching self-confidence. His experience of it involves cleaning more toilets than he was expecting.

That is not the limit of his duties. On any game day, he might serve drinks to his players and their families at the bar in the club’s hospitality suite, hand out great fistfuls of cardboard clappers to fans in the stands, and spend time after each game scouring nearby parking lots for wayward rugby balls. Each one costs $25.

He might, or he might not, also take a turn dressing up as a cougar and striding onto the field before games to perform — with considerable gusto and no little ability — the entire dance routine to Beyoncé’s “All the Single Ladies.” Mr. Garcia is uncharacteristically discreet on the matter, though he does seem oddly keen on pointing out just how good the dancing is some days.

During games, he commits just as much energy to urging on his team. In his pocket, he keeps an amulet he bought several years ago, while trekking through a jungle in Mexico. He describes it as a cougar, but it is actually a jaguar. Every time the team needs his support, he blows into it. Out of the other end comes a hissing, thrashing roar.

When he first introduced it, he said, the reaction was not uniformly positive. “Some people really hated it,” he said. “But now everyone wants to know where they can get one.”

That he has come to feel so welcome is typical of Rugby League, according to Ben Abberstein, the lead on diversity and inclusion at the R.F.L., the sport’s governing body in Britain.

On some level, Mr. Abberstein said, it sees itself not just as a “minority game,” trying to compete with soccer for eyeballs and attention, but as a rebel sport, too. It was founded by ***working-class*** athletes demanding to be paid for their labor, a splinter from the more traditional, and more patrician, Rugby Union.

“The sport is inclusive at heart,” he said. “There is a belief that if more people can experience it, then more people will like it.”

But to Mr. Garcia and Mr. O’Neill, it is indicative of Keighley, too, of the open-mindedness and the friendliness of this postindustrial town on the edge of the moors.

The town has, in fact, been so receptive that the owners now find themselves with a very different problem from the one they faced when they arrived. They are under pressure not to tone it down, but to ramp it up.

“People expect more every year,” Mr. Garcia said, just a hint of stress in his voice. “They keep asking what we will do for the next Pride game, how we will top it.”

In an ideal world, he said, he would like to airlift a drag queen in by helicopter. “Everyone looking at the skies, a long dress,” he said.

It would, he thinks, be spectacular. “I called up once,” he said. “And I found out that helicopters are very expensive.”

PHOTOS: The Keighley Cougars rugby team plays in a kit that displays the colors of the Pride flag. The flag is also prominent on the grounds at Cougar Park in a northern English town where the scars of postindustrial decay are still vivid. Below right, fans gathering in the team’s bar after a match to drink and sing karaoke.; RYAN O’NEILL, right, who owns the Keighley Cougars with his husband, Kaue Garcia. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A30) This article appeared in print on page A1, A30.

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[***‘I Will Be Thrilled to Be Wrong’: Four Columnists Brace for Election Night; David Brooks, Ross Douthat, Michelle Goldberg and Tressie McMillan Cottom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBR-4XX1-JBG3-62GC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** David Brooks, Ross Douthat, Michelle Goldberg and Tressie McMillan CottomDavid Brooks is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about political, social and cultural trends.

**Highlight:** Who will win the presidency, House and Senate? What is the election about? And what happens next for America?

**Body**

Patrick Healy, the deputy Opinion editor, hosted an online conversation with the Times Opinion columnists David Brooks, Ross Douthat, Michelle Goldberg and Tressie McMillan Cottom about election night and what will follow.

Patrick Healy: Happy Election Day! What do you think will happen?

Michelle Goldberg: I like the phrase lots of Democrats are using: “[*nauseously optimistic*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html).” I’d bet on Kamala Harris winning, though I can’t tell how much of that is evidence and intuition and how much wishful thinking. On the evidence side, the J. Ann Selzer [*poll showing Harris*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) three points ahead in Iowa was picking up something real happening among American women. Many are furious over the end of Roe and revolted by the hypermacho campaign Donald Trump is running.

Ross Douthat: I think Donald Trump will win, for reasons I elaborated on when Kamala Harris had a [*clearer advantage in the polls*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) and I stand by now: Harris is a weaker-than-average candidate who is stuck defending a deeply unpopular incumbent administration, and I still expect — perhaps unwisely — that any substantial polling error will favor Trump. And we may get a presidential winner slightly faster than in 2020, but that might just be a fervent and foredoomed journalistic hope.

Healy: Ross, which swing states do you think could decide the election faster than in 2020? I’m keeping an eye on North Carolina, where [*polls close at 7:30 p.m. Eastern*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html), and Michigan — two states that usually count votes expeditiously and where both Trump and Harris allies are on pins and needles.

Douthat: To those I’d add Virginia, where polls close at 7 p.m.; if it’s going to be a big night for Trump, we’ll see that in early returns there, even if he’s very unlikely to win the state outright. Conversely, Ohio could herald a big night for Harris if it appears close.

Goldberg: In Michigan, it’s striking that [*a Republican pollster*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) there, whose most recent survey has Harris up by two points, has concluded, based on absentee ballots and early voting returns, that they were undersampling women, Black voters and people in Detroit. The story of this election could be that pollsters were so desperate to avoid underestimating Trump’s strength — a mistake of 2016 and, to a lesser extent, 2020 — that they overcorrected this time around.

Tressie McMillan Cottom: I think Trump has the advantage. Harris’s message on turning the page does not feel exciting enough to peel off enough of the Trump coalition voters who, despite all reason, simply do not believe or care that he is dangerous. Messaging aside, my sense is that the G.O.P. didn’t make the mistake it made in 2020 when Trump undermined early voting. I will be thrilled to be wrong. If I am wrong, it will be because of Roe and Black voters.

David Brooks: I’ve never covered a presidential campaign like this one, where I had no certainty at this stage of who is up and who is down. It’s unnerving. But if I was forced to make a guess, I’d go with Trump, too. I do that by asking, “Which candidate does the issue landscape favor?” Trump has the economy. People really hate inflation. Trump has immigration. Biden-Harris course-corrected on this issue this year but too late. Many Americans [*being unhappy*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) with the country’s direction favors Trump, too. Harris hasn’t sufficiently broken with President Biden. Harris has abortion and democracy, but I don’t think those are uppermost on the minds of low-intensity voters. But believe me, this is a total guess.

Healy: Let’s step back and try to get our arms around this campaign, with all the historic twists — Biden dropping out, the assassination attempts against Trump, the nomination of Harris — and unpredictable turns, such as the power of inflation, abortion, democracy, the gender gap and other factors driving voters. What do you think this election is about?

Cottom: This election is about what the 2016 election was about: the Trump coalition. In 2020, Biden benefited from our long Covid nightmare. Without Covid, Trump’s popularity matters. The economy also mattered but not the way we think. Inflation fears are a stylized economic fact that captures how voters feel about the country. Republican voters do not blame Trump for their economic insecurity. Harris had to contend with that anxiety and a clear message from a Republican opponent who is, despite everything, still quite popular with many voters. Trump’s message is that he can fix it. It is wrong, but it is a clear message. The reality is that the American dream is a fiction of a historical aberration. I never felt that Harris made a strong, clear argument that she could start to fix it.

That is why we are back where we were in 2016. The fundamentals haven’t changed; the Republicans just have a clearer story about why.

Douthat: I agree with Tressie that Trump’s promise to fix what’s gone wrong in the Biden era — a porous border, a bout of inflation, a more chaotic world — is crucial to his political resilience, and for many voters, the election seems to be all about weighing nostalgia for the Trump economy and other aspects of the pre-Covid world against fears of Trumpian chaos and the memory of Jan. 6.

I don’t think either candidate could claim some sweeping legislative mandate. Yes, a Harris victory would be interpreted as a big victory for pro-choice politics and a Trump win as a mandate for more protectionism and deportations. But both candidates have tried to blur the policy differences, and I think, for most voters, the choice is happening at a much more general level, where the broad problems of the past four years are weighed against the personal faults of Donald Trump.

Goldberg: I know it’s a cliché, but I think the election is about whether America will continue to be an imperfect liberal democracy or begin the slide toward what political scientists call a hybrid regime, which combines democratic and authoritarian elements. If voters decide to overlook Jan. 6 because they think — falsely — that Trump will lower the price of groceries, they are making a decision about whether democracy should be a priority.

Cottom: Clichés become clichés because sometimes they are right, Michelle. I agree with you.

Brooks: Our colleague Ezra Klein just released [*a podcast episode with the historian Gary Gerstle*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html). Gerstle argues that America went through a couple of political orders in the 20th century. There was the New Deal order from the 1930s through the 1970s and what he calls the neoliberal order between the 1970s and the financial crisis. I’d call the latter the individualist order. Conservatives practiced economic individualism, and liberals practiced lifestyle individualism, but it was individualism all the way down.

Since 2016, we’ve left the individualistic order, and we’re fighting about what kind of community to celebrate. The right celebrates populist, we-take-care-of-our-own nationalism. The left celebrates identity-group solidarity and national diversity. Neither side has a fully formed vision of what 21st-century community will look like. We’re still in the transition phase.

Douthat: It’s a characteristically American sort of optimism, David, to assume that a stable political order is out there to be claimed. You wrote [*a recent column*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) about the paper from Yuval Levin and Ruy Teixeira arguing that both parties have failed in their obligation to forge durable majorities. It was a great column and a great paper, but it did leave me with a sneaking sympathy for the leaders of the two parties. It may be that Americans today, citizens of a rich and aging and somewhat decadent imperium, naturally prefer gridlock and polarization to the kind of discomfiting sacrifices that would be required to forge a new conservative or liberal age.

Brooks: I plead guilty to irrational optimism. Some days it’s the only thing keeping me going. For justification, I’d point to this historical pattern. Every couple of decades, America creates a different political cultural order. From the 1930s to 1950s, it was egalitarian-institutional. By the 1960s, it stopped working. The old order began to seem too racist, sexist and conformist. So in the late 1960s we chopped it up. The transition was brutal. But by 1970s, the rage was over, and people were into crystals, Erhard Seminars Training and New Age. That individualistic order stopped working, but I have tremendous faith in ingenuity to evolve a new cultural arrangement. Politics will follow.

Healy: David, your points about political cultural orders make me think about something Michelle wrote about in her [*latest column*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) and I’ve heard increasingly: that this election is about men versus women, in intensity and context and consequences. If Trump wins, men win, and if Harris wins, women win. That’s bluntly reductive, but it may be how a lot of Americans feel once we have a winner.

Goldberg: I think that’s clearly true. The anger and revulsion that many women felt about Donald Trump’s election in 2016 was a driving force in our politics for his entire term. And outrage over the end of Roe has been a galvanizing force since 2022. When I said earlier that I think Harris will win, I’m assuming that both polling and conventional wisdom are underrating the backlash to abortion bans.

It’s also true that Trump is running an extraordinarily chauvinistic campaign, even by MAGA standards. In 2016 he had Ivanka Trump and Hope Hicks out there softening some of his macho edges. Now it’s foregrounding pro wrestlers and podcast bros. John McEntee, an aide who was so powerful at the end of Trump’s term that people called him the deputy president, is out there making kidding-not-kidding [*cracks*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) about taking away women’s right to vote. Trump is telling us he’s going to give Robert F. Kennedy Jr. responsibility for women’s health. Just yesterday I got a Kennedy fund-raising email boasting about his workout routine whose header was literally “Macho, Macho Man.”

Unfortunately, I published my column before the rally where Trump fantasized about sticking Harris in a ring with his rapist supporter Mike Tyson.

Douthat: What’s the old line about the war between the sexes — that it doesn’t really happen because there’s so much fraternization with the enemy? Clearly the entire developed world is disproving that maxim to some extent right now, with the alienation of men and women manifest in declining rates of marriage and dating and even sex forging a novel kind of political polarization.

At the same time, that polarization really seems to be strongest among the uncoupled, the single and divorced. Which makes me very interested in the Democratic campaign ads trying to woo what they take to be a meaningful group of married women who want to cast a very secret Democratic vote. If that wooing works, if there’s a big swing in married G.O.P. women to the Democrats, it’s obviously good news for Harris — and for pro-choice politics if abortion is the causal issue. But it will be a rather darker indicator for male-female relations, suggesting that this novel form of polarization cuts even deeper than we thought.

Goldberg: Ross, this is why I think you should vote for Harris. A Trump presidency would deepen women’s anger at and alienation from men. Look at what happened in South Korea, where in 2022 they elected the trollish anti-feminist Yoon Suk-yeol. Women in that country are increasingly rejecting both marriage and motherhood, and as you know, the birthrate there is the lowest in the world.

Douthat: It’s true that if a second Trump term ushers in the South Korean dystopia, it will be a divine judgment on my head.

Cottom: I agree with Michelle that this is an election about gender. I have a slightly more complicated view about how gender is operating than just men versus women. But at the highest level of abstraction, that is correct. This is about a projection of masculinity onto politics as a proxy for the fear of the unknown. Harris’s challenge, should she win, will be dealing with that fear after the thrill of a historic win inevitably wears off. This is still a post-Dobbs America with unsustainable child care and elder care costs, no matter who wins. It is a better-equipped America if Harris wins and a terrifying America if Trump wins.

Brooks: I’d say that gender now overlaps with class. I’m struck by the chasm between college-educated women, who are doing relatively well and are swinging to the Democrats, and men without college degrees, who are doing poorly and swinging to the Republicans. Biden did a great job of shifting resources to men without college degrees — the infrastructure bill, etc. — but got no credit for it. The Harris campaign was, in my view, tone deaf on how to give men a vision of how a Harris administration could benefit them. If you want a glimpse of what such a vision could look like, read [*this recent piece*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) by Richard Reeves.

Cottom: Harris gave men so many plans and visions that they turned into a choose-your-own-adventure chapter book. Her campaign understood men are looking for something. They gave Black men an entire white paper, white men their own campaign conference call — has any other candidate ever done that so directly? — and frequently put men at the center of fears about reproductive rights. The reality is that a lot of men cannot hear a plan from a female leader, and many more men are more invested in masculinity than they are political transactions. It is no secret that I believe that money moves emotions and emotions move votes. But the promise of money is enough for some men to vote against their immediate interests. That is not about vision. That is still about patriarchy and sexism.

Douthat: Tressie, did you think it at all discordant that a centerpiece of the Harris pitch to African American men was a promise to legalize marijuana and help minorities get into the business? I feel if that pitch had been made by a white Democratic candidate, it would have been seen as a peculiar form of racial stereotyping.

Cottom: That pitch to Black men was horrifying. I understood the political impulse to issue it, but it read like a post-’60s Black conservative screed. I support legalizing marijuana, but making it a centerpiece of a policy proposal tailored to Black men’s interests was dismaying. Making it a centerpiece without aggressively calling out the racism not only of drug sentencing but the financing of legal cannabis operations is depressing. A female candidate leaning into paternalistic ideas of leading your family made me cringe. Having said that, what could she do? She is a former prosecutor. She is a law-and-order Democrat. She is making a direct appeal to the “I’m not racist, just economically anxious” white voter in the Trump coalition. This is a message that promised some policy solutions for Black men without jeopardizing those white voters.

Healy: I’d like to look ahead to the two Americas we could have in 2025 — one led by Harris and one led by Trump. A simple question first, which I know might feel like a provocation: Would these two Americas in 2025 be all that different from each other?

Cottom: How different the respective Americas are will depend on who you are. Without a doubt, we’ll have a worse America if Trump wins. He is reckless on foreign policy. Tariffs are a form of geopolitical warfare. In Trump’s hands they could only escalate tensions with China, for both the U.S. and our allies. Domestically, Trump’s biggest threat is his ideological incoherence. He is willing to sacrifice any civil liberty, any norm, any group of people for his own purposes. That is not a person who can be contained in the way we think that democratic institutions contain erratic politicians. He would be more afraid than he was before. That would make him more desperate. That would make his America more unstable for all but the wealthy and the Trump devout.

I agree that stasis is probably the likely outcome of a Harris win. She is an institutionalist, and a center-right one at that. I don’t expect sweeping changes from her administration. Similar to Barack Obama — the yoke of being the first is likely to make her even more conservative. Still, stasis feels like progress compared with Trump’s incoherence.

Brooks: On some issues I’d guess the two Americas would be surprisingly similar. We’re going to have tighter borders. We’re going to have industrial policy. We’re going to have some sort of tariffs against China. On some issues we’re stumbling toward semiconsensus. The vast gap is on rule of law and foreign affairs. Let me focus on the latter. I don’t know what happens to Ukraine next year if Trump wins. I worry about NATO. Mostly I just worry about Trump’s general incompetence. We got lucky during his term, because there were no existential or complicated threats, until the pandemic. Today we’re surrounded by such threats.

Goldberg: I think it’s the difference between stasis and crisis. A lot of our problems, particularly around inequality, are structural and beyond the ability of Harris or any other president saddled with a closely divided Senate and a right-wing Supreme Court to address. But a Harris administration would not be a festival of corruption. She would not send paramilitary forces into U.S. cities to round up undocumented immigrants and warehouse them in internment camps or use the Army against American citizens. I think people have forgotten just how destabilizing it was to live under Trump, and I think they’re underestimating how much more dystopian American life will feel if he returns.

Douthat: I think the obvious differences will be on immigration and deportation, the unknown economic effects of Trump’s tariff plans and how the two different White Houses would handle both existing challenges like Ukraine and emergent foreign policy threats — with the further point that a Harris administration may encourage different moves from our adversaries than a Trump administration would. But the different scenarios for a second Trump administration alone are extremely high variance. Who runs it? How does Trump behave? I can imagine very different scenarios for the country just within the range of Trumpian possibilities.

Goldberg: Whoever the next president is will probably get some credit for the coming manufacturing jobs that Biden created with the Inflation Reduction Act. I suspect there’s far more of a chance for a decent — if disappointing — settlement in Ukraine if Harris wins, because Ukraine will have the leverage of ongoing U.S. support. America will still have intractable problems, but life will hopefully feel, by pre-Trump standards, basically normal.

Healy: What is the worst-case scenario if Trump wins and everything Democrats have been saying comes to fruition — he leads like an autocrat, he uses presidential immunity with abandon, he aligns with Vladimir Putin, he wants a third term, he undertakes mass deportations?

Douthat: I think this scenario lumps together the totally credible and the much more extreme. Trump would absolutely seek some kind of deal in Ukraine, and he would try to push deportations up and up and up. But those issues fall within the normal range of presidential powers. The U.S. has a long tradition of negotiating insalubrious deals with nuclear-armed dictators, and remember that deportation rates were higher under Obama than in Trump’s term. A vast deportation effort could certainly prompt mass protest and all kinds of resistance — but these are familiar features of democratic politics, not signifiers of autocracy.

To go from there to the actual autocratic scenarios or even just to the extremity of a third term would require two things to happen: The courts would have to simply rubber-stamp radical forms of executive action — which is not what the Roberts court’s immunity decision does and certainly not how John Roberts himself behaved in his rulings on many Trumpian matters in Trump’s term — and the military would have to become his cat’s paw, embracing nakedly unconstitutional orders. That seems essentially impossible, not just implausible, absent some external shock that dwarfs even the Covid-19 pandemic.

Brooks: Lots of presidents have deported undocumented workers. But they didn’t deport families that are well embedded in our society. I may be naïve, but I think the image of that kind of deportation would shock America, prove very unpopular and force Trump, who wants approval more than anything, to backtrack. I think a lot of people are voting for Trump because they want the economy of 2019, not the full Viktor Orban.

Goldberg: I think the worst-case scenario looks different from Hungary. It’s hard for me to imagine Trump gaining Orban-like control over the media, such that opposition candidates are hardly even mentioned in major news sources. At the same time, America is a more violent country than Hungary, and Trump is a violent man, so I’d expect both more unrest and more bloody repression here.

As I’ve written, my greatest fear is that Trump acts on his promises to conduct mass deportations, which, aside from the essential inhumanity to migrants who are deeply rooted here, would require an enormous expansion of police and military powers that would transform American life.

Douthat: Without negotiating all the details of Orbanism, I will just say that it’s very hard to see how you could import the political model of a small and relatively homogeneous Eastern European republic with a history of subjugation by larger powers to a vast continental empire of nearly 350 million people in which neither political coalition seems capable of building a majority that lasts more than an election cycle or two.

Cottom: We lean too heavily on academic definitions, but governance has always been a hybrid. We got mired in the whole “Is he or isn’t he a fascist?” debate, for example. We risk doing the same thing with autocracy versus democracy. Does it really matter if mass deportations are within the scope of presidential powers if they are inhumane and most Americans don’t want them? Does it matter if Trump doesn’t authorize the arrest of journalists if he doesn’t do much to stop the unlawful targeting of journalists?

Healy: And what will it mean if none of that comes to pass and Democrats are seen as alarmist about Trump?

Brooks: I’ll answer your question with a question. In 2017 the left went into full resistance mode, which led to the ideological excesses of 2019 and ’20 — ban fracking, decriminalize the border. If Trump wins, will the Democrats go that way again? I suspect not. I suspect there will be more introspection: “How did we lose touch with the ***working class***, and how can we get back in touch?”

Goldberg: Patrick, what do you mean by “alarmist”? Trump’s term was extremely bad. It’s hard to imagine a scenario in which his second term would be better.

Healy: Not better, Michelle, but not fascism.

Goldberg: I’m just not willing to accept that anything short of full fascism means that Democrats were being alarmist about the risks of electing someone with dictatorial aspirations.

Healy: What do you think we’re going to learn about America in Tuesday’s election?

Brooks: I went to a Christian nationalist church in Tennessee nine days ago. The preacher was a narcissist, just like Trump, and I was reminded how claustrophobic it is to be trapped inside the mind of a narcissist. But the other phrase that leaped to my mind was “dark world.” The world described at that service was filled with enemies, threats, traitors and aggression. If Trump wins, we will learn that many Americans are still in that distrustful, dark world. If Harris wins, we’ll learn that many Americans are sick of the negativity and want some happy normalcy.

Goldberg: I feel like a broken record about this, but if Trump wins again in spite of losing the popular vote, I feel we’ll have learned that the American Constitution has become a fundamental obstacle to democracy.

Douthat: For that reason and others, I hope that if Trump wins again, he does win the popular vote. More broadly, I think that a second Trump term that doesn’t generate a constitutional crisis would nonetheless finally do away with an impulse that has animated both liberals and Never Trumpers — myself initially included — ever since 2016: a desire to just declare the Trump era abnormal and hope for a reversion to a pre-Trumpian reality. That reality simply isn’t coming back. However good or bad a Trump second term may be, the much weirder world that his election helped usher in is here to stay.

Healy: I’d like to end with a lightning round, and I’m taking out my crystal ball again. Which party will win the House and the Senate?

Brooks: Whichever party wins the White House. The days of split-ticket voting are ending. If Trump wins Pennsylvania, so will the Senate candidate David McCormick. What amazes me is how few House seats seem to be in play.

Douthat: I assume that the G.O.P. will have the House and Senate in my Trump-wins scenario, but my bet is that this time Trump slightly outperforms a few Republican senators and wins a blue wall state or three while the Democratic Senate incumbent narrowly hangs on.

Goldberg: I think Democrats take the House and Republicans take the Senate.

Cottom: I agree with Michelle. The political organizers I talk to are preparing for that scenario.

Healy: Aside from the winner of Harris versus Trump, what do you think will be the biggest surprise of the night?

Cottom: My friends on the ground are very interested in Hamilton County, Ind. It appears to be leaning Democratic for the first time. A Harris win there would be a big surprise. They believe that if Harris wins this county, it bodes well for a Democratic trend across races that are currently within the margin of error.

Goldberg: My hope is that it’s Nebraska. If the independent candidate Dan Osborn is able to beat the Republican senator Deb Fischer, it could open up a really fascinating chapter in our politics. I don’t think there’s much room for a third party in America, but I could imagine a bunch of independents emerging, especially in places where, because of polarization, one of the two major parties isn’t viable.

Douthat: I endorse the Goldberg take: I think the Osborn campaign has been a model of how to run as a heterodox candidacy in a polarized age. I doubt he’ll win, but it would be a useful jolt to the system if he did.

Healy: If Trump wins, which adviser or ally of his ends up with real power that concerns you the most?

Brooks: At this point, Kennedy. But the list of miscreants will be long.

Douthat: Foreign policy is the area where I think Trump’s term looks best in hindsight, and so to the extent that he staffs up with professionals who came through the first four years with their relationships with him and their reputations intact — the two former appointees [*I interviewed last month*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) are good case studies — the more encouraged I’ll be. If he seems to be just throwing Putin-friendly cable-news guests and professional sycophants into key foreign policy positions, then the more destabilizing scenarios will look a lot more credible.

Goldberg: Stephen Miller, obviously, as well as [*McEntee*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html) and [*Kash Patel*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/kamala-harris-campaign-early-voting-battleground-states.html). And certainly the truly fascistic Michael Flynn, if Trump decides to bring him back.

Healy: If Harris wins, are there steps she could take to unify the country? Or do you think unity will be out of reach?

Cottom: Why would a President Harris be expected to unify a country that was never unified before? I want her to expand the court, make care work part of American infrastructure and use the bully pulpit responsibly. I don’t care about unity.

Douthat: She probably isn’t going to have room to make big legislative moves, for better or worse, but I think her best move as a unifier would be to avoid turning her agencies into tools for culture war, which is the temptation that all presidents facing congressional gridlock seem to give in to.

Brooks: We need to stop looking to politicians for unity. We need social and cultural movements to be engines of change. The politicians will come later.

Healy: If Trump loses, who’s the Republican nominee in 2028?

Brooks: Tom Cotton.

Douthat: Donald Trump. Well, probably not, but you can’t rule it out. If not him, JD Vance currently has the inside track, but it will be a genuine contest.

Cottom: Whoever it is, the person will know that the structure of our electoral system will make any Republican competitive, no matter how dangerous the candidate. That should be fun. It will be Vance.

Goldberg: I have no idea, but I will enjoy watching the civil war in the Republican Party. It will be in the interest of social conservatives to blame a Trump loss on his abortion waffling and try to get the party to double down on its commitment to abortion bans. Whereas others who are sick of losing will try to move even farther away from anti-abortion orthodoxy.

Healy: And if Harris loses, who’s the Democratic nominee in 2028?

Brooks: Wes Moore.

Cottom: If Donald Trump is re-elected, I am not sure I will care who the Democratic nominee is in 2028. It will be Josh Shapiro. It should be Andy Beshear. The Democrats need to look to the South again.

Goldberg: My guess would be Josh Shapiro and Gretchen Whitmer.

Douthat: The fully self-aware form of ChatGPT, uploaded into the flesh of Gavin Newsom. Or maybe Whitmer.

Source photographs by Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times and Anna Moneymaker, via Getty Images.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Shoshana Schultz/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2024

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[***Why Tim Walz Will Be a Potent Weapon for Kamala Harris; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNC-BTH1-JBG3-6003-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 6, 2024 Tuesday 12:04 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1302 words

**Byline:** Ross Barkan

**Highlight:** He is of a vanishing political breed: the heartland left populist.

**Body**

Kamala Harris’s selection of Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota as her running mate was, like most events of this turbulent political season, mostly unforeseeable just a few weeks ago.

Instead of bolstering her ticket with a Democrat from a crucial swing state — or even one that routinely elected Republicans up and down the ballot — seemingly at the 11th hour, Ms. Harris opted for Mr. Walz, a 60-year-old former congressman. Mr. Walz is a white Midwestern governor from a largely agrarian state. His selection holds the potential of winning back some rural regions and even states that are now staunchly Republican. This could make for a winning strategy in the Electoral College, which is now daunting for Democrats.

Mr. Walz will be a potent weapon Ms. Harris can readily deploy on her behalf. But he carries downsides that shouldn’t be overlooked, beginning with geography and extending to his time as governor during a period of immense upheaval for Minnesota and the country.

Mr. Walz’s strengths are clear: He spent over a decade as a public school teacher and football coach and served in the Army National Guard; in 2006, he flipped a Republican-held House district in rural Minnesota and beat back G.O.P. opposition in several trying election cycles. He’s relatively progressive and a gun owner.

Democrats have several enormous challenges that the Harris campaign, no matter how well it might function, cannot readily solve. The selection of Mr. Walz could help remedy the problem of ***working-class*** voters who have been bleeding out of the Democratic coalition, especially since Donald Trump won the presidency in 2016. White voters are by far the largest segment, but there have been defections among socially conservative Black and Latino voters, as well.

Two other factors work in his favor: Progressives like him, and he performs well on television. The latter may have mattered even more to Ms. Harris’s team. Mr. Walz rocketed to prominence by lashing Republicans as “weird,” which became something of a rallying cry after the criticism of JD Vance’s comment about “childless cat ladies.”

The contrasts are stark between Mr. Vance and Mr. Walz, and that’s what Democrats like. Mr. Walz is 20 years older, boasts a much deeper record in government and appears, at a minimum, to be much more telegenic.

Ms. Harris would be the first woman and only the second person of color elected president, and she seems to have determined that a politician decidedly unlike her is required for this campaign against Mr. Trump. Mr. Walz’s liberalism isn’t California-inflected. He is of a vanishing political breed: the heartland left populist.

Within the Biden administration, Ms. Harris was often sidelined on major policy initiatives. She remains, for all her time in the public eye, something of a blank slate. In some ways, this makes her choice of vice president more critical as it offers her supporters a sense of what President Harris could achieve distinct from her role as vice president.

On policy matters, in particular the Israel-Hamas war, Mr. Walz assuages, momentarily at least, the restive progressive wing of the Democratic Party. He has a deepening populist track record that could buoy Ms. Harris, signed into law a raft of pro-worker legislation, like a standards board for nursing homes, a ban on noncompete clauses and a bar on anti-union captive-audience meetings. As governor of Minnesota, he quickly codified abortion rights after the fall of Roe v. Wade, signed legislation to safeguard gay and trans rights and helped to create a state-run program to provide paid and family medical leave to workers. Other accomplishments that thrilled the left included driver’s licenses for undocumented immigrants, legalizing marijuana, a “red flag” gun law and universal school meals. He also signed legislation restoring voting rights to felons who have completed their sentences.

Mr. Walz’s foreign policy views are thinly sketched, but he notably lacks Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania’s record of forcefully backing Israel and clashing with the pro-Palestinian protesters who came to the fore after the Oct. 7 attacks. When Mr. Biden was the presumptive nominee, Democrats feared mass protests at the Chicago convention later this month, and a Harris-Walz ticket could defuse some of these tensions. In the swing state of Michigan, with its disproportionately large Arab American population, Mr. Walz will at least have more of an ability to reset relations that had deteriorated under the Biden administration.

Typically, the conventional wisdom on running mates is correct: They do not matter all that much. Voters focus on the top of the ticket. But there are genuine risks to picking Mr. Walz over Mr. Shapiro. As the statistician Nate Silver recently [*argued*](https://www.natesilver.net/p/why-she-should-pick-shapiro), Pennsylvania might be the “tipping point” state in this election, the single factor that decides whether Mr. Trump returns to the White House. Mr. Biden barely carried the Keystone State in 2020 after Mr. Trump flipped it, also by a minuscule margin, in 2016. Forgoing Mr. Shapiro, who won the governorship by 15 points in 2022, will put that much more pressure on the Harris-Walz ticket to win potentially the party’s most vital electoral asset.

The distinct advantages of bringing on Mr. Walz are less clear. Mr. Walz’s own state has become competitive for Republicans, but Democrats haven’t lost it since Richard Nixon’s landslide in 1972. Mr. Walz wasn’t needed to rescue Minnesota, and he’s not well-known enough in the so-called blue wall states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

No matter Mr. Walz’s advantages or disadvantages, Republicans will get to work picking apart his gubernatorial record. He was the governor of Minnesota in 2020, when George Floyd was killed and riots consumed Minneapolis. Ms. Harris’s support of criminal justice reform and fleeting embrace of the protest movement that year — she tweeted in support of a Minnesota bail fund for protesters in the state — has been fodder for the Trump camp already.

There are other policy decisions that could come back to haunt Mr. Walz on the campaign trail. Just as Republicans have assailed Ms. Harris for the migrants crossing the border and filling American cities, they could hammer Mr. Walz for giving driver’s licenses to undocumented immigrants, a policy that is popular in Democratic states but that can be viewed critically elsewhere. The Trump campaign is already criticizing Mr. Walz for granting voting rights to felons who have completed their sentences — an initiative that conservative and moderate voters could view skeptically. Mr. Walz “is obsessed with spreading California’s dangerously liberal agenda far and wide,” said Karoline Leavitt, a Trump campaign press secretary.

For now, Democrats have the momentum, with polls showing Ms. Harris on the rise and the Walz selection already exciting the base. Their convention, like the Republicans’ in July, is expected to be a show of unity and even euphoria.

And then, just as it did for the G.O.P. convention, reality will set in: A bitter, incredibly close election will be settled in just a few short months. Mr. Walz, for now, meaningfully fortifies Ms. Harris. And he shows just where she felt, as a political candidate, that she may have been falling short.

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.

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***What’s the Matter With Ohio?; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BKY-YKW1-DXY4-X0Y0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 21, 2024 Thursday 14:39 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 964 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:** How a blue-collar state went MAGA.

**Body**

For many years, Ohio has been thought of as a bellwether state: With rare exceptions, whoever won Ohio in a presidential election won the nation as a whole. But in [*2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html), Donald Trump won Ohio by about eight [*points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) even as Joe Biden led the national popular vote by more than four [*points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) and, of course, won the Electoral College vote.

Then Ohio’s 2022 [*Senate election*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) was won by J.D. Vance, who has staked out a [*hard-line ideological position*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) that may be more thoroughly MAGA than that of Trump himself. And in Tuesday’s Republican Senate primary, Trump’s endorsement [*was enough to propel*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) Bernie Moreno, a former car dealer who has never held elected office, to victory over the preferred candidates of the state’s relatively moderate Republican establishment.

So I’ve been trying to understand what happened to Ohio, and what it can teach us about America’s future. My short answer is that the United States of America has become the Disconnected States of America, on several levels.

Once upon a time, Ohio’s bellwether status could be explained by the fact that in some sense it looked like America. These days, no state really looks like America because the economic fortunes of different regions have diverged so drastically. And Ohio has found itself on the losing side of that divergence.

You might expect Ohio voters to support politicians whose policies would help reverse this relative decline. But there’s a striking disconnect between who voters, especially ***working-class*** white voters, perceive as being on their side and politicians’ actual policies. For that matter, as I [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) earlier this week, there’s a striking disconnect between voters’ views of what is happening with the economy and their personal experiences. It’s vibes all the way down.

OK, some facts.

One quick way to see the divergence in regional fortunes is to compare [*per capita income*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) of a given state with income in a relatively rich state like Massachusetts. During the generation-long boom that followed World War II, Ohio and Massachusetts were basically tied. Since around 1980, however, Ohio has been on a long relative slide; its income is now about a third less than that of Massachusetts.

A lot of this has to do with the loss of well-paid manufacturing jobs. There are considerably fewer [*manufacturing jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) in Ohio than there used to be, partly because of foreign competition, including the famous “[*China shock*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html)” — the surge of Chinese imports between the late 1990s and around 2010 that resulted in manufacturing job losses — although deindustrialization has been happening almost everywhere, [*even in Germany*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html), which runs huge trade surpluses.

And wages for production workers in Ohio have [*lagged behind inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) for 20 years. That probably has a lot to do with the collapse of unions, which used to represent a [*quarter*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) of Ohio’s private-sector workers, but are vanishing from the scene.

More broadly, the 21st-century economy has favored metropolitan areas with highly educated work forces; Ohio, with its relatively low share of [*college-educated adults*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html), has been left behind.

So it makes sense for Ohio voters to feel disgruntled. But again, you might have expected disgruntled voters to support politicians actually trying to address the state’s problems. The Biden administration certainly hoped that its industrial policies, which have led to a [*surge*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) in manufacturing investment, would win over more blue-collar voters. You might also have expected Democrats to get some dividend from the fact that unemployment in Ohio is now [*significantly lower*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html) than it was under Trump, even before the Covid-19 pandemic struck. But that doesn’t seem to have happened.

What about Trump? In most ways he governed as a conventional right-wing Republican, among other things trying to reverse the success of Obamacare, which had greatly reduced the percentage of Ohioans [*without health insurance*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html). Trump did, however, break with G.O.P. orthodoxy by launching a trade war, with substantial tariffs on some manufactured imports.

In economic terms, the trade war failed. A [*new paper*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html), whose authors include the authors of the original China shock analysis, confirms the results of other studies finding that the Trump tariffs didn’t raise manufacturing employment. The authors go further by breaking down the regional effects and find specifically that the trade war “has not provided economic help to the U.S. heartland.”

Yet, they found, the trade war appears to have been a political success. Regions whose industries were protected by tariffs became more likely to vote for Trump and Republicans in general, even though the tariffs didn’t result in a boost to employment. This, as the authors rather discreetly note, is “consistent with expressive views of politics.” That is, in 2020, many ***working-class*** voters in Ohio and elsewhere saw Trump as being on their side even though his policies didn’t help them. And if you look at some of today’s [*polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html), it appears that they refuse to give President Biden credit for policies that actually do help workers.

I’m not making a prediction for November. Perceptions of the economy [*have improved*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html), even if they’re still somewhat depressed. So the economy may be good enough for other issues, like reproductive rights, to carry Biden over the top.

But it’s still disturbing to see just how disconnected views about politicians have become from what those politicians really do.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.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/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DUSTIN FRANZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A27.

**Load-Date:** March 22, 2024

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[***Biden, Competing With Trump to Be Tough on China, Calls for Steel Tariffs***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BTP-H1C1-JBG3-605K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 17, 2024 Wednesday 10:49 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1143 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Jim Tankersley Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the re-election campaign of President Biden. Jim Tankersley writes about economic policy at the White House and how it affects the country and the world. He has covered the topic for more than a dozen years in Washington, with a focus on the middle class.

**Highlight:** Speaking to the United Steelworkers union in Pittsburgh, the president urged major increases to some tariffs on steel and aluminum products from China.

**Body**

Speaking to the United Steelworkers union in Pittsburgh, the president urged major increases to some tariffs on steel and aluminum products from China.

President Biden on Wednesday called for major increases to some tariffs on steel and aluminum products from China, speaking to members of a national steelworkers union in Pittsburgh as he vies with former President Donald J. Trump for votes in Northern industrial states.

“These are strategic and targeted actions that are going to protect American workers and ensure fair competition,” Mr. Biden told a crowd of about 100 union members at the United Steelworkers, which [*endorsed him*](https://apnews.com/article/biden-steelworkers-endorsement-presidential-race-a931b0ecb0c7628ae27f19e7ccdb3454) last month. “Meanwhile, my predecessor and the MAGA Republicans want across-the-board tariffs on all imports, from all countries, that could badly hurt American consumers.”

The Biden administration has argued that a flood of low-cost exports from China is undermining American-made products — jeopardizing Mr. Biden’s push to expand U.S. manufacturing, a central focus of his economic agenda.

In his speech, Mr. Biden said he would ask the U.S. trade representative, Katherine Tai, to increase tariffs to what White House officials said would be 25 percent on certain Chinese products that now face tariffs of 7.5 percent, or none at all, pending the outcome of an administration review of the China tariffs initially imposed under Mr. Trump.

“I want fair competition with China, not conflict,” Mr. Biden said, flanked by supporters and signs that read, “President Joe Biden: Standing With Workers.” “And we’re in a stronger competition to win the economic competition of the 21st century with China or anyone else because we’re investing in America, and American workers, again.”

The move is another effort by Mr. Biden to put up new barriers to trade with China in some industries. It could help him compete with Mr. Trump in a “tough on China” context with swing voters, though administration officials said elections did not motivate the move.

A day earlier, Mr. Biden began a three-day swing through Pennsylvania, a crucial battleground state, by giving a speech in Scranton in which he focused on the tax code but [*repeatedly attacked Mr. Trump*](https://apnews.com/article/biden-steelworkers-endorsement-presidential-race-a931b0ecb0c7628ae27f19e7ccdb3454) and accused him of favoring billionaires over the ***working class***.

Mr. Biden’s plans on Chinese trade are more targeted than Mr. Trump’s, though. The former president has called for sweeping and steep new tariffs on imports from China and elsewhere, in a potential effort to fracture trade lines between the countries. Mr. Biden’s administration is reviewing existing tariffs and is expected to propose raising some rates on Chinese products while reducing others.

At a morning stop for breakfast on his way to Pittsburgh from Scranton, Mr. Biden was asked by reporters if he was worried about a trade war with China. “No trade war,” he replied.

Before Mr. Biden’s remarks, Ms. Tai announced that her office had begun an investigation into China’s aggressive support for shipbuilders and other related industries, in response to a union complaint.

“The American commercial shipbuilding industry is a shell of its former self,” the unions wrote in a filing with the trade representative. They added, “The biggest obstacle to the industry’s recovery is the unfair trade practices of the world’s largest shipbuilding nation: China.”

[*In the complaint*](https://apnews.com/article/biden-steelworkers-endorsement-presidential-race-a931b0ecb0c7628ae27f19e7ccdb3454), the unions cite “hundreds of billions” of dollars in Chinese government support for the shipbuilding industry. Those include supplying steel from government-owned companies at below-market rates, along with a variety of efforts to steer low-cost loans and other financing to shipbuilders from state-run companies. Ms. Tai called the allegations “serious and concerning.”

The moves threaten to deepen a trade dispute with Beijing, which has criticized Mr. Biden for his own efforts to subsidize American manufacturing — including tax credits in the Inflation Reduction Act that are meant to increase production of solar panels, electric vehicles and other technologies aimed at reducing fossil fuel emissions.

China’s Commerce Ministry sharply criticized the investigation in a release, saying it was “filled with a large number of false accusations, misinterpreting normal trade and investment activities as harming U.S. national security and corporate interests, and blaming China for its own industrial problems.”

In his speech, Mr. Biden also reaffirmed his support for the steelworkers union in a dispute over the proposed sale of the Pittsburgh-based U.S. Steel to Nippon Steel of Japan.

Nippon officials have vowed to invest billions in American manufacturing facilities, to keep U.S. Steel’s headquarters in Pittsburgh and to honor existing labor contracts. But the attempted purchase has drawn fire from the union and a bipartisan group of senators, largely from industrial states, who say it could compromise national security.

Mr. Biden [*has signaled opposition to the deal*](https://apnews.com/article/biden-steelworkers-endorsement-presidential-race-a931b0ecb0c7628ae27f19e7ccdb3454), which his administration is scrutinizing on security and antitrust grounds. He has said repeatedly that he will stand with steelworkers in the dispute over the sale, though administration officials have not specified exactly what that means in policy terms. In Pittsburgh, the president appeared to promise a worker that he would not allow the company to leave the United States — a move that no one is discussing currently.

“Let’s keep U.S. Steel in America,” one woman told Mr. Biden as he met with steelworkers before his speech.

“Guaranteed,” the president replied to cheers and applause.

David McCall, the international president of the steelworkers union, praised Mr. Biden before his speech.

“President Biden promised U.S.W. members that he had our backs,” Mr. McCall said. “And it’s clear he does.”

Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump are fighting for ***working-class*** votes in industrial swing states like Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. Earlier on Wednesday, the Biden campaign [*released an ad*](https://apnews.com/article/biden-steelworkers-endorsement-presidential-race-a931b0ecb0c7628ae27f19e7ccdb3454) featuring a steelworker promoting Mr. Biden’s economic record and attacking Mr. Trump.

This week, Mr. Trump’s case over falsified business records [*began in Manhattan*](https://apnews.com/article/biden-steelworkers-endorsement-presidential-race-a931b0ecb0c7628ae27f19e7ccdb3454), the first of the four criminal cases he faces to go to trial. Mr. Biden generally refrains from commenting directly on the trial. But his tour of Pennsylvania is meant to provide voters with a contrast to Mr. Trump’s legal troubles.

In his speech in Pittsburgh, Mr. Biden did take a veiled swipe at Mr. Trump, referring to him as “my predecessor, who’s busy right now.”

The crowd laughed, seeming to get the joke about Mr. Trump’s whereabouts, although the former president does not actually have to appear in court on Wednesdays.

Alexandra Stevenson contributed reporting.

Alexandra Stevenson contributed reporting.

PHOTO: President Biden spoke to about 100 people at the United Steelworkers, which has endorsed him. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AL DRAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** April 18, 2024

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[***Dance Listings***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYW-0J11-JBG3-63G0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 28; FALL PREVIEW

**Length:** 2096 words

**Byline:** By Margaret Fuhrer

**Body**

The season brings new works by Kyle Abraham and Helen Pickett, as well as revivals of City Ballet's ''CoppÃ©lia'' and Bill T. Jones's ''Still/Here.''

The dance world is in a festive mood this fall: It seems like everyone has a big anniversary to celebrate. All that attention on the past may explain why the programming sometimes tilts conservative, especially in ballet, where evening-length storytelling remains de rigueur. But the stories are getting more ambitious, the voices telling them more varied. And there are still plenty of artists pushing in the opposite direction. Some of the season's most exciting dances can't even be contained by theater walls, finding their stages in parks, museums, historic buildings, farm fields. (Locations are in Manhattan unless otherwise specified; dates are subject to change.)

September

YANIRA CASTRO / A CANARY TORSI Started in July, ''Exorcism = Liberation,'' a sweeping public art and performance project by Castro and a team of collaborators, calling for collective change, continues with immersive, participatory events at multiple sites in New York, Illinois and Massachusetts. (Through Nov. 1; various locations)

THE JOYCE THEATER The dozen programs on offer at the Joyce from September to December feature an abundance both of dance styles and premieres. London City Ballet brings four U.S. debuts to the Joyce as part of its first international tour in more than 30 years (Sept. 17-22). A new work by Kayla Farrish reimagining two of JosÃ© LimÃ³n's lost dances highlights LimÃ³n Dance Company's Joyce season (Nov. 5-10). Complexions Contemporary Ballet's 30th birthday celebrations include a retrospective for Dwight Rhoden, an artistic director of the company, whose sinewy, sinuous choreography has become its hallmark (Nov. 19-Dec. 1). And the drag ensemble Les Ballets Trockadero de Monte Carlo celebrates 50 years of lovingly skewering ballet: Durante Verzola's ''Symphony,'' in its New York debut, makes a comedic meal of George Balanchine's delectable ''Symphony in C'' (Dec. 17-Jan. 5).

NEW YORK CITY BALLET On the heels of its 75th birthday festivities, the company presents another anniversary-focused season, with programs commemorating 90 years of its affiliated School of American Ballet, 50 years of George Balanchine and Alexandra Danilova's sunny ''CoppÃ©lia,'' and 10 years of Justin Peck's tenure as resident choreographer. The annual fall fashion gala (Oct. 9) will include a world premiere by Caili Quan, costumed by designer Gilles Mendel. (Sept. 17-Oct. 13, David H. Koch Theater)

FALL FOR DANCE ''Eclectic'' remains the word, and $20 (plus fees), the ticket price, for this long-running festival. But its five sampler-style programs are notably ballet-forward this year, with the National Ballet of Ukraine in Alexei Ratmansky's poignant ''Wartime Elegy,'' Canada's Royal Winnipeg Ballet in a premiere by Cameron Fraser-Monroe, and the American Ballet Theater stars Skylar Brandt and Herman Cornejo in Cornejo's new production of ''The Specter of the Rose.'' (Sept. 18-29, New York City Center)

ABRONS ARTS CENTER Two tonally opposite dance-theater works come to Abrons this fall: Malik Nashad Sharpe's ''Marikiscrycrycry: Goner,'' a solo probing the depths of horror and alienation (Sept. 19-22), and NÃ©lida Tirado's ''Dime QuieÌn Soy (Tell Me Who I Am),'' a celebratory mixture of flamenco, bomba y plena and salsa (Dec. 13-22).

PAGEANT This young and category-eluding performance space in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, will mount a smorgasbord of a fall season, with shows by Molly Soda (Sept. 19-20), Anna ThÃ©rÃ¨se Witenberg (Sept. 26-27), Sebas Alarcon (Oct. 10-11), Vita Taurke (Oct. 24-25) and Cayleen del Rosario (Nov. 7-8), capped by a showing of works-in-progress by artists selected via lottery (Nov. 21-22).

2024 CROSSING THE LINE FESTIVAL It's an especially good dance year for the L'Alliance New York's annual festival. Among its eight dance performances are a retrospective for the choreographer JÃ©rÃ´me Bel (Sept. 27-28, Florence Gould Theater), a site-specific dance by Lenio Kaklea on Governors Island (Oct. 5), and the U.S. premiere of the French transplant DD Dorvillier's ''Dance is the archaeologist, or an idol in the bone.'' (Oct. 17-19, the Chocolate Factory).

92NY HARKNESS DANCE CENTER Last season, 92NY celebrated 150 years; this year, the organization's Harkness Dance Center turns 90. Its anniversary season includes the Batsheva Ensemble from Israel (Sept. 27-29), the women-led company Dual Rivet (Oct. 18-19), the in-demand choreographer Omar RomÃ¡n De JesÃºs' troupe Boca Tuya (Nov. 14-15), and the acclaimed company Urban Bush Women -- which is celebrating its own 40th anniversary festivities (Dec. 6-7).

KAATSBAAN FALL FESTIVAL The Hudson Valley cultural park's annual festival dedicates its final two weekends to dance: first, a program of new dance works developed during residencies at Kaatsbaan (Sept. 28-29), and then the choreographer Wayne McGregor's ''Autobiography (v100 and v101),'' which incorporates an algorithm based on his DNA (Oct. 5-6).

WORKS & PROCESS This lauded series at the Guggenheim Museum offers behind-the-scenes peeks at a range of dance projects -- from Baye & Asa's newly expanded ''Cortege 2023'' for the Martha Graham Dance Company, inspired by Graham's ''Cortege of Eagles'' (Sept. 29), to a new work by the vibrant tap dance and music company Music From the Sole (Sept. 30) -- as well as dance parties in the museum's rotunda (Sept. 23, Nov. 18) and dance battles in the Manhattan West Event Plaza across town (Wednesdays in September).

October

RALPH LEMON Lemon's irrepressibly multidisciplinary works tend to require multiple descriptors: lecture/musical, event/performance. This fall the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis will premiere his installation ''Rant redux,'' with sound by artist Kevin Beasley (Oct. 3-13), in tandem with a new live performance, ''Tell it anyway'' (Oct. 4-5) -- both genre-defying maelstroms of fury and grace. The next month, the two works will come to MoMA's PS1 in New York as part of the major Lemon exhibition ''Ceremonies Out of the Air'' (opening Nov. 14).

DANCES FOR A VARIABLE POPULATION The multigenerational troupe will offer three free performances of ''Revival 8: Then and Now,'' a series in which works by renowned choreographers -- Martha Graham, Alvin Ailey, Paul Taylor -- are reinterpreted by alumni of their companies. (Oct. 5, Yolanda Garcia Park; Oct. 18, Washington Square Park; Nov. 16, Ailey Citigroup Theater)

JONATHAN GONZÃLEZ For multiple hours on four consecutive weekends, the six Black performers of GonzÃ¡lez's ''Spectral Dances'' will haunt the traditionally members-only halls of the Academy of Arts and Letters in Washington Heights -- a consideration of the space and its history, real and imagined. (Oct. 5-27)

DANSPACE PROJECT Danspace celebrates its 50th anniversary this fall by foregrounding not the old but the new, with premieres by Niall Jones (Oct. 10-12), Ayano Elson and Wendell Gray II (Nov. 21-23) and Jade Manns and Glenn Potter-Takata (Dec. 12-14). On Nov. 2, the organization will look both backward and forward, screening short videos by Danspace luminaries that respond to the prompt, ''The future is...''

BLACK LABEL MOVEMENT The choreographer Carl Flink examines the ethical and physical consequences of war in his new work ''Battleground,'' performed by the dancers of Black Label Movement in a 30-by-25-foot dirt pit on a farm outside of Durham, N.C. (Oct. 11-13)

AMERICAN BALLET THEATER Ballet Theater has mounted a few ambitious literary adaptations recently, but the choreographer Helen Pickett is taking on a particularly daunting tome: ''Crime and Punishment.'' Her interpretation of Dostoyevsky's novel headlines the company's fall season, which also features premieres by Kyle Abraham and Gemma Bond. (Oct. 16-Nov. 3, David H. Koch Theater)

BARYSHNIKOV ARTS CENTER The fall season offers several premieres by a remarkable collection of collaborators. ''Woolgathering,'' a spoken-word opera with music by Oliver Ray and choreography by John Heginbotham, is based on Patti Smith's book -- and features Smith among its performers (Oct. 21, 23-24). The new multidisciplinary group Prisma, helmed by the choreographer and photographer Quinn Wharton, presents a work exploring its artists' personal mythologies (Nov. 14-16).

CATHY WEIS PROJECTS For a decade, Weis has hosted ''Sundays on Broadway'' salons -- featuring works-in-process and other experiments from an impressive roster of artists -- in her intimate SoHo loft. Yvonne Rainer and Deborah Hay are two of the featured artists in the fall's five programs. (Oct. 27, Nov. 10, Nov. 17, Dec. 1, Dec. 8)

2024 BAM NEXT WAVE FESTIVAL Anchoring the festival is Bill T. Jones's ''Still/Here'' (Oct. 30-Nov. 2), a deeply personal meditation on mortality and survival in response to the AIDS epidemic, which challenged audiences (and critics) when it premiered 30 years ago. Next Wave will also feature the U.S. premiere of the Canadian choreographer Dana Gingras's psychedelic ''Frontera,'' accompanied live by the experimental rock band Fly Pan Am (Nov 8-9).

November

OONA DOHERTY Irish history, mythology and trauma loom large in much of this choreographer's work. But ''Specky Clark,'' premiering at the Pavillion Noir in Aix en Provence, France, explores Doherty's personal history: Its surrealist dance-theater images are inspired by her great-grandfather's ***working-class*** life in Belfast. (Nov. 22-23)

'INK' Dancers sometimes talk about being choreographers' paintbrushes, but in ''Ink,'' a collaboration between the dance artist Huang Yi and the audiovisual artist Ryoichi Kurokawa, that image is startlingly apt: Kurokawa's projections turn the performers' movements into a flow of brushstrokes, inspired by the calligraphy of Tong Yang-Tze. (Nov. 2-3, at the Rose Theater)

PAUL TAYLOR DANCE COMPANY The company's resident choreographer Lauren Lovette will be in the spotlight during its fall run at Lincoln Center, which features not one but two Lovette premieres plus the return of her 2023 piece ''Echo.'' The troupe will also begin its anniversary tribute to Taylor's ''Esplanade,'' the seminal work that he began creating 50 years ago. And Robert Battle -- until last year, the artistic director of Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater -- will create a new work for the company's gala, in tribute to the renowned Taylor dancer and educator Carolyn Adams. (Nov. 5-24, David H. Koch Theater)

SMITA SEN A former ballet dancer, Sen now calls herself an interaction designer. Her first museum exhibition, ''Embodied,'' will combine performance and film with body art and 3D-printed sculptures. (Nov. 6-Apr. 6, 2025, Museum of Contemporary Art North Miami, Miami, Fla.)

THE CHOCOLATE FACTORY Highlights of the experimental Long Island City-based organization's fall lineup include the premiere of Levi Gonzalez's ''Hoary'' (Nov. 13-16) and Tess Dworman's wry, mordant ''Everything Must Go'' (Dec. 18-21).

'NUTCRACKER' TRADITIONS For purists, there are few better options than New York City Ballet's wondrous ''George Balanchine's The Nutcracker'' at Lincoln Center (Nov. 29-Jan. 4). But the smallest ballet fans might fare better at New York Theater Ballet's charming one-hour ''Nutcracker,'' performed in multiple locations (Nov. 22-23; Dec. 1-2, 15, 21-22).

'NUTCRACKER' ALTERNATIVES Prefer your holidays with a twist? Consider tap ensemble Dorrance Dance's jazzy, joyful ''The Nutcracker Suite,'' at New York City Center (Nov. 22-24); Brooklyn Ballet's ''The Brooklyn Nutcracker,'' with a rich mosaic of dance styles, at the Theater at City Tech (Dec. 12-15); Mark Morris's ''The Hard Nut,'' a kitschy classic in its own right, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music (Dec. 12-22); or the Bang Group's bubbly, batty ''Nut/Cracked,'' at 92NY's Harkness Dance Center (Dec. 14 and 19; online Dec. 20-23).

December

KYLE ABRAHAM It's not surprising that extraordinary dancers seem to follow Abraham wherever he goes: His compassionate choreography allows them to be both humans and superheroes. ''Dear Lord, Make Me Beautiful,'' his new full-length work exploring the power of empathy, will feature a large cast of those magnetic performers; Abraham, himself a gorgeous mover, will join them. (Dec. 3-14, Park Avenue Armory)

GIBNEY COMPANY Gibney's hungry, hyper-capable dancers will tackle a world premiere by Emilie LeRiche, the rising phenom Mthuthuzeli November's ''Vukani,'' and William Forsythe's virtuosic brainteaser ''Trio.'' (Dec. 10-14, New York Live Arts)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/06/arts/dance/performances-festivals-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/06/arts/dance/performances-festivals-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Megan Fairchild in George Balanchine and Alexandra Danilova's ''CoppÃ©lia,'' whose 50th anniversary New York City Ballet commemorates this fall. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL KOLNIK)

Olga Golytsia and Daniil Pashchuk of the National Ballet of Ukraine in Alexei Ratmansky's ''Wartime Elegy,'' part of the Fall for Dance festival. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KATERYNA YELETSKYKH)

Erin Bugge soars over her colleagues in the Paul Taylor Dance Company in Taylor's ''Esplanade,'' which the dance master began creating 50 years ago. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Dada Masilo's ''Hamlet,'' set in her native South Africa, is coming to the Joyce Theater in October. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LAUGE SORENSEN)

Mariama Noguera-Devers and Dwayne Brown in Ralph Lemon's ''Rant.'' His ''Rant Redux'' will come to MoMA PS1 in November. (PHOTOGRAPH VIA RALPH LEMON

PHOTO BY PAULA COURT) (AR28)

Rehearsing Kyle Abraham's ''Dear Lord, Make Me Beautiful.'' The production will run at the Park Avenue Armory. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT JEROME BROWN JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

From a 1994 Brooklyn Academy performance of Bill T. Jones's ''Still/Here,'' about mortality and survival in response to the AIDS epidemic. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BAM HAMM ARCHIVES) (AR31) This article appeared in print on page AR28, AR31.

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[***A Theory About Biden's Unpopularity***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BHJ-GR61-DXY4-X04D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 2; ROSS DOUTHAT

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**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

Joe Biden is one of the most unpopular presidents in modern American history. In Gallup polling, his approval ratings are lower than those of any president embarking on a re-election campaign, from Dwight Eisenhower to Donald Trump.

Yet an air of mystery hangs around his lousy polling numbers. As The Washington Free Beacon's Joe Simonson noted recently, just surfing around most American media and pop culture, you probably wouldn't realize that Biden's job approval ratings are quite so historically terrible, worse by far than Trump's at the same point in his first term.

Apart from anxiety about his age, there isn't a chattering-class consensus or common shorthand for why his presidency is such a political flop. Which is why, perhaps, there was a rush to declare his State of the Union address a rip-roaring success, as though all Biden needs to do to right things is to talk loudly through more than an hour of prepared remarks.

When things went south for other recent chief executives, there was usually a clearer theory of what was happening. Trump's unpopularity was understood to reflect his chaos and craziness and authoritarian forays. The story of George W. Bush's descending polls was all about Iraq and Hurricane Katrina. When Barack Obama was at his polling nadir, most observers blamed the unemployment rate and the Obamacare backlash, and when Bill Clinton struggled through his first two years, there was a clear media narrative about his lack of discipline and White House scandals.

With Biden, it has been different. Attempts to reduce his struggles to the inflation rate are usually met with vehement rebuttals, there's a strong market for ''bad vibes'' explanations of his troubles, a lot of blame gets placed on partisan polarization even though Biden won a clear popular majority not so long ago, and even the age issue has taken center stage only in the past few months.

Some of this mystification reflects liberal media bias accentuated by contemporary conditions -- an unwillingness to look closely at issues like immigration and the border, a hesitation to speak ill of a president who's the only bulwark against Trumpism.

But I experience some mystification myself. I think that Biden's record has big problems and that the economy isn't as golden as some of his defenders claim. But even I look at his numbers and think, really, that bad?

I also think, though, that this kind of media mystification is what you'd expect given the political realignment we're experiencing, where right and left are sorting increasingly by class and education, and where anti-institutionalism has migrated more to the political right.

This transformation means that the Republican voters whose support Biden never had are often more culturally distant from liberal tastemakers than were the Republicans of the Clinton or Obama years. But it also means that many of the voters Biden is losing now, the swing voters driving his approval ratings down and down, are likewise fairly alien to the cultural and media establishment.

Some of them are the sort of disillusioned and infrequent voters whose grievances tend to be harder to pin down. But many are politically moderate minority voters, especially lower-middle-class Hispanics and African Americans, who already tended somewhat rightward in 2016 and 2020 but now seem to be abandoning Biden in larger numbers. In a recent Substack post, Ruy Teixeira described the realignment since 2012: ''In that election, Obama carried nonwhite ***working-class*** (noncollege) voters by a massive 67 points, while losing white college graduates by seven points.'' Whereas today, ''Biden is actually doing worse among the nonwhite ***working class***, carrying them by a mere six points, than among white college graduates, where he enjoys a 15 point advantage over Trump.''

In theory, the recent push for racial representation in elite America should have made the establishment more attuned to the concerns of nonwhite voters. But in practice, this push tended to treat representation and progressive politics as a package deal, making nonwhites with moderate-to-conservative views more exotic, not less -- as mystifying, in a way, as any MAGA-hat-wearing white guy in a rural diner.

Again, I'm part of that establishment, and I don't want to pretend that I have my finger fully on the pulse of, say, blue-collar Hispanics who went for Biden in 2020 but now lean toward Trump.

But if you take that kind of constituency as a starting place, you may be able to reason your way to a clearer understanding of Biden's troubles: by thinking about ways in which high borrowing costs for homes and cars seem especially punishing to voters trying to move up the economic ladder, for instance, or how the hold of cultural progressivism over Democratic politics might be pushing more culturally conservative minorities to the right even if wokeness has peaked in some elite settings.

These are theories; maybe there's a better one. But the first step to saving Biden's re-election effort is to acknowledge the need for such an explanation -- because unpopularity that you can't fathom can still throw you out of office.

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**Graphic**

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[***John Fetterman Fears Trump Is Stronger Than Ever; The Interview***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8K-9GW1-JBG3-654X-00000-00&context=1519360)

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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 senator discusses the “astonishing” support for the former president in Pennsylvania, his rift with progressives over Israel and his own position in the Democratic Party.

**Body**

Whatever the result of this election, Democrats will be in a moment of transformation afterward. For nearly a decade, the party’s energies have been devoted to defeating Donald Trump. That common goal caused most Democrats to rally around Kamala Harris as soon as Joe Biden stepped aside. But their united front has masked real fissures in the party, and at the intersection of many of them sits John Fetterman.

Fetterman, Pennsylvania’s junior Democratic senator, gained [*early political fame*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html) as the towering and tattooed mayor of a ***working-class*** town, Braddock, Pa., and then became lieutenant governor of the state in 2019. Three years later, he defeated the Trump-endorsed celebrity doctor Mehmet Oz in a tight Senate race, despite suffering a stroke just months before the election.

But Fetterman’s time in the Senate has been bumpy. On the personal front, his stroke caused him difficulties with auditory processing — which you might notice a bit in our conversation. He uses an iPad and transcription software to help with his listening comprehension. He has also been very public about seeking inpatient treatment for depression early in his term.

And on the political front, his position in the party has become complicated. As an early advocate of the $15 minimum wage and criminal-justice reform, he was seen as a rising national figure and progressive champion with blue-collar street cred. But over the past two years, he has irritated both wings of his party. He was one of President Biden’s staunchest defenders, arguing for him to stay in the race when Democratic leaders were working to get him out. At the same time, he has been one of the most vocal supporters of Israel’s war in the Gaza Strip, which has pitted him against many progressives, some of whom now feel betrayed by him. (“I’m not a progressive,” he [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html) NBC News late last year.) We talked about all of this and also the dynamics of the presidential election in his crucial state, where he says Trump is stronger than ever.

You’ve gotten a lot of attention for some of your positions since joining the Senate. Why do you no longer define yourself as a progressive? Well, I haven’t done that for years and years, and I wanted to take this opportunity to say that that was never new news. You know, even before my election, it’s like, hey, the label leaved me. I didn’t leave it. And what was originally progressive eight years ago have been co-opted by the mainstream. And [progressives] continued to adopt really extreme kinds of views. And that’s why I was like, Hey, I’m just a Democrat. And then there was a lot of, Is that going to be the next Manchin or Sinema or anything? No. That’s ridiculous. I’m not leaving my party. I just happen to have reasonable views.

You said just now that progressives have adopted extreme positions, which you don’t agree with anymore. What would you say those are? Like defund the police, those kinds of things. That was a huge gift to the Republicans. And now, just some of these protesting right now. They’re openly being supportive of Hamas, or they’re now calling for the infantada [intifada] and these kinds of extreme absurd things. And they are supporting the kinds of regimes that live and impose the kind of values that are antithetical to the progressive kinds of way that they would live.

I want to talk about your positions on Israel, but first I want to stick with the idea of where you sit in the party. What do you say to progressives who funded your campaigns initially and supported you and now say that they feel burned by you? Well, gosh, that wasn’t loaded. It’s like, I don’t know why they decided to support me. And if they can’t follow me because I’m very fully supportive of the police, or that I’m fully supportive about Israel, and now you choose not to vote for me, that’s a choice that you have. And I would remind anyone, my seat is the only reason why it’s mathematically possible that we could even retain the majority in this cycle because we were the only ones that flipped in that cycle.

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You were born and raised in Pennsylvania. Well, yes. Reading — the same hospital as Taylor Swift.

Wow. When did you decide to become a politician? I don’t consider myself a politician.

Is that true? I’m not trying to avoid using the label. I just think I’m an advocate for certain issues or perspectives or things. And that just happens to be the job that you’re in. It wasn’t a path. I don’t feel differently, behave differently. I don’t dress differently. I still live in Braddock. I’m a family guy. I remain a family guy. I haven’t really changed as a person.

It’s interesting that you said you don’t see yourself as a politician. What does a politician seem like to you? That it’s a track. Everybody’s constantly looking for the next job, and it’s incredibly cynical and transactional and, now, dysfunctional. I’ve been disappointed on the reality of that part of it. And it’s just also astonishing. I can’t understand why there’s people that are willing to spend tens of millions of their own money to try to hold that office. ’Cause then you can get there and be like, Hmm, look at the glamour: I’m sitting in a 500-square-feet apartment, and I’m on Grubhub and watching bad TV on Netflix or whatever. I like to ask all of my colleagues, Hey, is there some kind of secret society or like a social life or something glamorous? Even [Mitt] Romney, I mean, he’s incredibly wealthy, and he has a nice house, but I read that he sits on his nice chair and watches Netflix and eats salmon from his friend, and actually [*puts ketchup on it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html). So I haven’t met that one person that’s having that quintessential glamorous life. It’s been elusive for me, but it’s not one that would even appeal to me. I think people all think life is like “The West Wing” or something, where it’s snappy dialogue. But a lot of it comes down to just really bad performance art.

One of the things that has been very distinctive about you: You dress differently. You use language differently. Is that important to you? Not changing your demeanor to fit into this idea of this politician that you seem to reject? It would be exhausting to be anything other than that. And let’s be practical. I dress like a bum because it’s terrible to try to find clothes. I can’t find a suit. I truly can’t afford custom, tailored suits, so it’s just practical. And most normal people in Pennsylvania dress like that. And definitely in Western Pennsylvania, people wear shorts through the year.

Your legs never get cold? Well, yeah. But again, a lot of that comes back to practical: It’s just easier to wear shorts. I’m not making a statement.

I want to understand a little bit about how you’ve been navigating some of the currents in the Democratic Party. After the Biden-Trump debate, at a moment when other Democrats were turning on Biden for his cognitive decline, you went up against them in private and in public, and you [*tweeted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html) that you weren’t going to join the “Democratic vultures.” Why did you feel so strongly at the time that the party should have stood behind the president? I actually didn’t see that debate. I was flying back from Israel, so I just started seeing some messages about that. But I really thought what Joe Biden has done for our nation was remarkable. And I lived through my own personal, that kind of a crucible of having hundreds of millions of dollars just destroying you, tearing you apart. But he held every line throughout all of that. I have to respect the strength there, and it may not be traditional kinds of strength, but it’s a quiet dignity kind of strength. He’s been an amazing president. And I’m not saying that as a partisan; I think objectively. To throw away a man and a 50-year career on a debate — and I always believe that he had a path, and it is going to be the blue wall. And here we are now, the blue wall remains to be the quickest way to just put Trump out.

It sounds as if you still perhaps regret the fact that Joe Biden is not the candidate. No, no, no. I don’t regret that. Harris has run a magnificent campaign. Things couldn’t have possibly gone any better, truly, truly. But what I’ve been saying then is like, I’d like to remind America that this is the only living person that’s beat Trump. And that means a lot.

You’ve said that Trump has a special connection with the people of Pennsylvania. One hundred percent.

Why? What is it that you see that he appeals to in your state? There’s a difference between not understanding, but also acknowledging that it exists. And anybody spends time driving around, and you can see the intensity. It’s astonishing. I was doing an event in Indiana County. Very, very red. And there was a superstore of Trump stuff, and it was a hundred feet long, and it was dozens of T-shirts and hats and bumper stickers and all kinds of, I mean, it’s like, Where does this all come from? It’s the kind of thing that has taken on its own life. And it’s like something very special exists there. And that doesn’t mean that I admire it. It’s just — it’s real. And now [Elon] Musk is joining him. I mean, to a lot of people, that’s Tony Stark. That’s the world’s richest guy. And he’s obviously, and undeniably, a brilliant guy, and he’s saying, Hey, that’s my guy for president. That’s going to really matter.

What do you think it does? I was truly alarmed about that when he started showing up. I mean, I’ve been there, not at [*that rally*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html) [in Pennsylvania], but when they were having the A.I. conference in Washington, he showed up at my building at Russell, and senators were like, [Fetterman’s voice gets very high] Ooh, ooh. They were like, I got to have two minutes, you know, please. So if senators are all like ooh! Then can you imagine what voters in Scranton or all across Pennsylvania — you know, in some sense, he’s a bigger star than Trump. Endorsements, they’re really not meaningful often, but this one is, I think. That has me concerned.

Pennsylvania is a place with a lot of union workers. Did it make you nervous that the Teamsters, for example, didn’t back a Democrat for president? Well, I think that’s finally making the grass roots more official. I’ll never forget, I live directly across the street from the steel mill, and we were doing an event there for [Hillary] Clinton, and I asked the union president, Hey, where are we on Trump? And he’s like, Yeah, probably half or 60 percent to two-thirds are voting for him. And I was like, Oh, that sucks. And then immediately there was a guy, he had a truck, and he had truck nuts on it. You know what truck nuts are?

Do I look as if I know what truck nuts are? It’s balls hung on the hitch of a truck, and he honked, and he was like, “Go Trump!” as he drove by, and it’s like, Hey, we’re in trouble and it’s undeniable. And some unions like [S.E.I.U.] and the government kinds of unions are still very, very Democratic. But those others, I think a lot of their membership, for a lot of people, Trump has that kind of a connection. That’s real. I witnessed that. And that’s why I’m concerned, and that’s why polls were inaccurate. And that’s why now I’m saying we got to fight for every last vote. It’s going to matter.

Do you think the polls are inaccurate this time? My polls in my race all said I was going to lose by one or two points, and I carried it by five points. And everybody thought that Clinton was going to just kill him. And of course, no. And people thought that in 2020 Biden was going to have like five points. And I’m like, No, this isn’t going to be a five-point race here. And it wasn’t, and it was incredibly close. And that same thing has been replicated. And the only thing that’s changed is he’s more popular. And you have Elon Musk standing right next to him. So I’m not sure what else has changed, except if anything, Trump has become more capable to withstand whatever, you know, whether it was the trials or the assassination or all of those things, but here he is.

You were outspoken during the 2020 election ballot counting and challenges. Election officials in Pennsylvania are warning now that the ballots could take days to count. Is that something you’re worried about? I’m very hopeful, and I do think that four years later, Philadelphia can now process those votes quickly, just like the same thing that Allegheny County has done. That huge, how many days of like wondering? That allows people to pound, pound, pound, you know, it’s rigged, it’s rigged, it’s rigged, for people to set the stage saying, bad things happen in Philadelphia. And it’s kind of a dog whistle, and that allows it to stir the [expletive] storm. So as long as, if Philadelphia’s able to do the kind of quick round, just like Allegheny, then I think you’ll have a lot less opportunity. And then also Trump was the sitting president at that time, and now he’s just a private citizen. So he has less ability to change the weather.

You mentioned Israel earlier. You’ve become one of the most pro-Israel Democrats in the Senate, where there has been some division within the party over what’s been happening in the Middle East. I would love to understand where your affinity with the state of Israel actually comes from. Can you explain its origin to me? I can’t say that there is an origin. I think it’s really about, that’s our ally. There’s a special relationship. And now if anyone that studies history realized that if you aren’t willing to stand and protect and support the Jewish community, that can end in incredibly terrible, awful ways. That’s what history has taught us. And now to anybody that doesn’t follow the history and not even aware of a lot of it: Err on the side of democracy. And that is the only democracy in the middle of that region. And I’ve had the chance to visit there. And that’s the kind of society that have those same kinds of values that we live and what we aspire to, especially, ironically, progressives, especially for women and members of the L.G.B.T.Q. communities. And that’s why, for me, it’s an easy choice.

In January, you were one of two Senate Democrats, the other was Joe Manchin, who didn’t sign on to support a measure endorsing the creation of a Palestinian state. This was part of a national-security package that included military aid to Israel. Can you explain that vote to me? I really used to believe that it should be a done deal for a two-state solution. That became part of the boilerplate for Democrats. And I assume that must be true. But the way things have evolved and where we’re at now — I mean, that would be ideal. I wish there could be peaceful two states. But the way things continue to evolve, I’m unsure if that’s even possible. I’m hopeful, but I’m not convinced that’s even viable. But what seems to be true and one of the enduring truths through this is that Israel continues to confront the kinds of singular evil that really manifest its way in Oct. 7. And they have the right to destroy Hamas, and now Hezbollah. You know, everybody, experts describe Hezbollah as like the ultimate badass, and Israel demolished them. And there’s no leadership left. And those are the kinds of hard things that needed to finally be confronted if they’re ever going to have some more enduring peace.

I think there are two things going on. One is the destruction of Hamas and Hezbollah, which are deemed terrorist organizations by the United States. And then there’s how you go about doing that and what is the cost. And people would look at the cost of how many people have been killed, civilians in Gaza, and say that the cost is too high. So I guess I’m struggling to understand a little bit of the nuance there from you. There isn’t any nuance.

You think that the price that’s been paid is fair? The price is terrible. It’s awful. That’s history. And that’s war. And Israel was forced to fight an enemy that are cowardly. They hide in tunnels. They hide in schools and in refugee camps. And they’re in those kinds of places and that forces them to reach them. They have to go through these civilians. That’s why they’re so evil. And that’s why that’s designed. The death and destruction and the misery was designed by Hamas. They understood that that’s going to happen. They don’t care. So we can both agree that the misery and the deaths in Gaza is terrible. And, you know, some people blame Israel. Well, I blame Hamas.

As you mentioned, you visited Israel for the first time in June. You met with Israel’s prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, who thanked you for your courage and your support of Israel. How do you see his leadership during this conflict? I thought it was really curious that Democrats felt like they needed politically to criticize Israel, but that would be difficult, so they found that, well, we’re going to just focus on Netanyahu. And you can think he’s a bad leader or a bad person or anything, but that happens to be the democratically [elected] leader of Israel. And he’s on our side. That’s our ally. And if you had to pick who you want to criticize, you should be criticizing Hamas. You should be calling out Iran, or you should be calling out Hezbollah. Certainly not, you know, our ally. I think it was incredibly unhelpful.

Are you concerned that Netanyahu is [*working*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html) to get Trump elected? I don’t believe that. I don’t. And if you think that might be, I don’t know why it’s helpful to say that publicly. I have to believe all of those college protesting and a lot of those other things, they would give Hamas opportunity to rejoice a lot of this division. But now there’s not much left of them anymore to celebrate.

I am curious, on that trip you made to Israel, if you went to the West Bank at all and met any Palestinians there? I didn’t. I didn’t go to the West [Bank]. I didn’t have unlimited time to see all the things that I wish I could. But I would love to go back.

I guess what I’m asking is if you’ve tried to understand the other side of this conflict. Well, I’ve talked to a lot of people. I would visit, and I would discuss [with] members of the Arab and Muslim [community] from Pennsylvania. I would have open dialogue. I entertain that. I would be happy to, to really understand the other side.

Last month, the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh chapters of the Council on American Islamic Relations issued a joint statement where they condemned you for saying that you loved Israel’s pager attacks targeting Hezbollah in Lebanon. I do. Absolutely.

They said, “When our elected officials start condoning the civilian loss of life, our collective moral compass is irreparably harmed.” It was targeted for members of Hezbollah. You know, no one uses beepers in that situation other than they were a member of Hezbollah.

There was a [*young child*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html) who was killed. Unfortunately, tragically, because Daddy was a member of Hezbollah. He brought that danger and evil into their home. And that’s what tragically resulted in that poor child’s death. And that’s what’s so terrible. She paid the price because her father was a terrorist for Hezbollah.

I want to ask you about one other place where you’ve been at odds with your party, which is on immigration. You understood that it was something that was going to affect people in your state and beyond. It’s a huge issue.

The party has now embraced enforcement at the border, but comprehensive immigration reform means legalization as well. What posture do you think the party should be adopting? How can the Democratic Party really deal with what has become a very, very divisive issue within it? It’s like, why is it controversial to say that we’re going to need a secure border? And when you started looking at the numbers that were showing up, and at some months that’s the population of Pittsburgh. And so, I mean, that’s a real issue. Trying to tell people, well, don’t believe your eyes, it’s going to be OK, it’s all working out. It’s not. And I’m the most pro-immigration guy there is. But that has to be compatible with a secure border, and I will never listen to anyone’s other side until you can explain, like, how? How do we take care of them? Where did those resources come from? And where do they go? Nobody could provide a serious answer to that.

Do you think if the Democratic ticket loses this election, it will be off the back of issues like immigration? I don’t. I just describe that as “the choice.” Two incredibly stark choices. It’s not about a certain policy. And it’s definitely not going to be about fracking or some of these obscure things. It’s about that stark choice, and it’s really much more — it’s visceral. And that’s why the people that are left that haven’t made up their decision are going, you know, what do I want for the next four years? And I do believe enough people will choose Harris. But it’s going to be much, much closer than anyone would want.

This interview has been edited and condensed. Listen to and follow “The Interview” on [*Apple Podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html), [*Spotify*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html), [*YouTube*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html), [*iHeartRadio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html), [*Amazon Music*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html) or [*the New York Times Audio app*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/magazine/13Fetterman-t.html).

Director of photography (video): Zackary Canepari

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP MONTGOMERY) (MM11); Top: John Fetterman announcing his Senate candidacy in 2015. Bottom: In Israel with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in June. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KEITH SRAKOCIC/ASSOCIATED PRESS; GPO/AMOS BEN GERSHOM) (MM12); Fetterman and his wife, Gisele Barreto Fetterman, with Vice President Kamala Harris in Johnstown, Pa., in September. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARNIK/GETTY IMAGES) (MM13) This article appeared in print on page MM11, MM12, MM14.

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2024

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[***Lynch Yacht Sinking Off Sicily Proves as Baffling as It Is Tragic***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSR-6KP1-DXY4-X0MF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1503 words

**Highlight:** As bodies were recovered, the authorities and experts wondered how a $40 million, stable and secure vessel could have sunk so quickly.

**Body**

As bodies were recovered, the authorities and experts wondered how a $40 million, stable and secure vessel could have sunk so quickly.

Two months after being cleared in a bruising legal battle over fraud charges, the British tech mogul Mike Lynch celebrated his freedom with a cruise. He invited his family, friends and part of his legal team on board his luxury sailing yacht, a majestic 180-foot vessel named Bayesian after the mathematical theorem around which he had built his empire.

On Sunday night, after a tour of the Gulf of Naples, including Capri, and volcanic islands in the Eolian archipelago, the boat anchored half a mile off the Sicilian coast in Porticello, Italy. It chose a stretch of water favored by the Phoenicians thousands of years ago for its protection from the mistral wind and, in more recent times, by the yachts of tech billionaires. The boat was lit “like a Christmas tree,” local residents said, standing out against the full moon.

But about 4 a.m., calamity unfolded. A violent and fast storm hit the area with some of the strongest winds locals said they had ever felt. Fabio Cefalù, a fisherman, said he saw a flare pierce the darkness shortly after 4.

Minutes later, the yacht was underwater. Only dozens of cushions from the boat’s deck and a gigantic radar from its mast floated on the surface of the sea, fishermen said.

In all, 22 people were on board, 15 of whom were rescued. [*Six bodies — five passengers and the ship’s cook — had been recovered by*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/world/europe/italy-sicily-yacht-bodies-found.html) Thursday afternoon, including that of Mr. Lynch, an Italian government official said, adding that the search was continuing for his daughter.

It was a tragic and mystifying turn of events for Mr. Lynch, 59, who had spent years seeking to clear his name and was finally inaugurating a new chapter in his life. Experts wondered how a $40 million yacht, so robust and stable could have been sunk by a storm near a port within minutes.

“It drives me insane,” said Giovanni Costantino, the chief executive of the Italian Sea Group, which in 2022 bought the company, Perini, that made the Bayesian. “Following all the proper procedures, that boat is unsinkable.”

The aura of misfortune only deepened when it emerged that Stephen Chamberlain, 52, a former vice president of finance for Mr. Lynch’s former company and a co-defendant in the fraud case, was killed two days earlier, when he was hit by a car while jogging near his house in England.

Since June, the two men had been in a jubilant mood. A jury in San Francisco had acquitted both on fraud charges that could have sent them to prison for two decades. There were hugs and tears, and they and their legal teams went for a celebratory dinner party at a restaurant in the city, said Gary S. Lincenberg, a lawyer for Mr. Chamberlain.

The sea excursion was meant as a thank-you by Mr. Lynch to those who had helped him in his legal travails. Among the guests was Christopher J. Morvillo, 59, a scion of a prominent New York family of lawyers who had represented Mr. Lynch for 12 years. He and his wife, Neda, 57, were among the missing.

So, too, was Jonathan Bloomer, 70, a veteran British insurance executive who chaired Morgan Stanley International and the insurer Hiscox.

The body of the ship’s cook, Recaldo Thomas, was recovered. All the other crew members survived. Among them was Leo Eppel, 19, of South Africa, who was on his first yacht voyage working as a deck steward, said a friend, who asked not to be identified.

Since the sinking, the recovery effort and investigation have turned the tiny port town of Porticello, a quiet enclave where older men sit bare-chested on balconies, into what feels like the set of a movie.

Helicopters have flown overhead. Ambulances have sped by with the sirens blaring. The Coast Guard has patrolled the waters off shore, within sight of a cordoned-off dock that had been turned into an emergency headquarters.

On Wednesday afternoon, a church bell tolled after the first body bag was loaded into an ambulance, a crowd watching in silence.

The survivors were sheltering in a sprawling resort near Porticello, with a view of the shipwreck spot, and had so far declined to comment.

Attilio Di Diodato, director of the Italian Air Force’s Center for Aerospace Meteorology and Climatology, said that the yacht had most likely been hit by a fierce “down burst” — when air generated within a thunderstorm descends rapidly — or by a [*waterspout*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/world/europe/italy-sicily-yacht-bodies-found.html), similar to a tornado over water.

He added that his agency had put out rough-sea warnings the previous evening, alerting sailors about storms and strong winds. Locals said the winds “felt like an earthquake.”

Mr. Costantino, the boat executive, said the yacht had been specifically designed for having a tall mast — the second-tallest aluminum mast in the world. He said the Bayesian was an extremely safe and secure boat that could list even to 75 degrees without capsizing.

But he said that if some of the hatches on the side and in the stern, or some of the deck doors, had been open, the boat could have taken on water and sunk. Standard procedure in such storms, he said, is to switch on the engine, lift the anchor and turn the boat into the wind, lowering the keel for extra stability, closing doors and gathering the guests in the main hall inside the deck.

The New York Times attempted to reach the captain, James Cutfield, who had survived, for comment through social media, his brother and the management company of the yacht (which did not hire the crew), but did not make contact.

So far none of the surviving crew members have made a public statement about what happened that night.

Fabio Genco, the director of Palermo’s emergency services, who treated some of the survivors, said that the victims had recounted feeling as if the boat was being lifted, then suddenly dropped, with objects from the cabins falling on them.

The Italian Coast Guard said it had deployed a remotely operated vehicle that can prowl underwater for up to seven hours at a depth of more than 980 feet and record videos and images that they hoped would help them reconstruct the dynamics of the sinking. Such devices were used during the search and rescue operations of the [*Titan vessel that is believed to have imploded last summer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/world/europe/italy-sicily-yacht-bodies-found.html) near the wreckage of the Titanic.

After rescuers broke inside the yacht, they struggled to navigate the ropes and many pieces of furniture cluttering the vessel, said Luca Cari, a spokesman for Italy’s national firefighter corps.

Finally, as of Thursday morning, they had managed to retrieve all but one of the missing bodies, and hopes of finding the missing person alive were thin. “Can a human being be underwater for two days?” Mr. Cari asked.

What was certain was that Mr. Lynch’s death was yet another cruel twist of fate for a man who had spent years seeking to clear his name.

He earned a fortune in technology and was nicknamed Britain’s Bill Gates. But for more than a decade, he had been treated as anything but a respected tech leader.

He was accused by Hewlett-Packard, the American technological pioneer that had bought his software company, Autonomy, for $11 billion, of misleading it about his company’s worth. (Hewlett-Packard wrote down the value of the transaction by about $8.8 billion, and critics called it [*one of the worst deals of all time*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/world/europe/italy-sicily-yacht-bodies-found.html).) He had been increasingly shunned by the British establishment that he sought to break into after growing up ***working-class*** outside London.

He was extradited to San Francisco to face criminal charges, and confined to house arrest and 24-hour surveillance on his dime. In a townhouse in the Pacific Heights neighborhood — with security people he jokingly told associates were his “roommates” — he spent his mornings talking with researchers whom he funded personally on new applications for artificial intelligence. Afterward, he devoted hours to discussing legal strategy with his team.

Despite his persistent claims of innocence, even those close to Mr. Lynch had believed his odds of victory were slim. Autonomy’s chief financial officer, Sushovan Hussain, was convicted in 2018 of similar fraud charges and spent five years in prison.

During Mr. Lynch’s house arrest, his brother and mother died. His wife, Angela Bacares, frequently flew over from England, and she became a constant presence in the San Francisco courtroom during the trial.

After he was finally acquitted, Mr. Lynch had his eye on the future. “I am looking forward to returning to the U.K. and getting back to what I love most: my family and innovating in my field,” he said.

Elisabetta Povoledo contributed reporting from Pallanza, Italy.

Elisabetta Povoledo contributed reporting from Pallanza, Italy.

PHOTOS: Rescue workers lifting a body bag Wednesday after a yacht carrying the British entrepreneur Mike Lynch and others sank off the Sicilian coast Monday. A handout photo from the Perini Navi shipyard shows the sailing yacht. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUGLIELMO MANGIAPANE/REUTERS; PERINI NAVI PRESS OFFICE/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

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[***Young African Women as Everyday Heroes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BCB-KCP1-JBG3-64JH-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1288 words

**Byline:** By Elian Peltier

**Body**

The ''Aya'' series explores the pains and pleasures of everyday life in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in West Africa.

One of the most successful African comics has no super heroes, and certainly no supernatural powers.

Instead, ''Aya,'' a graphic novel series, is full of everyday heroes, and topping the list is Aya herself, a young woman navigating the delights and obstacles of early adulthood in the West African nation of Ivory Coast.

Inspired by the childhood years that its author, Marguerite Abouet, spent in Ivory Coast and focused on daily life in a ***working-class*** suburb of Abidjan, the country's largest city, the series mixes humor and biting takes on society, with a feminist twist -- all vividly captured by Clément Oubrerie, the illustrator.

In the books, Aya and her friends go on awkward first dates, hook up and share countless shenanigans that celebrate Ivory Coast's favorite sport after soccer -- ''palabrer,'' or talking endlessly.

The relatable characters help explain the instant acclaim ''Aya'' won from readers and critics when it was first released in France in 2005; the following year, it won the award for best debut at the Angouleme International Comics Festival, one of the world's leading comic gatherings. The books have since been translated into 15 languages and attracted more than a million readers worldwide.

In recent years, ''Aya'' has enjoyed a revival among a new generation of readers, many from the French-speaking African diaspora. ''For teenagers in France, Aya is so in,'' Abouet said in a telephone interview from Paris, where she now lives. ''They discover an African character who doesn't see being Black, or a woman, as a hurdle, who has her friends and her convictions.''

In the United States, sales of the books went up during the George Floyd protests as American readers looked for fresh takes on racial issues and stories from Africa, said Peggy Burns, the publisher of Drawn & Quarterly, which publishes ''Aya'' in North America.

The most recent volume that's English, ''Aya: Claws Come Out,'' was released this week -- another sign that the series resonates well beyond its setting, the neighborhood of Yopougon in the 1970s and 1980s.

Beyond the apparently light tone is a multilayered tale in which Aya and her friends struggle with unemployment and police violence, and fight for students' rights and against sexual violence on campus.

In college, Aya wants to become a doctor then turns to law, but her father doesn't really support her ambitions. Adjoua, one of her best friends, ends up raising a baby on her own; her other friend, Bintou, a rising actress, fights the sexism pervading the Ivorian television industry.

Their parents navigate the corruption plaguing the country as much as the issues roiling their households, like heavy drinking and adultery.

When Aya shares with Adjoua and Bintou that her father has been cheating on her mother for years and has had two children with his mistress, Bintou dismisses Aya's despair with a devastating joke: ''Sorry to tell you, but men are like hospital beds; they'll take anyone under their sheets.''

Adjoua doubles down: ''That's how it's always been, you know it!''

Abouet, 52, moved to France at age 12 and began writing about growing up in Ivory Coast after the parents of three children she was babysitting encouraged her to share stories from home with a broader public.

She did, and ''Aya'' is an ode to Abidjan's most vibrant borough, Yopougon, the birthplace of zouglou, a dance style, and a wellspring of artistic creation.

Many of the landmarks that make up Aya's Yopougon -- the open-air playgrounds, the church Abouet would go to, the ''1,000-star hotel,'' an outdoor market turned meeting place for lovers at night -- are gone. Middle-class families have moved to more affluent neighborhoods, and some areas are becoming gentrified, with gated communities sitting next to slums.

But the soul of the borough that Aya and her friends call Yop City, ''like something out of an American movie,'' lives on. The din of street vendors selling fried plantain or charcoal, groups of bickering children in school uniforms or harried workers running after public vans during rush hour give it a dizzying atmosphere.

Its unpaved alleys and broad avenues are still filled with the drone of sewing machines, the smell of grilled fish in open-air restaurants known as ''maquis,'' and the haze of exhaust fumes spewing out of brightly colored motorized tricycles.

Finding the Aya series in Yopougon is no easy task, as most book stalls in the street focus on self-help, school texts or old classics from France. Nearly half of Ivory Coast's 30 million people are illiterate, and ''Aya'' sales in West African countries represent less than 10 percent of the total, according to Gallimard, its publisher in French.

But Edwige-Renée Dro displays the books prominently in her library and bookstore in the heart of Yopougon, where she also organizes writing residences for women.

Dro, a writer herself, translated the most recent volume of ''Aya'' to be published in English. (There have been eight volumes in French, and three in English; the first two English-language volumes each collected three of the French originals into one. The most recent volume translated into English, ''Aya: Claws Come Out,'' is the seventh one in France.)

She called the series a classic of Ivorian literature.

''Ivorian writers don't write in the language we speak on the streets,'' Dro said on a recent morning on the rooftop of her library, where she was smoking a cigarette and combing through the book she translated. ''Marguerite does, and people in Ivory Coast see themselves in Aya.''

But she noted that ''Aya'' was still published in France, Ivory Coast's former colonial power. ''In order to have a vibrant Ivorian literary scene, we need the infrastructure here,'' she added.

After the fifth French issue, Abouet and Oubrerie took a 12-year break from the series. During that time, they adapted ''Aya'' into a movie, and Abouet wrote ''That's Life!'' a television series popular across West Africa in which she explores themes developed in ''Aya,'' like women's well-being, gender issues and public health. She has also been writing ''Akissi: Tales of Mischief,'' a tale for younger readers published in a youth magazine sold across West Africa and collected in an English-language book.

Last year, as Abouet was promoting the most recent volume of the book to be released in France -- the eighth, not available in English yet -- she said that she met many mixed-race teenagers and young adults who felt a real connection to her characters.

''There are not so many heroes like them,'' Abouet said. ''Black Panther is nice, but for many it is too much, too futuristic. They want a middle ground.''

Abouet said that she remains fascinated with perceptions of ''Aya'' across the world. In northern European countries, she said parents have asked if children in West Africa go to therapy after discovering that their father has a second family, or that he has cheated on their mother.

In Ethiopia she was once booed by university students who accused her of promoting homosexuality through the character of Innocent, a gay friend of Aya's who moves to France and faces the hurdles of living as an undocumented migrant.

''Life in Africa is made of problems we all have, on all continents,'' Abouet said. ''But I still wonder, how come daily life in a ***working-class*** neighborhood of an African city is something of interest to you?''

From her library of in Yopougon, Dro, the translator, said the reason was clear to her.

''In 'Aya,' we see Africans loving each other,'' she said. ''Like everyone else.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/10/books/aya-of-yop-city-comic-book.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/10/books/aya-of-yop-city-comic-book.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Marguerite Abouet said her books, top, are popular with French teenagers because they ''discover an African character who doesn't see being Black, or a woman, as a hurdle.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY VIOLETTE FRANCHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JOÃO SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Edwige-Renée Dro, who translated the novel ''Aya: Claws Come Out'' into English, also owns a library and bookstore in Yopougon, a suburb of Abidjan, in Ivory Coast. Dro said that people in Ivory Coast ''see themselves in Aya.'' Right, the Yopougon neighborhood. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOÃO SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS FROM DRAWN & QUARTERLY) This article appeared in print on page C6.

**Load-Date:** February 19, 2024

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[***Activist Faces Hate After Olympics Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CN3-8WT1-DXY4-X07G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1207 words

**Byline:** By Catherine Porter and Ségolène Le Stradic

**Body**

The Paris Olympics opening ceremony made the French D.J. Barbara Butch famous and infamous around the world. Already known in France as an outspoken lesbian and activist for fat people, Butch -- her stage name, of course -- appeared with a crown and her mixing board in one of the last scenes, called ''Festivity.''

For 45 minutes, dancers, including drag queens, showcased their talent along a raised catwalk that stretched down the stage before, at the very end, the French singer Philippe Katerine emerged from under a giant silver dome, painted entirely in blue and wearing little clothing, to sing part of ''Nude,'' one of his songs.

The scene incited an almost instant public fury, particularly among those who interpreted it as parodying Leonardo da Vinci's ''The Last Supper'' and, by extension, mocking Christianity. Even after the ceremony's artistic director, Thomas Jolly, explained the inspiration was a grand pagan festival connected to the gods of Olympus, the fury continued, with Donald J. Trump calling the scene ''a disgrace'' on social media.

On Monday, Butch filed a complaint for cyber-harassment, and the Paris prosecutor's office opened an investigation for discrimination based on religion or sexual orientation. The next day, Jolly followed suit, and an investigation was opened into his case, too.

Butch has become accustomed to hate, though not at this level. She is a Jew from a ***working-class*** family who grew up in a small apartment above her parents' restaurant in Paris, and antisemitism had provoked her grandmother to leave France for Israel years ago, she said.

Then, as an out lesbian and a proud fat person, Butch is a regular target of hostility -- both in person and online.

''My image bothers people,'' said Butch, 43. ''My mere existence is political.''

A D.J. celebrated in L.G.B.T.-friendly bars and clubs, Butch became known for drawing words like ''dyke'' and ''fat'' on her chest, belly and arms, as a response to the poisonous attacks.

''She represents people who are invisible in France,'' said Zouzou Auzou, the owner of Rosa Bonheur, the Paris bar where Butch has held a regular Sunday soiree for many years. ''And she is someone who is very friendly and nice. There is nothing mean about her.''

Butch, who plays techno and electro music, as well as French pop songs, said she considers herself a ''love activist.'' She spoke in a video interview from southern France, where she had fled with her fiancée, two cats and two dogs. The conversation, which was held in French, has been edited for length and clarity.

How did you end up in that scene of the ceremony?

The lead choreographer thought of me for this scene because of my story, my music, my experience as a D.J. During lockdown in 2020, while everyone was locked in their homes, I organized virtual get-togethers every Saturday, to get people across France dancing. There were 2,000 to 3,000 people together on Zoom. She said, ''What you did to reunite people that come from everywhere, regardless of class, sexual or religious differences, we want to represent that during the Olympics. It needs to be put on the main stage.''

So, we built a playlist. I built it with songs I personally love to play when I'm mixing, and songs that are very important in French culture and that represent the history of music in France, that would bring people together because everyone knows the lyrics by heart. I wanted to make people sing, particularly the athletes, because it was the moment when the French athletes would float under the bridge, and they would have a blast on their boat.

It must have seemed like a dream for you.

I try in my life not to put limits on myself and not to stick to beliefs. Women are always told they are less good, they shouldn't do too much or do all that, they should be a little more self-effacing, because otherwise they won't go as far, or won't find love. For fat people, it's even worse because we are constantly told that the moment we will be happy is when we are thin. So, I said to myself, all the barriers people try to put in me, I'm breaking them down and I'm doing it for all the people who can't do it or who don't dare to do it.

We all need models that represent us. I didn't have one when I was younger and I want young girls, little boys, who say to themselves that they cannot achieve their goals because they're short or fat, or because they're L.G.B.T., to say, ''Look, she did it, I can do it.'' It was really to give hope and be a positive role model for people with my body type, with my identity, with my sexual orientation.

It's really, really important to say we exist. What bothered people was the fact that all those people on the dance floor in that festivity scene exist.

Were you told that you were representing a feast of the Greek gods?

Yes, of course. We were told Dionysus would be played by Philippe Katerine. And why Dionysus? Because he is the god of the wine festival, which is part of French culture. And so it made complete sense that we all ended up behind him, celebrating. Above all, the message was truly a message of peace.

Can you tell us about your outfit and the crown?

I chose the French designer Gilles Asquin, who made this outfit with Victoria Luzion -- she made the corset. The crown is actually the headset that I mixed with. Well, I didn't really mix, because it was pouring rain and I could have been electrocuted.

What was it like performing in that downpour?

It was amazing. It was magical. It was raining like crazy. They asked me, ''It is pouring, do you mind?'' I said, ''No, I don't mind.'' From the very first song, I was totally into it. I was, like, ''Wow, here I am, there are one or two billion people watching. This is huge.''

It's not the first time you've been the target of attacks and harassment. How was this different?

It's because it's on a different scale, an international scale. We're talking about evangelists worldwide -- and these are no jokesters. They're very aggressive in their words and in their hatred. Most messages were like, ''You won't replace us.'' We're not claiming to replace anything. We're just asking for people to be free to exist, for dignity for all.

And I realized I couldn't let that go unanswered. I get a lot of death threats and rape threats. I also get anti-lesbian, transphobic and antisemitic abuse. So I said to myself, at some point this really has to stop. That's why my lawyer and I filed a complaint, and we called in a company that is analyzing all the accounts that have sent messages and comments that break the law. And we're identifying everyone.

You have tracked down some already?

Sure, we have phone numbers and addresses -- in Poland, in the U.S., in France and in Germany. I want them to pay for this. I want the courts to deal with them and I want to win the cases.

My aim is not to make money. If we got money out of it, it would go to anti-harassment groups and child protection groups. Let's not forget, harassment leads to death. Most of all, I was thinking of the thousands of kids throughout the world who commit suicide because of behavior like this. I'm doing this for them.

Daphné Anglès helped with translation.Daphné Anglès helped with translation.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/02/arts/music/barbara-butch-olympics-opening-ceremony.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/02/arts/music/barbara-butch-olympics-opening-ceremony.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Barbara Butch, the ''Love Activist,'' says, ''My mere existence is political.'' Left, Butch wore a costume by the designers Gilles Asquin and Victoria Luzion at the Olympics opening ceremony. Below, delegations arrived at the Olympics as the singer Philippe Katerine performed. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FRANCE KEYSER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BERTHON FLAVIEN/BARBARA BUTCH, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

LUDOVIC MARIN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page C5.

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[***Harris's Epic Fail in Puerto Rico***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BNK-2HY1-JBG3-60NM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Yarimar Bonilla

**Body**

Kamala Harris arrived in San Juan, P.R., last Friday for her first official visit as vice president. The trip was meant, in part, to highlight the Biden administration's dedication to aiding the island's recovery. What unfolded instead was a revealing tableau of Democrats' missteps and misjudgments.

Ms. Harris's roughly five-hour visit began in the community of San Isidro, in the municipality of Canóvanas. There she visited María Ramos de Jesús, an 86-year-old whose home was only recently rebuilt with funds from a program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

It was a curious choice. Many of the residents lack land titles, which made them ineligible for the Federal Emergency Management Agency programs Ms. Harris aimed to promote. The area was originally an informal settlement built on public wetlands by those displaced after Hurricane Hugo in 1989. The HUD funds come attached to a new FEMA flood map, which means that more than 250,000 homes like these across the island that are identified to be at high risk of flood are ineligible for reconstruction.

The fact that it took seven years for Ms. Ramos's home to be reconstructed after Hurricane Maria is indicative of how the federal government repeatedly fails Puerto Ricans, no matter which party is in charge.

While the Trump administration may have left Puerto Ricans in the dark after the hurricane, it was the Democrats who set the stage for the storm's disastrous aftermath. Things might have turned out differently had the Obama administration fairly confronted Puerto Rico's financial crisis by offering debt relief, addressing historical injustices and protecting essential services rather than saddling residents with a federally appointed fiscal control board that has only caused more harm.

While on the campaign trail, Joe Biden pledged to reverse the austerity policies imposed by the fiscal board and to support an audit of Puerto Rico's debt to identify any illegally issued debt. These promises, however, fell by the wayside once he was in office.

Even though the board acknowledged that much of the island's debt is invalid, it dismissed citizen demands for a comprehensive audit. Instead, it focused on privatizing and dismantling public services, which in turn caused living expenses and utility costs to soar, even as essential services like electricity, water, health care and education become increasingly unreliable or inaccessible.

The board operates with a chilling lack of oversight. The Supreme Court ruled that its members are exempt from standard federal appointment procedures, given the ''territorial'' nature of their duties. The court also ruled against local journalists who sought access to the board's internal records. This, as Justice Sonia Sotomayor wrote in an opinion, has left the board in ''a twilight zone of accountability.''

While ***working-class*** Puerto Ricans suffer the blows of austerity and second-class citizenship, tax incentives have attracted a wave of investors and remote workers, further straining the island's resources and displacing its residents. Under the tax incentives consolidated under Act 60 in 2019, wealthy investors receive breaks on local and federal taxes as long as they buy property in Puerto Rico and reside there half the year. This has led to a loss of billions of dollars in revenues for the island's coffers and a land grab that has significantly raised housing costs.

Local activists had hoped to voice these concerns to the vice president when she visited La Goyco, a closed school in San Juan reclaimed as a community center. Other valuable public lands have been sold or leased to wealthy investors for pennies on the dollar, only to be turned into exclusive private schools or luxury vacation homes.

Ms. Harris's visit to La Goyco was contentious. Several activist groups staged protests, denouncing the federal government's policies not just in Puerto Rico but also in Gaza and Haiti. Some groups chanted ''Yankee, go home'' and ''U.S.A., U.S.A., we want statehood.''

In a scene reminiscent of the HBO show ''Veep,'' the vice president clapped haplessly along to the Spanish protest songs that greeted her, apparently not realizing the lyrics were critical of her visit.

After briefly experiencing the local culture, Ms. Harris moved on to a fund-raising event with wealthy ''expat'' donors. The event was held at the upscale residential and commercial complex Ciudadela, owned by an Act 60 beneficiary named Nicholas Prouty, whom Ms. Harris acknowledged as a good friend who kept her updated on the situation in Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria.

Ciudadela is also a symbol of Act 60, with a ***working-class*** community having been cleared to build luxury apartments and a dog park. It also played a role in the corruption trial of Puerto Rico's former secretary of education Julia Keleher, who pleaded guilty to charges related to signing a letter ceding to developers the right to build on land adjacent to a public school in exchange for a discount on an apartment in the Ciudadela complex.

The Government Accountability Office is scrutinizing the Act 60 tax breaks, and the Internal Revenue Service is investigating those who have tried to benefit from the law while skirting its requirements. Ms. Harris left Puerto Rico with what was reported to be nearly half a million dollars in donations for President Biden's re-election fund.

Rather than seek photo ops, the vice president would have done better to listen more closely to her party's Puerto Rican House members, including Nydia Velazquez and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who have long been calling for greater federal oversight over Act 60 beneficiaries, greater scrutiny of the antidemocratic fiscal oversight board and a true federal commitment to addressing Puerto Rico's status.

In the end, Ms. Harris's visit encapsulates the contradictions of U.S. policy toward Puerto Rico. On the one hand, there's a perfunctory nod to grass-roots empowerment, on the other, a cozying up to the very forces that are driving gentrification and displacement. While she did not toss paper towels, her visit was what Puerto Ricans call a papelón -- an embarrassing spectacle.

Yarimar Bonilla, a contributing Opinion writer, is the author and editor of ''Non-Sovereign Futures: French Caribbean Politics in the Wake of Disenchantment'' and ''Aftershocks of Disaster: Puerto Rico Before and After the Storm.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DREW ANGERER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

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[***Harris Victory Could Mean Not Much Would Change With the Regulation of A.I.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJR-KV11-JBG3-64N4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By David McCabe and Cecilia Kang

**Body**

The presumptive Democratic nominee has won concessions from Big Tech leaders on A.I., but she hasn't successfully pushed Congress to regulate.

Over the past three years, Vice President Kamala Harris has taken a leading role inside the White House on artificial intelligence as the technology is taking off.

As A.I. czar, she brought the chiefs of OpenAI, Microsoft, Google and Anthropic to the White House to agree on voluntary safety standards for the technology. She led a White House executive order mandating how the federal government would use and develop A.I. And she pushed Congress to adopt regulations to protect individuals from A.I. killing jobs and other harms -- although little legislation has emerged and the companies have so far faced few roadblocks.

We ''reject the false choice that suggests we can either protect the public or advance innovation,'' Ms. Harris said in a speech in November, calling for both global regulation and further accountability from companies. ''We can and we must do both.''

Now, as the Democratic Party's presumptive presidential nominee, a win for Ms. Harris could mean a continued relatively smooth runway for A.I. companies, which have enjoyed little U.S. regulation and the chance to shape White House and Congressional views on the technology.

Ms. Harris has previously taken tougher stances on Big Tech. As the former district attorney of San Francisco, and then attorney general of California, she pushed for laws against cyberbullying and to promote greater privacy for children online. As the state's attorney general, she worked to stem the spread of intimate images, taken without their subject's consent, on big tech platforms.

''She brings a very kind of lawyerly, kind of thoughtful, mind-set about thinking about all sides of the issue,'' said Alondra Nelson, a former director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy.

The Harris campaign referred a request for comment to the White House. Jeff Zients, the White House chief of staff, said in an emailed statement that the administration ''has taken unprecedented actions to maximize the potential and manage the risks of A.I. -- and at every turn, both the president and the vice president have pushed us to act quickly and pull every lever.''

Under the Biden administration, Big Tech has faced increased scrutiny on antitrust. Regulators have sued Google, Meta, Amazon and Apple, accusing them of monopolistic behavior. Many of those investigations were started under Donald J. Trump, the Republican nominee for president.

Meanwhile, generative A.I. that powers humanlike chatbots and realistic image generators has taken off, fueling concerns that the technology could take jobs and cause other harms, alongside doomsday scenarios that it could destroy humanity. Although Congressional leaders have said they must take action and have held forums to discuss the technology, few concrete efforts to regulate A.I. have materialized.

''She has years of service demonstrating her conviction in corporate accountability,'' said Dan Geldon, a former aide to Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts. ''It seems unlikely that a President Harris would disrupt all the existing litigation and momentum, based on her long history of holding corporations who break the law accountable.''

Ms. Harris has connections to tech companies from her time in California, and her brother-in-law, Tony West, is the top lawyer at Uber.

When she was campaigning to become state attorney general in 2010, Ms. Harris appeared for a question-and-answer session at Google's campus in Mountain View. She told employees she saw the tech industry's expertise as central to making sure that the government communicated well and had up-to-date systems.

''I want these relationships and I want to cultivate them, because I want you to be an advisory group,'' Ms. Harris said at the time, according to a recording of the session. ''This is a short drive to come here. This is backyard. We're family.''

In 2015, as California's attorney general, she visited Facebook's headquarters in Menlo Park to promote safer internet use. In the event for high school students, Sheryl Sandberg, then chief operating officer of the company now known as Meta, said ''we can work together to show the internet can be a tool for good,'' according to media reports.

Ms. Sandberg is backing Ms. Harris's candidacy, as is the investor Reid Hoffman, a major donor to the Democratic Party.

Ms. Harris could draw on her tech ties to build new advisory teams, tech policy experts said.

''Biden had a close circle of advisers who had been with him for decades, none of whom had deep roots in tech,'' said Blair Levin, a former chief of staff for the Federal Communications Commission and an adviser for New Street Research. ''Her advisers will come from sources, including California, that have tech backgrounds.''

The work Ms. Harris has done so far as the White House A.I. czar reflects her moderation and willingness to listen to both sides, experts say.

In October, President Biden signed the A.I. executive order she led requiring companies to talk to the government about the most severe risks associated with their systems, alongside outlining steps for the federal government to adopt the technology.

''We have a moral, ethical and societal duty to make sure that A.I. is adopted and advanced in a way that protects the public from potential harm and ensures that everyone is able to enjoy its benefits,'' Ms. Harris said at the White House in October while announcing the order. (The Republican Party's platform calls for repealing that executive order because it ''hinders A.I. innovation.'')

Mr. Zients said in his emailed statement that the commitments by the companies to rigorously test their systems had been Ms. Harris's idea.

''I was meeting with the vice president in one of our weekly check-ins last year,'' he said. ''The vice president said to me, 'Let's bring the C.E.O.s down here and let's get some commitments in place now while we work on our executive actions.'''

Those commitments were only part of the solution, Ms. Harris said in a speech in November.

''Let me be clear, these voluntary commitments are an initial step toward a safer A.I. future with more to come, because, as history has shown, in the absence of regulation and strong government oversight, some technology companies choose to prioritize profit over the well-being of their customers, the safety of our communities and the stability of our democracies,'' she said.

Dr. Nelson, the former White House official, said that Ms. Harris was curious about the technology industry and wanted to see what tech companies could produce. But the vice president also believes, Dr. Nelson said, that companies should be held to account for whether their work provided benefits to Americans.

''I would describe her philosophy of technology as not inherently cautious,'' Dr. Nelson said. ''What does this mean for a regular ***working class*** family's life? That's always the litmus test.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/technology/kamala-harris-ai-regulation.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/24/technology/kamala-harris-ai-regulation.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Little legislation has emerged from Vice President Kamala Harris's work on A.I. policy, and the Big Tech companies have faced few roadblocks. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID WALTER BANKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page B4.

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[***Vance and the Undoing of an Old Friendship***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKD-DDM1-JBG3-6347-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Stephanie Saul

**Body**

His political views differed from a transgender classmate's, but they forged a bond that lasted a decade -- until Mr. Vance seemed to pivot, politically and personally.

When his book, ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' was published in 2016, JD Vance sent an email apologizing to a close friend from his Yale Law School days. The friend identified as transgender, but Mr. Vance referred to them in the book as a lesbian.

''Hey Sofes, here's an excerpt from my book,'' Mr. Vance wrote to his friend, Sofia Nelson. ''I send this to you not just to brag, but because I'm sure if you read it you'll notice reference to 'an extremely progressive lesbian.'''

''I recognize now that this may not accurately reflect how you think of yourself, and for that I am really sorry,'' he wrote. ''I hope you're not offended, but if you are, I'm sorry! Love you, JD.''

Nelson wrote back the same day, calling Mr. Vance ''buddy'' and thanking him for ''being sweet,'' adding, ''If you had written gender queer radical pragmatist, nobody would know what you mean.'' Nelson asked for an autographed copy, then signed off with, ''Love, Sofia.''

That exchange is from a series of emails between two friends, part of a close-knit group of 16 students who remained together throughout their first law school semester in the fall of 2010. As now-Senator Vance seeks the vice presidency, Nelson has shared about 90 of their emails and text messages, primarily from 2014 through 2017, with The New York Times.

The emails, in which Mr. Vance criticizes former President Donald J. Trump both for ''racism'' and as a ''morally reprehensible human being,'' add to an already-existing body of evidence showing Mr. Vance's ideological pivot from Never Trumper to Mr. Trump's running mate.

And they reflect a young man quite different from the hard-right culture warrior of today who back then brought homemade baked goods to his friend after Nelson underwent transition-related surgery. The visit cemented their bond.

''The content of the conversation was,'' Nelson said in an interview with The New York Times, '''I don't understand what you're doing, but I support you.' And that meant a lot to me at the time, because I think that was the foundation of our friendship.''

The political views of the two were sharply divergent, but their friendship would continue for a decade, strengthened by their shared Midwestern roots -- Nelson grew up in Western Michigan and Mr. Vance in Ohio -- and cynical views of Ivy League elitism.

Nelson, a Tufts University graduate, had received a prestigious Truman scholarship for law school, indicating a desire to work in public service.

At times, they exchanged messages infrequently. At other times, they would have energetic back-and-forths several times a week. And their talks reflected the history playing out around them -- protests against police violence in Ferguson, Mo., the massacre of Black churchgoers in Charleston, S.C., and the 2016 campaign between Mr. Trump and Hillary Clinton. Their conversations were notable not only for Mr. Vance's harsh comments about Mr. Trump, but also for the tenderness and thoughtful tone in the messages.

They provide what may be a textbook example of respectful discourse, revealing a cultural willingness by Mr. Vance to accept Nelson's gender identity, which sharply differs from the anti-L.G.B.T.Q. sentiments evident at the Republican National Convention.

Nelson, now a public defender in Detroit, said they visited each other's homes, talked on Zoom during the pandemic and exchanged long emails discussing a range of subjects, from the minutiae of daily life to weighty discussions of current events and public policy issues. Nelson attended Mr. Vance's wedding in Kentucky in 2014. They pondered doing a podcast together -- he suggested they call it ''The Lunatic Fringe.''

But Nelson and Mr. Vance had a falling out in 2021, when Mr. Vance said publicly he supported an Arkansas ban on gender-affirming care for minors, leading to a bitter exchange that deeply hurt Nelson.

''He achieved great success and became very rich by being a Never Trumper who explained the white ***working class*** to the liberal elite,'' Nelson said, referring to Mr. Vance's successful 2016 book. ''Now he's amassing even more power by expressing the exact opposite.''

Now, Nelson, who opposes the Trump/Vance ticket, hopes the emails inform the opinion of voters about Mr. Vance.

Responding to a request for comment on the emails, Luke Schroeder, a spokesman for the Vance campaign, issued a statement:

''It's unfortunate this individual chose to leak decade-old private conversations between friends to The New York Times. Senator Vance values his friendships with individuals across the political spectrum. He has been open about the fact that some of his views from a decade ago began to change after becoming a dad and starting a family, and he has thoroughly explained why he changed his mind on President Trump. Despite their disagreements, Senator Vance cares for Sofia and wishes Sofia the very best.''

Charting His Own Path

In 2014, they were both near the beginning of their careers, about a year out of law school.

Mr. Vance shared that he was planning to buy a house in Washington, D.C., with his wife, Usha, whom he also met at Yale.

The Vances could afford a house in Washington's highly priced market partly because Mr. Vance was starting a job in Big Law. ''Blech,'' he wrote then, indicating his distaste for a career he had already decided against. He would remain with the white-shoe firm Sidley Austin for less than two years.

In the same exchange, Mr. Vance also wrote about his wife's interviews with justices of the Supreme Court, where she was seeking a clerkship. Mr. Vance worried that her seeming politically neutral, or lack of ''ideological chops,'' could harm her chances.

''Scalia and Kagan moved very quickly,'' Mr. Vance wrote, referring to Antonin Scalia, the conservative justice who died in 2016, and Elena Kagan, one of the court's current three liberal justices, ''but she was just not going to work out for Scalia.''

Nelson wrote back, ''His homophobic screeds are hard to believe in 2014.''

''He's become a very shrill old man,'' Mr. Vance responded. ''I used to really like him, and I used to believe all of his stuff about judicial minimalism was sincere. Now I see it as a political charade.''

Mrs. Vance would end up clerking for Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr.

On Cops, Body Cams and Pride Day

Like their conversations, Mr. Vance could be surprising.

In October 2014, in the wake of the killing of Michael Brown, an 18-year-old Black man, by a white police officer in Ferguson, Nelson raised the idea of requiring that police officers wear body cameras.

''I hate the police,'' Mr. Vance said in his response. ''Given the number of negative experiences I've had in the past few years, I can't imagine what a Black guy goes through.''

Around the same time, the written conversation turned to a much-discussed essay by Ta-Nehisi Coates in The Atlantic making the case for reparations. Mr. Vance offered that whatever problems he had with reparations, generally, ''I have at least been convinced of the virtue of compensating modern victims who've suffered redlining or denial of federal benefits.''

By next summer, after a shooting at the Emanuel A.M.E. Church in Charleston, the two were again discussing race. Mr. Vance said he didn't understand why people ''can't see the connection between this person murdering innocent people and the fact that the Confederate flag -- by democratic will -- still flies'' at the South Carolina Statehouse. ''I'm not sure how to wrap my head around it.'' (The flag was removed from the Statehouse in Columbia a month later.)

''I think you're my only liberal friend with whom I talk openly about politics on a deeper sense,'' Mr. Vance wrote.

In June 2015, Mr. Vance also revealed to Nelson that Jeb Bush's presidential campaign had offered him a job as senior domestic policy adviser, then reneged, after discovering a negative piece he had written about George W. Bush's economic policies. (The New York Times reached out to several former advisers to Jeb Bush's campaign, who could not confirm that there was a job offer.)

Mr. Vance wrote to Nelson that he was looking forward to getting together for a longer conversation with ''some bourbon and puppy dogs by my side.''

In 2015, Mr. Vance moved to California for a new career in the tech industry, one he launched, he suggested, after the Bush episode.

''It's possible to view this entire extended foray into the California tech scene as a wound-licking exercise after my brief encounter with American politics,'' he wrote.

Living in the Bay Area at the time, on June 28 that year, he wished Nelson ''Happy Pride,'' adding, ''I'm thinking of braving the crowds in S.F. just to people watch.''

After attending the Pride Day parade, he wrote, ''It felt more like a frat party than I expected. But still nice to see a lot of happy people.''

Opposing Trump

By 2015, Mr. Trump's rise had begun. Mr. Vance's Yale friends, including Nelson, were not surprised that Mr. Vance, whom they regarded as a moderate Republican, was opposed to Mr. Trump's candidacy.

Mr. Vance was rooting against Mr. Trump but also said he could not bring himself to vote for Mrs. Clinton. He vowed to cast his ballot for a third-party candidate.

In December 2015, in emails analyzing the campaign, he wrote that Mr. Trump's appeal was misunderstood.

''If you look at the polling, the issue where Trump gets the most support is on the economy,'' Mr. Vance wrote. ''If the response of the media, and the elites of both right and left, are to just say 'look at those dumb racists supporting Trump,' then they're never going to learn the most important lesson of Trump's candidacy.''

And he said that he himself saw something in Mr. Trump.

Mr. Vance wrote that he found it exhilarating that the media and Wall Street seemed powerless against Mr. Trump, also suggesting that he partly understood the Trump appeal.

''If he would just tone down the racism, I would literally be his biggest supporter,'' he wrote.

The next day, on Dec. 9, 2015, the two would again talk race, Mr. Trump and Muslims.

Nelson wrote that a Muslim friend had said that women wearing hijabs no longer felt safe doing simple things like going to the grocery store.

Mr. Vance responded, referring to Mr. Trump as a demagogue.

''I'm obviously outraged at Trump's rhetoric, and I worry most of all about how welcome Muslim citizens feel in their own country,'' he wrote. ''And there have always been demagogues willing to exploit the people who believe crazy shit. What seems different to me is that the Republican Party offers nothing that's as attractive as the demagogue.''

By 2016, he was touring the country promoting ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' part memoir and part commentary on the alienation of the white ***working class***, many of whom supported Mr. Trump's election. ''To Sofia, a good friend, a fellow Midwesterner, and, despite being a godless liberal, a great person,'' he would inscribe in Nelson's copy.

In September 2016, he shared a piece on implicit bias that he wrote for The New York Times following Mrs. Clinton's ill-fated ''basket of deplorables'' comment, thanking Nelson in the email for helping inform his thinking in developing the essay.

''The more white people feel like voting for Trump, the more Black people will suffer. I really believe that,'' he wrote.

Not only had Mr. Vance been critical of Mr. Trump for racism, but he also said, ''I've been very critical of other Repubs for the L.G.B.T.Q. issue, especially Rick Perry,'' referring to the former Texas governor.

In another email a month later, he called Mr. Trump a ''disaster,'' using a vulgarity, and added, ''He's just a bad man.''

And then, to the amazement of many Americans, Mr. Trump won.

Nelson sent Mr. Vance a copy of an article in The Onion, a satirical news site, that suggested liberals were clueless about the country they lived in.

''This is funny. Thank you!'' Mr. Vance wrote back.

''My zany prediction: in 20 years H.R.C. and Paul Ryan will be part of the same party,'' he continued, using an abbreviation for Mrs. Clinton. ''And you and I will be on the other side.''

In January 2017, he expressed more sober concern.

''I'm deeply pessimistic right now,'' he wrote. ''I've been thinking a lot about the civil rights movement and legislation in the 1960s, and I wonder if our society is healthy enough to accomplish anything of that scale (or even close to it).''

A Political Career Beckons, and a Friendship Unravels

By 2017, Mr. Vance was planning a move back to Ohio. According to Nelson, Mitch McConnell, the Senate Republican leader, had reached out and encouraged him to run as a Republican for Senator Sherrod Brown's seat.

He kicked the tires of a race as an anti-Trump candidate against a formidable Democratic incumbent and took a pass.

It would be four years later that he would run, this time seeking Mr. Trump's support, and win the open Ohio seat that would put him in position to be Mr. Trump's running mate.

Nelson communicated with the Vances over Zoom early in the pandemic, after their move back to Ohio. Their email correspondence had died down, and Nelson had noted a shift in the tone of Mr. Vance's social media postings. In April 2021, one particularly stood out.

On Twitter, Mr. Vance had come out in support of an Arkansas measure banning gender-transitioning care for minors. The bill was ultimately adopted over a veto by Gov. Asa Hutchinson, who had declared it an overreach, before it was overturned by a court ruling.

''Do you support the AR legislation criminalizing providing medical care to trans kids?'' Nelson texted him in April 2021.

''I do. I recognize this is awkward but I'll always be honest with you,'' Mr. Vance responded. ''I think the trans thing with kids is so unstudied that it amounts to a form of experimentation.''

Nelson wrote back that his position ''deeply saddens me.''

''I know I can't change your mind but the political voice you have become seems so far from the man I got to know in law school,'' wrote Nelson, later explaining their position ''as a trans person who accessed needed health care so I could live a full life.''

''I have a 1:30,'' Mr. Vance wrote. ''I will always love you, but I really do think the left's cultural progressivism is making it harder for normal people to live their lives.''

It had been a friendship of the special type forged in young adulthood, before the accumulation of life responsibilities and fateful decisions already made. Now, it was over.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/27/us/politics/jd-vance-friend-transgender.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/27/us/politics/jd-vance-friend-transgender.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mr. Vance sent a personalized copy of ''Hillbilly Elegy'' to Nelson when it was first published. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SOFIA V. NELSON)

The bond between JD Vance, the Republican candidate for vice president, and Nelson lasted a decade -- until Mr. Vance pivoted politically and personally. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

Sofia Nelson, a public defender in Detroit, described Mr. Vance as a supportive friend at Yale. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

A text message exchange in 2021 signaled a deep divide between the two former classmates. (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14, A15.

**Load-Date:** July 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Ignoring Working-Class Voters, A Strength in 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:624S-CNR1-JBG3-617C-00000-00&context=1519360)

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

**Length:** 1650 words

**Byline:** By Trip Gabriel

**Body**

Party leaders want to capitalize on Donald Trump's appeal to the white ***working class***. But in recent weeks, they've offered very little to advance working people's economic interests.

As the election returns rolled in showing President Donald J. Trump winning strong support from blue-collar voters in November while suffering historic losses in suburbs across the country, Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, a Republican, declared on Twitter: ''We are a ***working class*** party now. That's the future.''

And with further results revealing that Mr. Trump had carried 40 percent of union households and made unexpected inroads with Latinos, other Republican leaders, including Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, trumpeted a political realignment. Republicans, they said, were accelerating their transformation into the party of Sam's Club rather than the country club.

But since then, Republicans have offered very little to advance the economic interests of blue-collar workers. Two major opportunities for party leaders to showcase their priorities have unfolded recently without a nod to working Americans.

In Washington, where Democrats won a vote on Thursday to advance a nearly $2 trillion economic stimulus bill to the Senate floor, they were facing universal opposition from congressional Republicans to the package, which is chock-full of measures to benefit struggling workers a full year into the coronavirus pandemic. The bill includes $1,400 checks to middle-income Americans and extended unemployment benefits, which are set to lapse on March 14.

And at a high-profile, high-decibel gathering of conservatives in Florida last weekend, potential 2024 presidential candidates, including Mr. Hawley and Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, scarcely mentioned a blue-collar agenda. They used their turns in the national spotlight to fan grievances about ''cancel culture,'' to bash the tech industry and to reinforce Mr. Trump's false claims of a stolen election.

Inside and outside the party, critics see a familiar pattern: Republican officials, following Mr. Trump's own example, are exploiting the cultural anger and racial resentment of a sizable segment of the white ***working class***, but have not made a concerted effort to help these Americans economically.

''This is the identity conundrum that Republicans have,'' said Carlos Curbelo, a Republican former congressman from Florida, pointing to the universal opposition by House Republicans to the stimulus drawn up by President Biden and congressional Democrats. ''This is a package that Donald Trump would have very likely supported as president.''

''Here is the question for the Rubios and the Hawleys and the Cruzes and anyone else who wants to capitalize on this potential new Republican coalition,'' Mr. Curbelo added. ''Eventually, if you don't take action to improve people's quality of life, they will abandon you.''

Some Republicans have sought to address the strategic problem. Senator Mitt Romney of Utah put forward one of the most ambitious G.O.P. initiatives aimed at struggling Americans, a measure to fight child poverty by sending parents up to $350 a month per child. But fellow Republicans rebuffed the plan as ''welfare.'' Mr. Hawley has matched a Democratic proposal for a $15 minimum wage, but with the caveat that it applies only to businesses with annual revenues above $1 billion.

Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster whose clients have included Mr. Rubio, was critical of Democrats for not seeking a compromise on the stimulus after a group of G.O.P. senators offered a smaller package. ''Seven Republican senators voted to convict a president of their own party,'' he said, referring to Mr. Trump's impeachment. ''If you can't get any of them on a Covid program, you're not trying real hard.''

As the Covid-19 relief package, which every House Republican voted down, makes its way through the Senate this week, Republicans are expected to offer further proposals aimed at struggling Americans.

Mr. Ayres said that the Conservative Political Action Conference in Orlando, Fla., last weekend, the first major party gathering since Mr. Trump left office, had been a spectacularly missed opportunity in its failure to include meaningful discussion of policies for blue-collar voters. Instead, the former president advanced an intraparty civil war by naming in his speech on Sunday a hit list of every Republican who voted to impeach him.

''You'd better be spending a lot more time developing an economic agenda that benefits working people than re-litigating a lost presidential election,'' Mr. Ayres said. ''The question is, how long will it take the Republicans to figure out that driving out heretics rather than winning new converts is a losing strategy right now?''

Separately, one of the highest-profile efforts to lift blue-collar workers in the country was underway this week in Alabama, where nearly 6,000 workers at an Amazon warehouse are voting on whether to unionize. On Sunday, the pro-union workers got a boost in a video from Mr. Biden. Representatives for Mr. Hawley -- who has been one of the leading Republican champions of a ***working-class*** realignment -- did not respond to a request for comment about where he stands on the issue.

It's possible that Republicans who are not prioritizing economic issues are accurately reading their base. A survey last month by the G.O.P. pollster Echelon Insights found that the top concerns of Republican voters were mainly cultural ones: illegal immigration, lack of support for the police, high taxes and ''liberal bias in mainstream media.''

The 2020 election continued a long-term trend in which the parties have essentially swapped voters, with Republicans gaining with white blue-collar workers, while white suburbanites with college degrees moved toward the Democrats. The idea of ''Sam's Club conservatives,'' which was floated about 15 years ago by former Gov. Tim Pawlenty of Minnesota, recognized a constituency of populist Republicans who favored a higher minimum wage and government help for struggling families.

Mr. Trump turned out historic levels of support for a Republican among white ***working-class*** voters. But once in office, his biggest legislative achievement was a tax cut in which most benefits went to corporations and the wealthy.

Oceans of ink have been spilled over whether the white ***working class***'s devotion to Mr. Trump had more to do with economic anxiety or with anger toward ''elites'' and racial minorities, especially immigrants. For many analysts, the answer is that it had to do with both.

His advancement of policies to benefit ***working-class*** Americans was frequently chaotic and left unresolved. Manufacturing jobs, which had continued their slow recovery since the 2009 financial crisis, flatlined under Mr. Trump in the year before the pandemic hit. The former president's bellicose trade war with China hit American farmers so hard economically that they received large bailouts from taxpayers.

''There was never a program to deal with the types of displacements going on,'' said John Russo, a former co-director of the Center for ***Working-Class*** Studies at Youngstown State University in Ohio.

He projects that once the economy snaps back to pre-pandemic levels, blue-collar Americans will be worse off, because employers will have accelerated automation and will continue work-force reductions adopted during the pandemic. ''Neither party is talking about that,'' Mr. Russo said. ''I think that by 2024, that's going to be a key issue.''

Despite Mr. Biden's campaign framing him as ''middle-class Joe'' from Scranton, Pa., as a candidate he made only slight inroads into Mr. Trump's support with white voters without college degrees, which disappointed Democratic strategists and party activists. In exit polls, these voters preferred Mr. Trump over Mr. Biden by 35 percentage points.

Among voters of color without a college degree, Mr. Trump won one out of four votes, an improvement from 2016, when he won one in five of their votes.

His inroads with Latinos in South Florida and the Rio Grande Valley of Texas especially shocked many Democrats, and it spurred Mr. Rubio to tweet that the future of the G.O.P. was ''a party built on a multi-ethnic multi-racial coalition of working AMERICANS.''

After the Trump presidency, it is an open question whether any other Republican candidates can win the same intensity of blue-collar support. ''Whatever your criticisms are of Trump -- and I have a lot -- clearly he was able to connect to those people and they voted for him,'' said Representative Tim Ryan of Ohio, a Democrat from the Youngstown area.

Mr. Ryan is gearing up to run in 2022 for an open Senate seat in Ohio. He agrees with Mr. Trump about taking on China, but faults him for not following up his tough language with sustained policies. ''I think there's an opportunity to have a similar message but a real agenda,'' he said.

As for Republican presidential candidates aspiring to inherit Mr. Trump's ***working-class*** followers, Mr. Ryan saw only dim prospects for them, especially if they continued to reject the Biden stimulus package, which passed the House and is now before the Senate.

''The Covid-19 relief bill was directly aimed at the struggles of ***working-class*** people,'' Mr. Ryan said, adding that Republicans voting against the package were ''in for a rude awakening.''

Perhaps. A Monmouth University poll on Wednesday found that six in 10 Americans supported the $1.9 trillion package in its current form, especially the $1,400 checks to people at certain income levels.

But Republicans who vote it down may not pay a political price, said Patrick Murray, the poll's director. ''They know that the checks will reach their base regardless, and they can continue to rail against Democratic excesses,'' he said.

''There would only be a problem if they somehow managed to sink the bill,'' he added.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/04/us/politics/republicans-workers-covid-bill.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/04/us/politics/republicans-workers-covid-bill.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Donald J. Trump in October in Reading, Pa. He got historic levels of support from ***working-class*** whites for a Republican. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 5, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Bill Clinton Hails Harris as ‘President of Joy’ but Warns Against Overconfidence***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSK-B071-JBG3-6009-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 21, 2024 Wednesday 22:17 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1404 words

**Byline:** Peter Baker Peter 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:** The former president cautioned exuberant delegates at the Democratic National Convention not to be complacent in 2024 because politics is “a brutal, tough business.”

**Body**

The former president cautioned exuberant delegates at the Democratic National Convention not to be complacent in 2024 because politics is “a brutal, tough business.”

Follow the latest news on the [*Democratic National Convention*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/22/us/harris-dnc-election-news).

For Bill Clinton, there may have been a little déjà vu on the convention stage on Wednesday night. Democrats had just anointed a nominee to become the first woman ever elected president. They faced a Republican opponent they considered a buffoon. And they felt optimistic about victory.

But eight years after his front-running wife, Hillary Clinton, was upset by Donald J. Trump, Mr. Clinton warned Democrats not to make the same mistake as Vice President Kamala Harris takes on the same opponent. Joy is great, but it does not necessarily win elections. Polls are fickle. Energy is no guarantee of victory. Complacency could lead to catastrophe.

“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,” Mr. Clinton told the thousands of delegates at the United Center in Chicago. “This is a brutal, tough business. I want you to be happy. One of the reasons that President-to-Be Harris is doing so well is that we’re all so happy.

“But you should never underestimate your adversary,” he continued, departing from the prepared text distributed in advance, “and these people are really good at distracting us, at triggering doubt, at triggering buyer’s remorse. As the Obamas said so eloquently last night, they are human, you know, they’re bound to make a mistake now and then,” he added, referring to Ms. Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota. “We’ve got to be tough.”

Mr. Clinton did not explicitly mention his wife or 2016 or the various factors that cost them that election, but he did not need to. The delegates got it. As impressive as Ms. Harris’s debut on the campaign trail has been and as jubilant as the Democrats gathered in Chicago have felt, the 2024 election is still a margin-of-error affair.

Indeed, while Ms. Harris has [*surged in polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/22/us/harris-dnc-election-news) beyond where President Biden was before he dropped out, she is still not doing as well against Mr. Trump as Mrs. Clinton was after her own nomination, at least not yet.

At a convention bursting with new-generation vibes, it fell to Mr. Clinton to be the voice of old-generation experience. No one taking the stage this week has had more prime time at the convention microphone, though his raspy voice was no longer at its peak.

His speech on Wednesday was his 12th before a Democratic convention, a record of rhetoric that reflects the larger story of Mr. Clinton’s political life. It has been a tale of boom and bust and boom again that has made him one of the most enduring figures of the modern era. In those dozen speeches, he has gone from young rising star to tiresome bloviator to dynamic presidential nominee to popular incumbent to scandal-tarred lame duck to candidate’s husband to wise elder statesman.

So perhaps it was not surprising that he still takes the whole convention exercise pretty seriously. In fact, according to a person familiar with the process, Mr. Clinton scrapped his draft speech for this week’s convention on Monday night after watching the proceedings of the first day and started over again.

The person, who was granted anonymity to discuss behind-the-scenes preparations, said Mr. Clinton concluded that, in the spirit of Mario Cuomo, the New York governor who gave the keynote address at the 1984 convention, he needed more poetry, not prose. The former president was also struck by the palpable energy of the convention hall and felt compelled to take it into account.

Even then, he was not satisfied to stick with the text turned into convention officials three hours before airtime and fed into the teleprompter. Allotted 12 minutes, according to a schedule that made its way to the media, Mr. Clinton unsurprisingly spoke for 27 minutes, extemporizing and embroidering as he went along. Unlike Ms. Harris, he said, Mr. Trump was only about “me, myself and I.”

“What does her opponent do with his voice?” Mr. Clinton asked. “He mostly talks about himself, right? So the next time you hear him, don’t count the lies, count the I’s. Count the I’s. His vendettas, his vengeance, his complaints, his conspiracies — he’s like one of those tenors opening up before he walks out onstage, like I did, trying to get his lungs open by singing, ‘me, me, me, me, me, me.’ When Kamala Harris is president, every day will begin with you, you, you, you.”

Mr. Clinton summoned some of the familiar oldies, calling himself “the man from Hope,” referring to the small town in Arkansas where he was born, and joking about his once-famous predilection for fast food.

Noting that Ms. Harris worked at McDonald’s as a young woman, he said, “I’ll be so happy when she actually enters the White House as president because she will break my record as the president who spent the most time at McDonald’s.”

Mr. Clinton, who turned 78 on Monday, noted with some satisfaction that he is “still younger than Donald Trump” (who turned 78 two months ago), but to some extent he is a product of another era. His brand of moderate politics reshaped the Democratic Party in the 1990s from a perennial loser to the party that would go on to win the national popular vote in seven of the last eight presidential elections.

But welfare-reforming, free-trading, budget-balancing centrism is not in vogue in today’s Democratic Party, where progressive politics are more resonant. Moreover, Mr. Clinton’s history of sexual indiscretions — and allegations of even worse, although denied — [*looks different in light of the #MeToo movement*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/22/us/harris-dnc-election-news) of recent years. In that sense, his presence may appear somewhat discordant at a convention devoted to electing the first woman president.

Still, it is also a convention about generational torch-passing, and Democrats hoped that Mr. Clinton’s speech would help validate Ms. Harris, 59, particularly with ***working-class*** white swing voters in Midwestern and Sun Belt states who remember the 42nd president fondly and are not yet sure whether to make her the 47th.

Mr. Clinton and Mrs. Clinton, who [*addressed the convention on Monday*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/22/us/harris-dnc-election-news), were not among the Democrats who pressured Mr. Biden to withdraw as a candidate after the president’s disastrous June debate with Mr. Trump. In fact, in the tumultuous days that followed, the Clintons urged angry party donors to keep giving, a move that earned Mr. Biden’s gratitude. But the Clintons were also quick to endorse Ms. Harris the moment Mr. Biden stepped aside.

Mr. Clinton has attended every Democratic convention since 1972 and briefly spoke in 1976 when he was asked to say a few words of praise for former President Harry S. Truman. He gave his first real speech in 1980 just days before his 34th birthday, when he was governor of Arkansas. But his long-winded address in 1988 dragged on for so long that convention officials flashed the words “Please. Your time is up.” on the teleprompter screen and his best applause line turned out to be [*“in closing.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/22/us/harris-dnc-election-news)

Mr. Clinton went on to [*win the party’s nomination*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/22/us/harris-dnc-election-news) and the presidency in 1992. He addressed conventions again in 1996, when he vowed to use a second term to [*“build a bridge to the 21st century,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/22/us/harris-dnc-election-news) and in 2000, when he sought to repair his reputation after his sex-and-lies impeachment stemming from an affair with a White House intern. By 2012, he had achieved a more senior role in the party, and [*his articulate speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/22/us/harris-dnc-election-news) prompted President Barack Obama to dub him the “secretary of explaining stuff.”

“I have no idea how many more of these I’ll be able to come to,” Mr. Clinton said somberly as he wrapped up on Wednesday night. He noted that he had been coming since 1976, then corrected himself to say 1972. “Lord, I’m getting old,” he said, chagrined.

But Mr. Clinton delivered the message he was sent out to deliver: “Take it from a man who once had the honor to be called in this convention the man from Hope: We need Kamala Harris, the president of joy, to lead us.”

And then he headed offstage to the tune of his old campaign anthem, Fleetwood Mac’s “Don’t Stop (Thinking About Tomorrow),” while many in the hall thought about his many yesterdays.

PHOTO: Bill Clinton delivered his 12th Democratic convention speech. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** August 23, 2024

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[***Kamala Harris’s Epic Fail in Puerto Rico; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BNC-FKF1-JBG3-61CM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 28, 2024 Thursday 12:25 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1132 words

**Byline:** Yarimar Bonilla

**Highlight:** While she did not toss paper towels, her visit was what Puerto Ricans call a papelón — an embarrassing spectacle.

**Body**

Kamala Harris [*arrived*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) in San Juan, P.R., last Friday for her first official visit as vice president. The trip was meant, in part, to highlight the Biden administration’s dedication to aiding the island’s recovery. What unfolded instead was a revealing tableau of Democrats’ missteps and misjudgments.

Ms. Harris’s roughly five-hour visit [*began*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) in the community of San Isidro, in the municipality of Canóvanas. There she visited María Ramos de Jesús, an 86-year-old whose home was only recently rebuilt with funds from [*a program*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

It was a curious choice. Many of the residents lack land titles, which made them ineligible for the Federal Emergency Management Agency programs Ms. Harris aimed to promote. The area was originally an informal settlement built on public wetlands by those displaced after Hurricane Hugo in [*1989*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/). The HUD funds come attached to a new FEMA flood map, which means that more than 250,000 homes like these across the island that are identified to be at high risk of flood are ineligible for reconstruction.

The fact that it took seven years for Ms. Ramos’s home to be reconstructed after Hurricane Maria is indicative of how the federal government repeatedly fails Puerto Ricans, no matter which party is in charge.

While the Trump administration may have left Puerto Ricans [*in the dark*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) after the hurricane, it was the Democrats who set the stage for the storm’s disastrous aftermath. Things might have turned out differently had the Obama administration fairly confronted Puerto Rico’s financial crisis by offering debt relief, addressing historical injustices and protecting essential services rather than saddling residents with a federally appointed fiscal control board that has only [*caused more harm*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/).

While on the campaign trail, Joe Biden [*pledged*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) to reverse the austerity policies imposed by the fiscal board and to support an audit of Puerto Rico’s debt to identify any illegally issued debt. These promises, however, fell by the wayside once he was in office.

Even though the board [*acknowledged*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) that much of the island’s debt is invalid, it dismissed citizen demands for a [*comprehensive*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) audit. Instead, it focused on privatizing and dismantling public services, which in turn caused living expenses and utility costs to soar, even as essential services like electricity, water, health care and education become [*increasingly unreliable or inaccessible*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/).

The board operates with a chilling lack of oversight. The Supreme Court ruled that its members are exempt from standard federal appointment procedures, given the “territorial” nature of their duties. The court also ruled against local [*journalists*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) who sought access to the board’s internal records. This, as Justice Sonia Sotomayor [*wrote in an opinion*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/), has left the board in “a twilight zone of accountability.”

While ***working-class*** Puerto Ricans suffer the blows of austerity and second-class citizenship, [*tax incentives*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) have attracted a wave of investors and remote workers, further straining the island’s resources and displacing its residents. Under the tax incentives consolidated under [*Act 60*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) in 2019, wealthy investors receive breaks on local and federal taxes as long as they buy property in Puerto Rico and reside there half the year. This has led to a loss of [*billions of dollars*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) in revenues for the island’s coffers and a land grab that has significantly raised housing costs.

Local activists had hoped to voice these concerns to the vice president when she visited La Goyco, a closed school in San Juan reclaimed as a community center. Other valuable public lands have been [*sold or leased*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) to wealthy investors for pennies on the dollar, only to be turned into exclusive private schools or luxury vacation homes.

Ms. Harris’s visit to La Goyco was contentious. Several activist groups staged protests, denouncing the federal government’s policies not just in Puerto Rico but also in Gaza and Haiti. Some groups [*chanted*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) “Yankee, go home” and “U.S.A., U.S.A., we want statehood.”

In a scene reminiscent of the HBO show “Veep,” the vice president [*clapped*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) haplessly along to the Spanish protest songs that greeted her, apparently not realizing the [*lyrics*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) were critical of her visit.

After briefly experiencing the local culture, Ms. Harris moved on to a fund-raising event with wealthy “expat” donors. The event was held at the upscale residential and commercial complex Ciudadela, owned by an Act 60 beneficiary named Nicholas Prouty, whom Ms. Harris acknowledged as a good friend who kept her updated on the situation in Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria.

Ciudadela is also a symbol of Act 60, with a ***working-class*** community having been cleared to build luxury apartments and a dog park. It also played a role in the corruption trial of Puerto Rico’s former secretary of education Julia Keleher, who [*pleaded guilty*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) to charges related to signing a letter ceding to developers the right to build on land adjacent to a public school in exchange for a discount on an apartment in the Ciudadela complex.

The Government Accountability Office is [*scrutinizing*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) the Act 60 tax breaks, and the Internal Revenue Service is [*investigating*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) those who have tried to benefit from the law while skirting its requirements. Ms. Harris left Puerto Rico with what was reported to be nearly [*half a million dollars*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) in donations for President Biden’s re-election fund.

Rather than seek photo ops, the vice president would have done better to listen more closely to her party’s Puerto Rican House members, including Nydia Velazquez and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who have long been calling for greater federal oversight over Act 60 beneficiaries, greater scrutiny of the antidemocratic fiscal oversight board and a true federal commitment to addressing Puerto Rico’s status.

In the end, Ms. Harris’s visit encapsulates the contradictions of U.S. policy toward Puerto Rico. On the one hand, there’s a perfunctory nod to grass-roots empowerment, on the other, a cozying up to the very forces that are driving gentrification and displacement. While she did not [*toss paper towels*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/), her visit was what Puerto Ricans call a papelón — an embarrassing spectacle.

[*Yarimar Bonilla*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/), a contributing Opinion writer, is the author and editor of “[*Non-Sovereign Futures: French Caribbean Politics in the Wake of Disenchantment*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/)” and “Aftershocks of Disaster: Puerto Rico Before and After the Storm.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/), [*Instagram*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/), [*TikTok*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/), [*WhatsApp*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/), [*X*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/) and [*Threads*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/03/22/fact-sheet-during-visit-vice-president-kamala-harris-to-highlight-biden-harris-administrations-historic-investments-and-partnerships-that-have-helped-lead-to-puerto-ricos-economic/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DREW ANGERER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

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[***Working-Class Rampage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60CY-8M41-DXY4-X11S-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1248 words

**Byline:** By Clyde Haberman

**Body**

THE HARDHAT RIOTNixon, New York City, and the Dawn of the White ***Working-Class*** RevolutionBy David Paul Kuhn

The nation, we keep hearing on television and in social media blather, is politically divided as never before. Nonsense. The ostensibly united states have been disunited many, many times, and ''The Hardhat Riot,'' by David Paul Kuhn, vividly evokes an especially ugly moment half a century ago, when the misbegotten Vietnam War and a malformed notion of patriotism combined volatilely. They produced a blue-collar rampage whose effects still ripple, not the least of them being Donald Trump's improbable ascension to the presidency.

Let's remember what the United States was like in 1970: a country torn apart after years of political assassination, unpopular war, economic dislocation, race rioting and class disharmony. The last thing it needed in 1970 was more open fighting in the streets. But that's what it got on May 8, days after President Richard Nixon had expanded America's Southeast Asia misadventure into Cambodia and Ohio National Guardsmen shot dead four students during antiwar protests at Kent State University.

Kuhn, who has written before about white ***working-class*** Americans, builds his book on long-ago police records and witness statements to recreate in painful detail a May day of rage, menace and blood. Antiwar demonstrators had massed at Federal Hall and other Lower Manhattan locations, only to be set upon brutally, and cravenly, by hundreds of steamfitters, ironworkers, plumbers and other laborers from nearby construction sites like the nascent World Trade Center. Many of those men had served in past wars and viscerally despised the protesters as a bunch of pampered, longhaired, draft-dodging, flag-desecrating snotnoses.

It was a clash of irreconcilable tribes and battle cries: ''We don't want your war'' versus ''America, love it or leave it.'' And it was bewildering to millions of other Americans, including my younger self, newly back home after a two-year Army stretch, most of it in West Germany. My sympathies were with the demonstrators. But I also understood the working stiffs and why they felt held in contempt by the youngsters and popular culture.

New social policies like affirmative action and school busing affected white blue-collar families far more than they did the more privileged classes that spawned many antiwar activists. For Hollywood, the workingman seemed barely a step above a Neanderthal, as in the 1970 movies ''Joe,'' about a brutish factory worker, and ''Five Easy Pieces,'' in which a diner waitress is set up to be the target of audience scorn. (Come 1971, we also had ''All in the Family'' and television's avatar of ***working-class*** bigotry, Archie Bunker.)

It was, too, an era when New York was changing fast and not for the better. Corporations decamped for the suburbs and warm-weather states. Kuhn notes how between 1967 and 1974 the number of Fortune 500 headquarters in the city fell to 98 from 139. Whites moved out in droves. Crime rose, and if you proposed getting tough on felons you risked being labeled a racist. Roughly one in three city residents was on public assistance. Municipal finances were in tatters. In short, 1970 New York was a caldron of misery, one rare bright spot being its basketball team, the Knicks, neatly integrated and en route to its first championship.

Kuhn quotes the estimable Pete Hamill as observing back then that the workingman ''feels trapped and, even worse, in a society that purports to be democratic, ignored.'' One could go further. Many blue-collar workers felt scorned -- by the wealthy, by the college-educated, by the lucky ones with draft deferments, by every group that qualified as elite. They sneered back, especially at the patrician New York mayor. The way many of them referred to Lindsay, you'd have thought his first name was not John but, rather, an all-too-familiar obscenity.

Understanding hard-hat resentment, however, does not translate into excusing the violence that hundreds of them inflicted that May 8, the 25th anniversary of the Allied victory over Germany in World War II. Self-styled paragons of law and order, they became a mob, pounding and kicking any antiwar youngster they could grab, doing the same to bystanders who tried to stop the mayhem and justifying it in the name of America. Kuhn ably and amply documents the cowardly beating of women, the gratuitous cold-cocking of men and the storming of a shakily protected City Hall, where the mayor's people, to the hard hats' rage, had lowered the flag in honor of the Kent State dead.

''A tribal tension had infused downtown,'' Kuhn observes. Among the tribes were the police, who were anything but New York's finest that day. Mostly, they stood aside while the hard hats ran amok; examples of their nonfeasance abound. Some of them even egged on the thuggery. When a group of hard hats moved menacingly toward a Wall Street plaza, a patrolman shouted: ''Give 'em hell, boys. Give 'em one for me!'' Yet the police were never held accountable for failing to stop the marauding, and ''few hard hats owned up to the extent of their violence.''

Kuhn favors straightforward journalistic prose, with few grand flourishes. In setting scenes, he tends toward a staccato, some of it overdone: One speaker ''exuded Establishment. The jacket and tie. A WASP face with a Roman nose. The side-swept hair, straight and trim with delicate bangs, a tidy mustache, pinkish skin.'' Hardly every antiwar protester merits his go-to characterization of them as potty-mouthed hippies.

But over all, this is a compelling narrative about a horrific day. In their fury, the hard hats left more than 100 wounded, the typical victim being a 22-year-old white male collegian, though one in four was a woman; seven police officers were also hurt. Kuhn concludes that while the workers plainly came loaded for bear, their tantrum was essentially spontaneous and not, as some believed, part of a grand conspiracy.

That said, they were just what some conservative strategists were looking for. Patrick Buchanan, then a Nixon aide, said of blue-collar Americans in a memo to the boss, ''These, quite candidly, are our people now.'' He wasn't wrong. Republicans have since catered as ever to the rich but they have also curried favor with ***working-class*** whites, while Democrats seem more focused on others: racial minorities, gays, immigrants. Thanks in good measure to white blue-collar disaffection, Trump in 2016 narrowly won Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, a hat trick he may yet pull off again in November.

In a way, Vietnam continues to cast its shadow. A short walk from those 1970 streets of chaos, there is a memorial to the 1,741 New Yorkers who died in the war. Its dominant feature is a wall of thick glass etched with reflections on combat, including part of a haunting letter sent home from Vietnam in 1968. ''One thing worries me -- will people believe me?'' The Navy lieutenant Richard W. Strandberg wrote. ''Will they want to hear about it, or will they want to forget the whole thing ever happened?''

Indeed, most Americans forgot about Vietnam long ago. The same has been true about the shameful hard-hat riot of 1970. Until now.Clyde Haberman, United States Army 1968-70, is the former ''NYC'' columnist for The Times.THE HARDHAT RIOTNixon, New York City, and the Dawn of the White ***Working-Class*** RevolutionBy David Paul KuhnIllustrated. 416 pp. Oxford University Press. $29.95.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/books/review/the-hardhat-riot-david-paul-kuhn.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/books/review/the-hardhat-riot-david-paul-kuhn.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: New York construction workers, May 8, 1970. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NEAL BOENZI/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***JD Vance, an Unlikely Friendship and Why It Ended***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CK5-XPC1-DXY4-X3CC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 2532 words

**Byline:** Stephanie Saul, Stephanie Saul reports on colleges and universities, with a recent focus on the dramatic changes in college admissions and the debate around diversity, equity and inclusion in higher education.

**Highlight:** His political views differed from a transgender classmate’s, but they forged a bond that lasted a decade — until Mr. Vance seemed to pivot, politically and personally.

**Body**

His political views differed from a transgender classmate’s, but they forged a bond that lasted a decade — until Mr. Vance seemed to pivot, politically and personally.

When his book, “Hillbilly Elegy,” was published in 2016, JD Vance sent an email apologizing to a close friend from his Yale Law School days. The friend identified as transgender, but Mr. Vance referred to them in the book as a lesbian.

“Hey Sofes, here’s an excerpt from my book,” Mr. Vance wrote to his friend, Sofia Nelson. “I send this to you not just to brag, but because I’m sure if you read it you’ll notice reference to ‘an extremely progressive lesbian.’”

“I recognize now that this may not accurately reflect how you think of yourself, and for that I am really sorry,” he wrote. “I hope you’re not offended, but if you are, I’m sorry! Love you, JD.”

Nelson wrote back the same day, calling Mr. Vance “buddy” and thanking him for “being sweet,” adding, “If you had written gender queer radical pragmatist, nobody would know what you mean.” Nelson asked for an autographed copy, then signed off with, “Love, Sofia.”

That exchange is from a series of emails between two friends, part of a close-knit group of 16 students who remained together throughout their first law school semester in the fall of 2010. As now-Senator Vance seeks the vice presidency, Nelson has shared about 90 of their emails and text messages, primarily from 2014 through 2017, with The New York Times.

The emails, in which Mr. Vance criticizes former President Donald J. Trump both for “racism” and as a “morally reprehensible human being,” add to an already-existing body of evidence showing Mr. Vance’s ideological pivot from Never Trumper to Mr. Trump’s running mate.

And they reflect a young man quite different from the hard-right culture warrior of today who back then brought homemade baked goods to his friend after Nelson underwent transition-related surgery. The visit cemented their bond.

“The content of the conversation was,” Nelson said in an interview with The New York Times, “‘I don’t understand what you’re doing, but I support you.’ And that meant a lot to me at the time, because I think that was the foundation of our friendship.”

The political views of the two were sharply divergent, but their friendship would continue for a decade, strengthened by their shared Midwestern roots — Nelson grew up in Western Michigan and Mr. Vance in Ohio — and cynical views of Ivy League elitism.

Nelson, a Tufts University graduate, had received a prestigious Truman scholarship for law school, indicating a desire to work in public service.

At times, they exchanged messages infrequently. At other times, they would have energetic back-and-forths several times a week. And their talks reflected the history playing out around them — protests against police violence in Ferguson, Mo., the massacre of Black churchgoers in Charleston, S.C., and the 2016 campaign between Mr. Trump and Hillary Clinton. Their conversations were notable not only for Mr. Vance’s harsh comments about Mr. Trump, but also for the tenderness and thoughtful tone in the messages.

They provide what may be a textbook example of respectful discourse, revealing a cultural willingness by Mr. Vance to accept Nelson’s gender identity, which sharply differs from the anti-L.G.B.T.Q. sentiments evident at the Republican National Convention.

Nelson, now a public defender in Detroit, said they visited each other’s homes, talked on Zoom during the pandemic and exchanged long emails discussing a range of subjects, from the minutiae of daily life to weighty discussions of current events and public policy issues. Nelson attended Mr. Vance’s wedding in Kentucky in 2014. They pondered doing a podcast together — he suggested they call it “The Lunatic Fringe.”

But Nelson and Mr. Vance had a falling out in 2021, when Mr. Vance said publicly he supported an Arkansas ban on gender-affirming care for minors, leading to a bitter exchange that deeply hurt Nelson.

“He achieved great success and became very rich by being a Never Trumper who explained the white ***working class*** to the liberal elite,” Nelson said, referring to Mr. Vance’s successful 2016 book. “Now he’s amassing even more power by expressing the exact opposite.”

Now, Nelson, who opposes the Trump/Vance ticket, hopes the emails inform the opinion of voters about Mr. Vance.

Responding to a request for comment on the emails, Luke Schroeder, a spokesman for the Vance campaign, issued a statement:

“It’s unfortunate this individual chose to leak decade-old private conversations between friends to The New York Times. Senator Vance values his friendships with individuals across the political spectrum. He has been open about the fact that some of his views from a decade ago began to change after becoming a dad and starting a family, and he has thoroughly explained why he changed his mind on President Trump. Despite their disagreements, Senator Vance cares for Sofia and wishes Sofia the very best.”

Charting His Own Path

In 2014, they were both near the beginning of their careers, about a year out of law school.

Mr. Vance shared that he was planning to buy a house in Washington, D.C., with his wife, Usha, whom he also met at Yale.

The Vances could afford a house in Washington’s highly priced market partly because Mr. Vance was starting a job in Big Law. “Blech,” he wrote then, indicating his distaste for a career he had already decided against. He would remain with the white-shoe firm Sidley Austin for less than two years.

In the same exchange, Mr. Vance also wrote about his wife’s interviews with justices of the Supreme Court, where she was seeking a clerkship. Mr. Vance worried that her seeming politically neutral, or lack of “ideological chops,” could harm her chances.

“Scalia and Kagan moved very quickly,” Mr. Vance wrote, referring to Antonin Scalia, the conservative justice who died in 2016, and Elena Kagan, one of the court’s current three liberal justices, “but she was just not going to work out for Scalia.”

Nelson wrote back, “His homophobic screeds are hard to believe in 2014.”

“He’s become a very shrill old man,” Mr. Vance responded. “I used to really like him, and I used to believe all of his stuff about judicial minimalism was sincere. Now I see it as a political charade.”

Mrs. Vance would end up clerking for Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr.

On Cops, Body Cams and Pride Day

Like their conversations, Mr. Vance could be surprising.

In October 2014, in the wake of the killing of Michael Brown, an 18-year-old Black man, by a white police officer in Ferguson, Nelson raised the idea of requiring that police officers wear body cameras.

“I hate the police,” Mr. Vance said in his response. “Given the number of negative experiences I’ve had in the past few years, I can’t imagine what a Black guy goes through.”

Around the same time, the written conversation turned to a much-discussed essay by Ta-Nehisi Coates in The Atlantic making the case for reparations. Mr. Vance offered that whatever problems he had with reparations, generally, “I have at least been convinced of the virtue of compensating modern victims who’ve suffered redlining or denial of federal benefits.”

By next summer, after a shooting at the Emanuel A.M.E. Church in Charleston, the two were again discussing race. Mr. Vance said he didn’t understand why people “can’t see the connection between this person murdering innocent people and the fact that the Confederate flag — by democratic will — still flies” at the South Carolina Statehouse. “I’m not sure how to wrap my head around it.” (The flag was removed from the Statehouse in Columbia a month later.)

“I think you’re my only liberal friend with whom I talk openly about politics on a deeper sense,” Mr. Vance wrote.

In June 2015, Mr. Vance also revealed to Nelson that Jeb Bush’s presidential campaign had offered him a job as senior domestic policy adviser, then reneged, after discovering a negative piece he had written about George W. Bush’s economic policies. (The New York Times reached out to several former advisers to Jeb Bush’s campaign, who could not confirm that there was a job offer.)

Mr. Vance wrote to Nelson that he was looking forward to getting together for a longer conversation with “some bourbon and puppy dogs by my side.”

In 2015, Mr. Vance moved to California for a new career in the tech industry, one he launched, he suggested, after the Bush episode.

“It’s possible to view this entire extended foray into the California tech scene as a wound-licking exercise after my brief encounter with American politics,” he wrote.

Living in the Bay Area at the time, on June 28 that year, he wished Nelson “Happy Pride,” adding, “I’m thinking of braving the crowds in S.F. just to people watch.”

After attending the Pride Day parade, he wrote, “It felt more like a frat party than I expected. But still nice to see a lot of happy people.”

Opposing Trump

By 2015, Mr. Trump’s rise had begun. Mr. Vance’s Yale friends, including Nelson, were not surprised that Mr. Vance, whom they regarded as a moderate Republican, was opposed to Mr. Trump’s candidacy.

Mr. Vance was rooting against Mr. Trump but also said he could not bring himself to vote for Mrs. Clinton. He vowed to cast his ballot for a third-party candidate.

In December 2015, in emails analyzing the campaign, he wrote that Mr. Trump’s appeal was misunderstood.

“If you look at the polling, the issue where Trump gets the most support is on the economy,” Mr. Vance wrote. “If the response of the media, and the elites of both right and left, are to just say ‘look at those dumb racists supporting Trump,’ then they’re never going to learn the most important lesson of Trump’s candidacy.”

And he said that he himself saw something in Mr. Trump.

Mr. Vance wrote that he found it exhilarating that the media and Wall Street seemed powerless against Mr. Trump, also suggesting that he partly understood the Trump appeal.

“If he would just tone down the racism, I would literally be his biggest supporter,” he wrote.

The next day, on Dec. 9, 2015, the two would again talk race, Mr. Trump and Muslims.

Nelson wrote that a Muslim friend had said that women wearing hijabs no longer felt safe doing simple things like going to the grocery store.

Mr. Vance responded, referring to Mr. Trump as a demagogue.

“I’m obviously outraged at Trump’s rhetoric, and I worry most of all about how welcome Muslim citizens feel in their own country,” he wrote. “And there have always been demagogues willing to exploit the people who believe crazy shit. What seems different to me is that the Republican Party offers nothing that’s as attractive as the demagogue.”

By 2016, he was touring the country promoting “Hillbilly Elegy,” part memoir and part commentary on the alienation of the white ***working class***, many of whom supported Mr. Trump’s election. “To Sofia, a good friend, a fellow Midwesterner, and, despite being a godless liberal, a great person,” he would inscribe in Nelson’s copy.

In September 2016, he shared a [*piece*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/22/opinion/when-it-comes-to-baskets-were-all-deplorable.html) on implicit bias that he wrote for The New York Times following Mrs. Clinton’s ill-fated “basket of deplorables” comment, thanking Nelson in the email for helping inform his thinking in developing the essay.

“The more white people feel like voting for Trump, the more Black people will suffer. I really believe that,” he wrote.

Not only had Mr. Vance been critical of Mr. Trump for racism, but he also said, “I’ve been very critical of other Repubs for the L.G.B.T.Q. issue, especially Rick Perry,” referring to the former Texas governor.

In another email a month later, he called Mr. Trump a “disaster,” using a vulgarity, and added, “He’s just a bad man.”

And then, to the amazement of many Americans, Mr. Trump won.

Nelson sent Mr. Vance a copy of an article in [*The Onion*](https://www.theonion.com/area-liberal-no-longer-recognizes-fanciful-wildly-inac-1819579440), a satirical news site, that suggested liberals were clueless about the country they lived in.

“This is funny. Thank you!” Mr. Vance wrote back.

“My zany prediction: in 20 years H.R.C. and Paul Ryan will be part of the same party,” he continued, using an abbreviation for Mrs. Clinton. “And you and I will be on the other side.”

In January 2017, he expressed more sober concern.

“I’m deeply pessimistic right now,” he wrote. “I’ve been thinking a lot about the civil rights movement and legislation in the 1960s, and I wonder if our society is healthy enough to accomplish anything of that scale (or even close to it).”

A Political Career Beckons, and a Friendship Unravels

By 2017, Mr. Vance was planning a move back to Ohio. According to Nelson, Mitch McConnell, the Senate Republican leader, had reached out and encouraged him to run as a Republican for Senator Sherrod Brown’s seat.

He kicked the tires of a race as an anti-Trump candidate against a formidable Democratic incumbent and took a pass.

It would be four years later that he would run, this time seeking Mr. Trump’s support, and win the open Ohio seat that would put him in position to be Mr. Trump’s running mate.

Nelson communicated with the Vances over Zoom early in the pandemic, after their move back to Ohio. Their email correspondence had died down, and Nelson had noted a shift in the tone of Mr. Vance’s social media postings. In April 2021, one particularly stood out.

On Twitter, Mr. Vance had come out in support of an Arkansas measure banning gender-transitioning care for minors. The bill was ultimately adopted over a veto by Gov. Asa Hutchinson, who had declared it an overreach, before it was overturned by a court ruling.

“Do you support the AR legislation criminalizing providing medical care to trans kids?” Nelson texted him in April 2021.

“I do. I recognize this is awkward but I’ll always be honest with you,” Mr. Vance responded. “I think the trans thing with kids is so unstudied that it amounts to a form of experimentation.”

Nelson wrote back that his position “deeply saddens me.”

“I know I can’t change your mind but the political voice you have become seems so far from the man I got to know in law school,” wrote Nelson, later explaining their position “as a trans person who accessed needed health care so I could live a full life.”

“I have a 1:30,” Mr. Vance wrote. “I will always love you, but I really do think the left’s cultural progressivism is making it harder for normal people to live their lives.”

It had been a friendship of the special type forged in young adulthood, before the accumulation of life responsibilities and fateful decisions already made. Now, it was over.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

PHOTOS: Mr. Vance sent a personalized copy of “Hillbilly Elegy” to Nelson when it was first published. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SOFIA V. NELSON); The bond between JD Vance, the Republican candidate for vice president, and Nelson lasted a decade — until Mr. Vance pivoted politically and personally. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14); Sofia Nelson, a public defender in Detroit, described Mr. Vance as a supportive friend at Yale. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); A text message exchange in 2021 signaled a deep divide between the two former classmates. (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14, A15.

**Load-Date:** February 13, 2025

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[***Usha Vance Is Adjusting to Life As Prominent Political Spouse***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CK5-GJW1-DXY4-X2RG-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 2526 words

**Byline:** By Joseph Bernstein and Katherine Rosman

**Body**

An accomplished Yale-educated lawyer, she has left her job at a top firm as she adjusts to the life of a high-profile political spouse.

The night before the biggest assignment of her life, Usha Vance stayed up late with her husband, JD Vance. In their rooms at the Pfister Hotel in Milwaukee, they went over each other's speeches to the Republican National Convention. She gave notes on his, and he tweaked hers.

In keeping with many intellectual and professional endeavors over the course of their relationship, which got its start at Yale Law School more than a decade ago, they approached the task as a couple.

Their lives were about to undergo a dramatic change. Two days earlier, former President Donald J. Trump had announced the selection of Mr. Vance as his running mate on the Republican presidential ticket. Mr. Vance was used to the spotlight, having made his name as the best-selling author of the memoir ''Hillbilly Elegy'' years before he was elected to the United States Senate in 2022, but his wife had remained largely a private figure.

Whatever nerves the self-possessed Mrs. Vance might have been feeling, she had allies bolstering her confidence. In the hours before she stepped onto the stage, a longtime friend texted her a trailer from ''Bring It On,'' the 2000 movie about highly competitive cheerleaders that was filmed in part at the high school she attended in San Diego.

Standing on the stage of Fiserv Forum before an audience of more than 17,000, with millions more watching on television, Mrs. Vance delivered a speech that was direct and conversational, without the theatrical bluster employed by many of her fellow convention speakers.

''When I was asked to introduce my husband, JD Vance, to all of you, I was at a loss," she began. ''What could I say that hasn't already been said before? After all, the man was already the subject of a Ron Howard movie.''

With that line, a reference to the Oscar-nominated film based on her husband's book, she earned her first laugh, and any jitters she might have had seemed to disappear.

Those who know her said they had never had any doubt that she would bring it at the convention. After all, Mrs. Vance is used to acing tests.

''She's never gotten a B her entire life,'' said Dan Driscoll, a family friend and fellow Yale Law School graduate who was with the couple at the Pfister Hotel and is serving as a campaign adviser to Mr. Vance.

Since childhood, Mrs. Vance, a daughter of Indian immigrants who grew up in Rancho Peñasquitos, a middle-class neighborhood of San Diego, has experienced an unbroken sequence of successes in elite academic and professional institutions, including Yale College, the University of Cambridge, Yale Law School and the Supreme Court, where she served as a clerk. It is the résumé of someone destined to reach the pinnacle of American achievement. So, in that sense, her elevation to a marquee stage in national politics is unsurprising.

But the fact that she delivered her speech to a party now dominated by Mr. Trump's combative brand of politics is perhaps less likely. A cerebral person, Mrs. Vance chooses her words carefully, and friends describe her as apolitical. Her speech did not contain the words ''Trump'' or ''Republican.''

With minimal makeup, no-nonsense shoes, a simple blue dress and threads of gray in her hair, she also projected a different image from that of many women in the Trump sphere. And yet conservative commentators raved.

''You're telling us that JD Vance was able to get this super-hot, brilliant, and loving woman?'' Mollie Hemingway, the editor in chief of the right-wing news site The Federalist, wrote on X. ''He must be even more impressive than he already seems.''

Law School Romance

In 2006, when she was a junior at Yale College, Mrs. Vance -- then Usha Chilukuri -- was featured as one of the university's ''50 most beautiful'' students by a campus magazine. An accompanying story featured a photograph of her giving what was described in the caption as ''a smile as bright as the San Diego sun.''

The article characterized her views as ''of the leftish political persuasion'' while noting that her romantic partners did not necessarily share her ideology. ''She does like a man who has a lot to say for himself,'' the story said. ''In the past, most of her liaisons have been tall, handsome, and conservative.''

In the fall of 2010, at Yale Law School, she found herself in a group for first-year students with Mr. Vance, a military veteran who was then, as she put it in her convention speech, ''fresh out of Ohio State, which he attended with the support of the G.I. Bill.''

Their differences were immediately apparent. Mrs. Vance was raised by a mechanical engineer and a biologist in a tight-knit community of families who had immigrated from India before settling in Rancho Peñasquitos. Mr. Vance had a tough childhood in southwestern Ohio, where he was raised mainly by his maternal grandparents.

''Who wouldn't want to be friends with JD?'' Mrs. Vance said in her speech, going on to describe him as ''a ***working-class*** guy who had overcome childhood traumas that I could barely fathom to end up at Yale Law School, a tough Marine who had served in Iraq, but whose idea of a good time was playing with puppies and watching the movie 'Babe.'''

In ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' Mr. Vance wrote of his initial impression of his future wife as ''a combination of every positive quality a human being should have: bright, hardworking, tall, and beautiful.''

Neither of them enjoyed the kind of generational privilege or insider advantage that marked the elite set within that elite school. And they both sought out the iconoclastic professor Amy Chua, who set off a cultural storm with her 2011 memoir ''Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother,'' in which she made the case that parents must push their children toward excellence, rather than allow them to settle for mere participation trophies. At Yale, Ms. Chua was known for mentoring ambitious students from immigrant backgrounds.

Usha and JD teamed up and thrived, leading an informal class on economic development in the industrialized Midwest, an enterprise that would inform Mr. Vance's book. They also cultivated a politically heterogenous group of friends.

One friend, James Eimers, recalled a small but meaningful favor Usha had done for him. At the time, he was romantically interested in a fellow student who happened to be trying to sell a table. Usha had no need for a table, but she bought it anyway and asked Mr. Eimers -- who owned a pickup truck -- to fetch it for her. It was just her way of giving him a chance to talk with his crush. In an email, Mr. Eimers confirmed that he had picked up the ''superfluous table, as well as a date.''

For law students, a spot on the school's law review is a coveted position. For the 2012-13 editions of The Yale Law Journal, the future Mrs. Vance served in a top position, as executive development editor; Mr. Vance's name was listed toward the bottom of the publication's masthead, among the dozens beneath the word ''editors.''

By the time Usha and JD were in their final year, they were so accomplished and inseparable that their fellow students referred to them as ''Judusha,'' a portmanteau that combined ''JD,'' ''Usha'' and ''judicial.'' Like ''Bennifer'' and ''Brangelina,'' the duo had attained celebrity status, at least in New Haven.

As Mrs. Vance mentioned in her convention speech, she took him to meet her parents. ''Although he's a meat and potatoes kind of guy,'' she said, ''he adapted to my vegetarian diet and learned to cook food from my mother, Indian food. Before I knew it, he'd become an integral part of my family, a person I could not imagine living without.''

They were married in Kentucky in 2014, with wooden benches for guests set outside in the grass. In a separate ceremony, they were blessed by a Hindu pandit. This month, the businessman Anand Mahindra posted photos of the wedding on X. They show the couple dressed in traditional Hindu garb beneath bright skies.

Early in their marriage, they moved around a lot, with stops in Columbus, Ohio, Cincinnati and Washington, D.C. Mrs. Vance pursued ever more prestigious clerkships, working under Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit and then under Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. at the Supreme Court.

In 2015, the Vances moved to San Francisco. Mrs. Vance started as an associate at Munger, Tolles & Olson, while Mr. Vance went to work at Mithril Capital, an investment firm co-founded by Peter Thiel, and finished writing ''Hillbilly Elegy.'' At Munger, which is known for its selectiveness in hiring and its progressive outlook, Mrs. Vance worked as a civil litigator representing clients including the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, Disney and the University of California.

Mr. Vance has described his wife as a key adviser who keeps him humble. ''If I get a little too cocky or a little too proud, I just remind myself that she's way more accomplished than I,'' he told Megyn Kelly in a podcast interview in 2020. ''I'm one of those guys who really benefits from having sort of a powerful female voice over his left shoulder saying, 'Don't do that, do that.'''

Though the Vances were driven to succeed, they were also eager to start a family. In her convention speech, Mrs. Vance said that her husband's ''one overriding ambition'' was ''to become a husband and a father and to build the kind of tight-knit family that he had longed for as a child.'' Today the couple has three children under 8.

They count among their friends Vivek Ramaswamy, the former Republican presidential candidate and a law school classmate of the Vances, and his wife, Apoorva. Mr. Ramaswamy said the families had spent Thanksgiving together in 2019, and he mentioned that Mrs. Vance had sent favorite children's books to the Ramaswamys.

''Some of them are our best bedtime stories,'' Mr. Ramaswamy said. ''There's just that extra iota of thoughtfulness.''

Around 2018, the Vances moved to a diverse neighborhood on the east side of Cincinnati, where they own a 5,000 square-foot Victorian Gothic house that dates to 1858. Mrs. Vance joined the board of the city's symphony orchestra at the urging of Rob McDonald, who befriended the couple after he had met Mr. Vance when trying to recruit him to the law firm Taft Stettinius & Hollister.

In an interview for this story, Mr. McDonald said that Mrs. Vance's background in intellectual property law had been an asset as the symphony figured out how to make its music available for streaming. (She left the board last year, at the end of her three-year term.)

Since Mr. Vance's election to the Senate in 2022, the family has toggled between Northern Virginia and Cincinnati. In Ohio, they spend time with their children and family friends, attending events at the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and swimming in their backyard pool. When it comes to cooking, Mr. Vance tackles breakfast and desserts like chocolate mousse, while Mrs. Vance takes charge of the more healthful fare, friends said.

''JD's upbringing definitely exposed him to some of the worst food in the world, the most preservative-heavy food in the world,'' Mr. McDonald said. ''Usha certainly does not lean that way in her diet.''

The Shift to MAGA

For most of her adult life, Mrs. Vance's friends and colleagues have understood her to be a liberal or a centrist. She was registered as a Democrat as recently as 2014 and kept liberal and leftist circles during a fellowship at Cambridge. Colleagues at Munger, Tolles & Olson -- a firm described in a 2019 American Lawyer article as ''cool'' and ''woke'' -- remember her as a moderate.

Still, Mrs. Vance's beliefs remain a matter of speculation, and she did not comment for this story. Mr. Roberts and Mr. Kavanaugh, for whom she served as a clerk, are legal conservatives. And Mrs. Vance's friends and colleagues said she rarely discussed politics, and never in a partisan way. But as her husband's politics have changed, Mrs. Vance has been there to support him.

A turning point may have come when the film version of ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' which has recently popped into the list of most-watched movies on Netflix, was released to a critical drubbing in 2020. According to a family friend, Mr. and Mrs. Vance were stung by the criticism of the movie, in which Mrs. Vance was played by Freida Pinto.

Since going into politics, Mr. Vance has given up his role as someone who explains ***working-class*** white resentment to liberals to become a leading voice in the MAGA movement.

Mrs. Vance's unflagging support of her husband during his political evolution has put her, from the outside at least, in a tense position: endorsing a political ideology that targets the elite institutions that helped shape her.

In November 2021, when he was running for the Senate and transforming himself from one of Mr. Trump's toughest critics into one of his most ardent supporters, Mr. Vance gave a speech to the National Conservatism Conference titled ''The Universities Are the Enemy.''

That same year, he made the argument that parents should be entitled to more votes than nonparents and offered the comment, which has recently resurfaced online, disparaging Vice President Kamala Harris as a ''childless cat lady.''

In a February interview with George Stephanopoulos of ABC News, Mr. Vance seemed to back Mr. Trump's stance that the 2020 presidential election was fraudulent and said that President Biden's victory should not have been immediately certified.

Now Mrs. Vance, the picture of meritocratic ambition, finds herself cast as a political wife, a traditionally passive role. Last week, representatives working with the Trump-Vance campaign said she would rather be referred to as Mrs. Vance than Ms. Vance.

Friends say they expect Mrs. Vance, already laser focused on her family, to spend even more time with her children between now and the election. Indeed, on the day of her convention speech, she resigned from her job at Munger, Tolles & Olson. In a statement to People magazine, she said that she had done so ''to focus on caring for our family.''

But she has the skills to go out on the stump, according to Jai Chabria, an Ohio political consultant who served as chief strategist for Mr. Vance's Senate campaign.

Mrs. Vance did not hit the trail very often in the 2022 Senate race, he said, because she had just given birth to the couple's third child -- but when she did go out before the public, she rose to the occasion.

''Every time voters met her or were able to see her, it was a 'wow,''' Mr. Chabria said. ''There is this quiet confidence with her. I think people are drawn to it.''

Whatever role Mrs. Vance plays in the months ahead, it's worth wondering how she may handle putting her own career ambitions on ice.

''Like any highly capable, accomplished person like Usha, I'm sure that there's some trepidation about whether or not her career is taking a back seat,'' Mr. McDonald said, ''but obviously it's a great opportunity for her and JD to have a significant impact on the world.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/25/style/usha-vance-jd-vance-trump-political-wife.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/25/style/usha-vance-jd-vance-trump-political-wife.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: JD and Usha Vance at the R.N.C. Much of the nation got a first glimpse of Mrs. Vance when she gave her convention speech. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A13.

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[***Who You Calling Conservative?; Pamela Paul***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBS-T701-JBG3-61DC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 901 words

**Byline:** Pamela Paul Pamela Paul is an Opinion columnist at The Times, writing about culture, politics, ideas and the way we live now.

**Highlight:** The left’s narcissism of small differences hands mainstream positions to Republicans.

**Body**

You know you’ve touched a nerve with progressive activists when they tell you not just that you’re wrong but that you’re on the other side.

Such is the fate of any old-school liberal or mainstream Democrat who deviates from progressive dogma. Having personally been slapped with every label from “conservative” to “Republican” and even, in one loopy rant, “[*fascist*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory),” I can attest to how disorienting it is given my actual politics, which are pure blue American only when they aren’t center French.

But it’s not just me. New York magazine’s liberal political columnist Jonathan Chait was accused of lending “[*legitimacy to a reactionary moral panic*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory)” for critiquing political correctness. When Nellie Bowles described the excesses of social justice movements in her book “Morning After the Revolution,” a reviewer labeled it a “[*conservative memoir*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory).” Meghan Daum, a lifelong Democrat, was accused of having fallen into a “[*right-wing trap*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory)” for questioning the progressive doctrine of intersectional oppression.

If this was just about our feelings, these denunciations could be easily brushed aside. But the goal and the effect is to narrow the focus of acceptable discourse by Democrats and their allies. If liberals are denounced for “punching left” when they express a reasonable difference of opinion, potentially winning ideas are banished.

This narcissism of small differences effectively leaves it to Republicans to claim mainstream ideals like patriotism, which Matthew Yglesias (another targeted apostate) [*argues still holds value*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory) for non-MAGA America, and smart politics, like attending to the concerns of the ***working class***, as George Packer (also frequently attacked) [*points out*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory).

In the run-up to a tight election with a weak Democratic candidate and a terrifying Republican opponent, pushing liberals and centrists out of the conversation not only exacerbates polarization; it’s also spectacularly counterproductive.

Take President Biden’s recent [*executive order severely limiting asylum*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory). The Congressional Progressive Caucus chair Pramila Jayapal accused him of trying to “[*out-Republican the Republicans*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory).” Mother Jones called the action “[*Trump-like*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory).”

Meanwhile, according to [*a recent Axios poll*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory) [*,*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory) even 42 percent of Democrats support mass deportations of illegal immigrants. It’s no secret this election will be fought in the swing states and won in the middle, which makes another poll’s finding that [*46 percent of independents*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory) in support even more concerning for the party’s electoral prospects.

Consider other liberal political positions that have been denounced by the progressive left: Criminal offenders — even those not named Donald Trump — should go to prison and a well-trained and respected police force provides community safety.

Then look at where voters stand on these issues. According to [*a recent Pew poll,*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory) “a majority of voters (61 percent) say the criminal justice system is generally ‘not tough enough on criminals’ and “overwhelming majorities of Biden and Trump supporters say it is extremely or very important for police and law enforcement to keep communities safe.”

This also holds true for certain culture-war issues. Contrary to progressive diktat, “a growing share of voters (65 percent) say that whether a person is a man or woman” is determined by sex.

Yet shunning anyone on the left who insists otherwise has become a progressive strategy. What better way to dismiss or delegitimize the heretics than to smear them as covert members of the opposition?

And labeling people makes it easier to avoid hearing their critiques or dealing with the actual issues in question.

Those on the left who’ve been dumbstruck as Donald Trump has intimidated his most vociferous Republican critics (see: Chris Sununu, Nikki Haley) into falling in line might exert a little more self-awareness of similar moves by the left.

The goal of progressives may be solidarity, but their means of achieving it are by shutting alternative ideas down rather than modeling tolerance. Leah Hunt-Hendrix, a co-author of a recent book called “Solidarity,” said those [*liberals who critique illiberalism*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory) on the left are “falling into the right’s divide-and-conquer strategy.”

But liberal people can disagree without being called traitors. Liberals can even agree with conservatives on certain issues because those positions aren’t inherently conservative. Shouldn’t the goal be to decrease polarization rather than egg it on? Shouldn’t Democrats aim for a big tent, especially at a time when registered party members are declining and the number of independents is on the rise?

Those on the Democratic side of the spectrum have traditionally been far better at nuance, complexity and compromise than Republicans. It would be to our detriment if policies on which a broad swath of Americans agree are deliberately tanked by a left wing that has moved as far to the left as Republicans have moved to the right. Those who denounce militant fealty within the Republican Party shouldn’t enforce similar purity tests in their own ranks.

Source images by Auris and bazilfoto/Getty Images

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://newrepublic.com/article/166991/pamela-paul-new-york-times-trans-great-replacement-theory).

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This article appeared in print on page A21.

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[***For Biden, a 'Different Kind of Presidency Now'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS8-VNW1-DXY4-X0M9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Jess Bidgood

**Body**

At a rally today, if it looked like Biden was living in Harris's world, he kept the focus on Trump.

For a few minutes on Thursday afternoon, President Biden stood silently onstage in Maryland, his hands folded and his body swaying ever so softly. On one side of him was Vice President Kamala Harris, heaping praise on him; hovering on the other side was Harris's face again, emblazoned on a shirt worn by a member of the crowd.

It was the pair's first time onstage together since Biden withdrew from the presidential race. The appearance, three and a half weeks in the making, had great potential for awkwardness: an event for the Biden White House with the vibe of a Harris campaign rally.

If it looked like Biden was living in Harris's world now, he kept the focus on Trump.

''Let me tell you what our Project 2025 is,'' Biden said, evoking a set of conservative policy plans drawn up by allies of former President Donald Trump, once he stepped to the microphone. ''Beat the hell out of 'em.''

Unburdened by the weight of defending democracy in an embattled presidential campaign, Biden joked repeatedly about his age -- ''I served in the Senate for 270 years!'' -- referred to former President Trump as ''Donald Dump,'' and delivered a line that had bedeviled him at the debate where his candidacy unraveled.

''This time,'' he said, ''we finally beat big pharma.''

It was a flash of a Biden who has not been seen much since he dropped out of the presidential race on July 21. He is no longer his party's standard-bearer. He has not appeared on the campaign trail. He seems in many ways to have shrunk from public view.

It all got me curious about what these past weeks have meant for Biden -- a man who is, of course, very much still president. My colleague Peter Baker, our chief White House correspondent, has watched Biden and Harris up close, and he spoke with me this afternoon from the event in Maryland. Our conversation was edited for length and clarity.

JB: We know Biden's withdrawal from the presidential race upended the campaign. Did it also change his presidency?

PB: Instantaneously, his presidency as he knew it was over. Now, he had six more months to be president. There are a lot of things you can do as a lame duck. But he no longer had the authority and the attention, the bully pulpit and the power that comes with being a president who might have a second term. That's one of the reasons he didn't want to drop out in the first place.

Has he actually stepped out of the spotlight? Or does he simply garner less attention right now?

It's a little of both. He's been scheduled pretty lightly. He said he's going to have a vigorous campaign schedule, and he hasn't. He'll give a speech at the Democratic convention on Monday, and then he will be on vacation until Labor Day. That doesn't mean things aren't happening behind the scenes -- he's paying a lot of attention to the cease-fire talks in the Middle East, he's making a lot of calls to foreign leaders. He's still active -- but it's a very different kind of presidency now.

Biden is an unpopular incumbent who wants his party to remain in power. If he is intentionally receding from the spotlight, is that strategic?

He's actually a little more popular now that he's decided not to run! Broadly speaking, voters did not want him to step aside because of some toxic political problem -- it's just that they thought, ''OK, thanks very much, you're 81, you're good.'' But I do think he's flipped positions with Kamala Harris, in a way.

Up until now, for three and a half years, she always had to make sure nothing she did got in his way. Now, it's his job to not upstage her. It's his job not to do anything that gets in her way. It's kind of an odd situation. He's a commander in chief, but he kind of has a secondary role now.

Today's event was a chance for Biden and Harris to celebrate landmark price negotiations between Medicare and big pharmaceutical companies. Over the course of his presidency, Biden has struggled to communicate to the public about moves like these, which he views as major achievements. Do you think Harris is doing that any better?

She has a different way of presenting their case. She's not focusing, the same way he did, on the latest infrastructure project, or reminding people about $35 insulin. She is tapping into a larger, broader, more emotional resonance. She's not mired in the particulars of the record. And that contrast was on display in Maryland today.

Do we have any sense of how their relationship has been over the past three weeks, and why it's taken this long for them to hold a buzzy joint appearance?

It's a very good question. Years from now, when we read the memoirs, we'll learn a lot more. Generally, I would say that they have a good working relationship. They like and respect each other, but I don't get the sense that they're particularly close. They are of different generations, different coasts and different backgrounds. She maintained nothing but public loyalty during the weeks that he was trying to decide whether or not to stay in the race. Today, she was very warm toward the president, lavishing him with praise and hugging him when she ceded the podium.

What role do you think he wants to play for his party and in this election going forward?

In a way, he adds an extra principal to their ticket. Biden can validate Harris for voters who may feel uncomfortable with her, who don't really know her, who may not feel like they connect with her, but who do connect with him -- in places like Scranton, Pa., and others where ''***working-class*** Joe'' has a longstanding connection. He can say, ''She's one of us. She gets you.'' In that sense, he has a role to play.

The convention will be remarkable. We'll see a man who was running for president passing the baton. What should we expect?

I'm sure it's a pretty disappointing demotion to go from speaking Thursday night, when the nominee speaks, to Monday night, when he is now scheduled. I expect he will give a gracious speech and then disappear. And maybe that's the best thing for Harris. It's going to be her party now. She has to make it her party. Ceding the stage may be the hardest thing to do, but it's also necessary, so the new generation can assert itself.

Biden is a proud man. He's a stubborn man. He believed he still could have won, as our colleagues reported today, and he believed in his own resilience. But, since he made the remarkable decision to step aside, he has not tried to keep attention on himself, and maybe that's to his credit, because he recognizes that it's no longer his campaign to run.

An odd couple teams up in Utah

Sometimes, politics is just petty -- and I, for one, find it hard to resist an innocuous helping of mess. So an ad featuring a Democrat and a Republican in Utah caught my eye. I asked my colleague Jonathan Weisman to tell us the tale.

Talk about the enemy of my enemy being my friend.

Phil Lyman, the conservative Utah Republican who challenged Gov. Spencer Cox, who is more moderate, in the state's Republican primary this summer, has teamed up with the long-shot Democrat running for governor, Brian King, for an advertisement attacking Cox.

The one thing they both agree on, they intone together, ''is that Spencer Cox should not be our next governor.''

Lyman, who is mounting a write-in campaign, urges voters to put his name on the ballot -- before King interrupts him and urges people to vote for him, instead.

To say these men don't see eye-to-eye on the issues is an understatement. King, whose campaign paid for the ad, was a combative minority leader in the Statehouse, known for pushing gun control in a state where such policies are anathema. Lyman was convicted on federal charges after organizing a protest of an all-terrain vehicle ban on Bureau of Land Management land, then was pardoned by former President Donald Trump. He still mustered 46 percent of the vote in the June 25 primary against Cox.

In a way, the ad is a display of bipartisanship that Cox might appreciate. Cox, who has denounced Trump, saying that the former president represents ''neither goodness nor kindness,'' has made calls to ''disagree better'' central to his political brand.

That phrase pops up in the ad -- as a punchline.

-- Jonathan Weisman-- Jonathan Weisman

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/15/us/politics/biden-harris-rally.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/15/us/politics/biden-harris-rally.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Last Thursday, President Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris shared the stage for the first time since Mr. Biden exited the presidential race. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A2.

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2024

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[***Piecing Together an Ancient Epic Was Slow Work. Until A.I. Got Involved.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPM-7BJ1-JBG3-60N6-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BOOKS; booksupdate

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**Byline:** Erik Ofgang

**Highlight:** Scholars have struggled to identify fragments of the epic of Gilgamesh — one of the world’s oldest literary texts. Now A.I. has brought an “extreme acceleration” to the field.

**Body**

Scholars have struggled to identify fragments of the epic of Gilgamesh — one of the world’s oldest literary texts. Now A.I. has brought an “extreme acceleration” to the field.

In 1872, in a quiet second-floor room at the British Museum, George Smith, a museum employee, was studying a grime-encrusted clay tablet when he came across words that would change his life. In the ancient cuneiform script, he recognized references to a stranded ship and a bird sent in search of land. After he had the tablet cleaned, Smith was certain he’d found a prototype of the biblical flood story.

“I am the first man to read that after more than 2,000 years of oblivion,” [*Smith reportedly said*](https://archive.org/details/RiseAndProgressOfAssyriologyByEAWallisBudge/page/n193/mode/2up?q=%22george+smith%22) in a frenzy of excitement.

Smith realized that the tablet, which had been excavated in what is modern-day Iraq, was a small part of a much longer work — one that some then thought could help shed light on the Book of Genesis. The discovery made Smith, who came from a ***working-class*** family and had largely taught himself cuneiform, famous. He dedicated the rest of his life to searching for missing pieces of the poem, making multiple trips to the Middle East before dying of an illness on his final trip in 1876, at age 36.

For 152 years since Smith’s discovery, successive generations of Assyriologists — experts in the study of cuneiform and the cultures that used it — have taken up his quest to piece together a complete version of the poem known now as the Epic of Gilgamesh. Fragments of the epic, which was written more than 3,000 years ago and was based upon still earlier works, have re-emerged as tablets have been unearthed in archaeological digs, found in museum store rooms or surfaced on the black market.

The researchers face a daunting task. There are as many as half a million clay tablets housed in the Mesopotamian collections of various world museums and universities, along with many more tablet fragments. But since there are so few experts in cuneiform, many of these writings are unread and many more are unpublished.

So despite a generation-spanning effort, about 30 percent of Gilgamesh remains missing and there are gaps in modern understanding both of the poem and Mesopotamian writing in general.

Now, an artificial intelligence project called Fragmentarium is helping to fill some of these gaps. Led by Enrique Jiménez, a professor at the Institute of Assyriology of the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, the Fragmentarium team uses machine learning to piece together digitized tablet fragments at a much faster pace than a human Assyriologist can. So far, A.I. has helped researchers discover new segments of Gilgamesh as well as hundreds of missing words and lines from other works.

“This is an extreme acceleration of what was going on since the time of George Smith,” said Andrew George, a professor emeritus at the University of London and a foremost authority on Gilgamesh, who has himself produced [*one of the epic’s translations*](https://archive.org/details/RiseAndProgressOfAssyriologyByEAWallisBudge/page/n193/mode/2up?q=%22george+smith%22) into English.

Before 2018, only some 5,000 tablet fragments were matched. In the six years since, Jiménez’s team has successfully matched over 1,500 more tablet pieces, including those pertaining to a newly discovered hymn to the city of Babylon and 20 fragments from Gilgamesh that add detail to over 100 lines of the epic.

The Gilgamesh fragments “offer intriguing insights into the story,” Jiménez said.

At the heart of the epic is the story of a friendship between Gilgamesh, who is a demigod and the king of Uruk, and his wild-man sidekick, Enkidu. After Gilgamesh and Enkidu kill Humbaba, the monster guardian of the Cedar Forest, the gods kill Enkidu in retribution. Gilgamesh, in denial, refuses to bury Enkidu until after seven days, when a maggot drops from Enkidu’s nose.

“How can I be quiet?” Gilgamesh repeatedly asks. “When my friend Enkidu, whom I love, has [turned to] clay. [Shall I not be like] him, and also lie down, [never] to rise again, through all eternity?”

To escape the specter of death, Gilgamesh goes on a quest to find his ancestor Utnapishtim, a Noah-like figure who survived the flood, and learned the secret to immortality. After wandering the wilderness, Gilgamesh arrives at a divine-seeming tavern on the sea at the edge of the world. There, the tavern keeper and brewer, Sidhuri, offers sage advice, telling him to enjoy the simple pleasures in life. “Gaze on the child who holds your hand,” she says, “let a wife enjoy your repeated embrace.”

Gilgamesh ignores her and continues on his quest, eventually finding Utnapishtim. But the great flood hero is unable to help Gilgamesh achieve immortality. Instead, Utnapishtim shares his story of life before and during the flood. The ending of the epic suggests that Utnapishtim’s wisdom, and the knowledge it confers, is one of the main rewards for Gilgamesh’s journey.

The new fragments discovered with the help of A.I. reveal elements that add important details to many of these episodes. One of them, for example, reveals that after killing the forest monster, Gilgamesh and Enkidu traveled to Nippur, the religious center of Mesopotamia and home to the god Enlil. “They went there hand in hand, in an attempt to appease Enlil, who was angered by their killing of Humbaba, his protégé,” Jiménez said.

Benjamin R. Foster, an Assyriology professor and Gilgamesh translator at Yale University who worked with the A.I. team on some of the English translations, said the new lines also included details on Enkidu’s efforts to convince Gilgamesh not to kill Humbaba. Other lines provide a piece of a prayer made by Gilgamesh’s mother asking the sun god to touch Enkidu so he can lead Gilgamesh through the Cedar Forest.

One of the additions Foster finds most interesting is a single word uttered by Utnapishtim. He tells Gilgamesh that after his workmen built the ark, he lavished them with alcohol during a party.

“We didn’t have the word ‘lavish’ before,” Foster said. “And to my mind, he’s feeling guilty because he knows all the people who are helping him build the ark are going to be drowned in a few days.”

Some of these new finds have been included in English-language translations of Gilgamesh by Sophus Helle ([*Yale University Press, 2021*](https://archive.org/details/RiseAndProgressOfAssyriologyByEAWallisBudge/page/n193/mode/2up?q=%22george+smith%22)) and George (Penguin Classics, 2020). The most recent finds are still unpublished, but Jiménez’s team will soon make all the new pieces available to the public as part of the Gilgamesh translation published on L.M.U.’s [*Electronic Babylonian Library*](https://archive.org/details/RiseAndProgressOfAssyriologyByEAWallisBudge/page/n193/mode/2up?q=%22george+smith%22).

Helle is intrigued by how the epic continues to reveal itself. “It is so ancient and yet so alive, and it kept changing as I was literally working on it,” he said. But it did make translation harder, he said: “I compare it to painting a model who won’t sit still.”

Assyriologists agree that more of Gilgamesh and other works of Mesopotamian literature remain undiscovered in store rooms and unexcavated historic sites. Many of the surviving tablets currently housed in museums and universities are mundane-seeming bills of sale, private letters, schoolbook exercises and other minutia from the ancient world. But experts say even these daily writings can offer literary insight.

Agnete Lassen, associate curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, said one of her favorite tablets was a letter written by an unknown woman to her brother between 1900 and 1600 B.C. that may be quoting a lost work of literature. It reads: “You truly are the sun, so let me warm myself in your heat. You truly are a cedar tree, so let the heat not burn me in your shadow!”

Jiménez is also optimistic that A.I. will allow researchers to draw more connections between these types of ancient writings. His team has completed its work with the British Museum and is now working with colleagues at The Iraq Museum, in Baghdad, where he hopes to find more pieces of Gilgamesh.

In the meantime, the newly discovered lines have already given Smith’s successors plenty to ponder.

Among the most tantalizing, according to Foster, is another line from Utnapishtim: “You who are composed of divine and human flesh, whom they created, just like your father and mother. Did they ever, Gilgamesh, build a palace for a fool?”

“We don’t have any idea what he’s talking about,” Foster said. But he believes that a new fragment, discovered by A.I. or by traditional methods, will soon help solve the puzzle.

“Who knows, it might turn up tomorrow,” he said.

PHOTO: This figure, displayed by the Louvre Museum, has sometimes been identified with Gilgamesh. The hero’s exploits were popular throughout the ancient Middle East. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Thierry Ollivier/Musée du Louvre FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 15, 2024

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[***Vance's Combativeness May Vex Some Voters, but Trump Likes It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW2-G8J1-JBG3-60NT-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Michael C. Bender

**Body**

Over dozens of events and more than 70 interviews, Mr. Vance's performances as Donald Trump's attack dog have endeared him to his boss, even if America broadly is less enthusiastic.

Donald J. Trump knew that JD Vance could take a punch. But during their first week together on the campaign trail, the former president wondered just how many hits his new running mate could absorb.

The volume and velocity of attacks from Democrats stunned even Mr. Trump. He was unaware of the most incendiary remarks that opponents were rapidly unearthing from Mr. Vance's past, and the former president told allies that he was troubled by the idea that more comments would come to light as Democrats savaged his heir apparent as weird and anti-women.

A month later, polls show that the number of Americans who dislike Mr. Vance continues to grow -- but Mr. Trump could not be happier.

The reason: Mr. Vance's relentless pace of full-throttle performances as Mr. Trump's well-trained attack dog has pleased the former president and instilled a sense of stability inside a campaign still shaken by President Biden's sudden exit from the race.

Mr. Trump had instructed his young sidekick to fight forcefully through those initial attacks, and later said Mr. Vance's execution exceeded his expectations, according to three allies who insisted on anonymity to discuss private conversations.

In a quintessentially Trumpian display of bravado, the former president has privately praised Mr. Vance by comparing himself to Vince Lombardi, telling people that his eye for political talent was now on par with the Hall of Fame football coach's ability to find Super Bowl-caliber players.

But beyond Mar-a-Lago, early returns on Mr. Vance are less enthusiastic. Polls show that he effectively amplifies Mr. Trump's political strengths but that he also magnifies his weaknesses. Mr. Vance's approval rating improved by nearly double digits among the nation's least educated and poorest voters since joining the Republican ticket -- but plunged by even wider margins among college graduates and independent women, according to an NPR/PBS News/Marist poll.

How those conflicting opinions either resolve themselves or become further inflamed will help determine whether Mr. Trump ends the race in less than 10 weeks with a second presidential term or a second electoral defeat.

''JD never had a honeymoon -- he had a hurricane, but I think a lot of that is in the rearview mirror now,'' said Charlie Kirk, a Republican activist close to the Trump campaign. ''He's further animated the conservative base and also voters we are looking to run up the score with, which are white ***working-class*** voters and young male voters.''

Democrats, however, have been outraged and confounded by Mr. Vance's vice-presidential bid. This year, Mr. Trump had spoken at length about finding a running mate who was uniquely qualified to take over as president -- and then picked Mr. Vance, who assumed his first elected office just last year and turned 40 less than a month ago.

Mr. Vance would be the nation's youngest vice president since 1953, when Richard Nixon took the oath of office at 40. Common traits run through their backgrounds and early careers.

Both were born into poor families and earned law degrees from prestigious universities, Duke for Mr. Nixon and Yale for Mr. Vance. Both served in the military. Mr. Nixon had a more robust political résumé, but both were also less than two years into their first terms in the Senate when they joined their party's presidential ticket.

Mr. Nixon was arguably one of the most combative vice-presidential contenders of the past century, although Mr. Vance may challenge him in that regard.

Mr. Vance has accused Vice President Kamala Harris of being personally responsible for the deaths of 13 service members in Afghanistan in 2021 and of opening the southern border to ''let these cartels bring in the poison that's killing our families.'' He has said that she plans to buy oil from ''every tin-pot dictator,'' is more interested in building the economy in ''Communist China'' than at home and longs to put truck drivers out of business to force them into computer-coding classes.

And that was all from one 30-minute event on Wednesday in Erie, Pa.

''I really don't know what Trump was thinking with this pick because Vance hasn't done anything to show he's ready to be the leader of the free world,'' said Joel Benenson, a Democratic pollster who worked for former President Barack Obama. ''Is he doing anything other than playing to the conservative base? The answer is no, and you don't win elections from the left or the right. You win from the middle out, and these guys are not appealing to the middle.''

The most damaging attack on Mr. Vance last month centered on his comments from a Fox News interview in 2021, when he lamented the numerous ''childless cat ladies'' among American leaders, including Ms. Harris.

Many voters shrug off similar comments from Mr. Trump because they view the 78-year-old former president as something of an elderly uncle ''who doesn't understand the world has changed,'' said Bill Kristol, who was the chief of staff for Vice President Dan Quayle in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

''But Vance has gone out of his way to adopt a set of views from an ideological, right-wing milieu on things like child-rearing and how women should more or less stay home,'' said Mr. Kristol, an organizer of Republican Voters Against Trump. ''That is harder to understand from someone who is 40.''

The Trump campaign had planned to ease Mr. Vance into the spotlight, but the furor over ''cat ladies'' accelerated that timetable.

Mr. Vance's excitement at joining the fray was immediately visible. He arrived with a fresh haircut and neatly trimmed beard for his first solo rally, a hometown event in Middletown, Ohio. In a sign of his astonishment at every warm welcome from his pro-Trump crowds, Mr. Vance opened each event for the first several weeks with the same single exclamation: ''Wow!''

He has enjoyed traveling with family members aboard his chartered Boeing 737. His wife, Usha, is rarely without a book in her hands. His mother, Beverly Aikins, posed for selfies at an A&W in Big Rapids, Mich., and joined him at a private fund-raiser in Nashville. His father-in-law, Krish Chilukuri, carried an oversize bag of popcorn onboard for his day on the trail as if he anticipated an entertaining show.

Since Mr. Trump announced his selection on July 15, Mr. Vance has held two dozen campaign events, mainly in the battleground states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. He has hosted about two dozen fund-raisers. He has participated in more than 70 interviews on television, conservative radio and podcasts, as well as with newspaper and magazine reporters. At least 10 other times, he has answered questions from reporters traveling on his campaign plane.

Mr. Vance's media strategy, allies said, functioned as his attempt to reach beyond the conservative base and to joust -- carefully and respectfully, for the most part -- with network anchors.

''Every V.P. candidate gets attacked when they're chosen; it's how you handle it that matters,'' said Senator Steve Daines, a Montana Republican overseeing his party's Senate campaigns. ''They're throwing hardballs at him, throwing curveballs at him, and he's really been very impressive.''

Mr. Vance's interactions with reporters produced one of his most effective days on the trail when he attacked his Democratic counterpart, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota. The Harris campaign had posted an old video of Mr. Walz pushing to restrict access to ''weapons of war that I carried in war.'' Mr. Walz served 24 years in the military but never in combat.

Mr. Vance and his team had been searching for some way to disrupt a streak of positive news for Ms. Harris, who had unified her party around her nomination, and their tactic of highlighting the discrepancy worked. Cable networks broke into their coverage to report his criticisms of Mr. Walz.

Some pundits concluded that the move had been designed by Chris LaCivita, a senior Trump campaign adviser who had played a key role in similar ''Swift Boat'' attacks on Senator John Kerry, the 2004 Democratic nominee. But Mr. Vance had anticipated the opportunity on his own and quickly seized it.

Later, when his plane followed Air Force Two into Chippewa Valley Regional Airport in Wisconsin, he hurried down the tarmac straight for Ms. Harris's plane.

Her motorcade sped off before Mr. Vance could execute any publicity stunt, so he instead spent a few minutes with reporters who had gathered to see Ms. Harris. He mostly mocked Ms. Harris for not taking more questions, a criticism that remains a top talking point for Republicans.

''I just wanted to check out my future plane,'' Mr. Vance said when he returned to his motorcade.

Ms. Harris's campaign later posted a meme-style video on social media aimed at mocking Mr. Vance. The clip shows her meeting with Girl Scouts on the tarmac before quickly cutting to footage of Mr. Vance's arrival. A narrator says, ''All of a sudden, I hear this agitating, grating voice.''

Mr. Vance's self-assured manner with the news media has reached the point where questions from reporters now account for about half of his typical 30-minute events. The rules are stacked in his favor.

Mr. Vance seeks questions mostly from local outlets, which, by definition, are typically focused on regional issues. The news media is corralled at the back of the room, where the microphone is held by campaign staff members, limiting opportunities for follow-up questions.

''You all want to see me take some questions from the media?'' Mr. Vance asked a crowd inside a Wisconsin warehouse stacked with PVC products on Wednesday.

An approving roar erupted from the crowd.

But unscripted events carry risk, too. At a trucking logistics company in Pennsylvania, Mr. Vance's audience sustained a chorus of earsplitting boos when a woman introduced herself as a reporter from CNN.

The next reporter stumbled on her question, and multiple audience members heckled her and loudly mimicked her stammer.

Mr. Vance also overextended himself while speaking about a confrontation between Mr. Trump's team and Arlington National Cemetery officials. Mr. Vance angrily cursed Ms. Harris for her response to the incident -- but she has said nothing. Her campaign's only reaction was from a spokesman who offered a brief and largely unnoticed response to a question during a cable news interview.

''She wants to yell at Donald Trump because he showed up?'' Mr. Vance said to applause. ''She can go to hell.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-vp.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-vp.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Polls show that JD Vance effectively amplifies Donald J. Trump's political strengths but that he also magnifies his weaknesses. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2024

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[***Vance Adjusts to His New Role, Aboard a Plane With His Name on It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJC-YYV1-JBG3-63DJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1036 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:** As Donald Trump’s running mate, JD Vance has his own jet to fly him across the country. On Monday, he was still getting comfortable, both on the ground and in the air.

**Body**

As Donald Trump’s running mate, JD Vance has his own jet to fly him across the country. On Monday, he was still getting comfortable, both on the ground and in the air.

Senator JD Vance was unsure where to stand or where to put his hands.

With a fresh haircut and a closely tailored blue suit on his first day of solo campaigning as the Republican vice-presidential nominee, Mr. Vance walked to the back of his chartered airliner to chat with reporters on Monday. Briefly uncertain of how to start, he furrowed his brow and looked from side to side.

His unease was understandable — the utilitarian design of airplane seating does not exactly facilitate group discussion — but also revealing.

Where a more seasoned politician may have simply leaned against a seat, Mr. Vance in his initial confusion hinted at the inexperience of a 39-year-old embarking on his maiden national campaign just one year after being sworn in to his first elected office. When a flight attendant approached and urged everyone to fasten their seatbelts before landing, Mr. Vance plopped into an empty seat in the press cabin and quickly buckled up — as if he were just another passenger, and not the only one inside the plane with his name on the outside of it, too.

The in-flight candidate is, in many ways, a useful metaphor for the moment: a gifted yet fledgling political talent — whose calling card is his connection to the ***working class*** — adjusting to a new life with his own chartered Boeing 737 as the newly minted member of a Republican ticket headed by a three-time presidential contender.

Mr. Vance had arrived in Milwaukee last week for the Republican National Convention not knowing if he would be picked as Mr. Trump’s running mate, and he left town at the end of it on his own chartered jet.

“When President Trump asked me to be his running mate, I really had no idea what was coming,” Mr. Vance said during his speech in Ohio. “I thought he might ask me, but I thought he might ask somebody else — there were a lot of good guys running.”

As a first-time candidate in 2016, Mr. Trump and his campaign did not reserve a plane for the vice-presidential nominee, Mike Pence. Instead, that task of lining up air travel fell to the team surrounding the then-governor of Indiana. Mr. Trump was irate when he found out the Pence team had rented a plane, telling one aide that he preferred to use his own private jets.

Eight years later, Mr. Trump’s third campaign is a bit more professional. His 2024 operation started raising money online weeks ago for the running mate’s plane, which they refer to as Trump Force Two. In 2016, reporters referred to the Republican fleet as Hair Force One and Hair Force Two.

The red and blue Trump-Vance logo is stripped across the front of the plane, straddling the first dozen windows behind the cockpit. The tail is wrapped with names of dozens of contributors who helped underwrite the cost of the charter: Edward M. from Georgia, Victoria W. from Alabama, Barbara M. from Michigan.

Inside the jet, Trump campaign material is inescapable. If you were curious what the price of gasoline was during Mr. Trump’s last year in office, or how much the G.D.P. grew during that time, you can find the answers plastered on the walls above the windows along the 17 rows of the plane. Each overhead bin is wrapped with broad policy goals, in Trump-trademark all-caps: “Free, honest and lawful elections” and “Secure borders and reclaim national sovereignty.”

To be sure, the Trump campaign widely viewed Mr. Vance’s first day on the trail as a success.

“President Trump is thrilled with the choice he made with Senator Vance, and they are the perfect team to take back the White House,” said Steve Cheung, a Trump campaign spokesman.

Mr. Vance drew large crowds in Middletown, Ohio, and in Radford, Va., where he made his case for supporting the Trump campaign by leveraging folksy tales about his hardscrabble upbringing. And he easily sparred with reporters on his plane, showing off his quick wit and combative instinct when asked about criticism from Gov. Andy Beshear, a Kentucky Democrat, that Mr. Vance has overstated his blue-collar roots.

“It’s very weird,” Mr. Vance shot back, “to have a guy whose first job was at his dad’s law firm and who inherited the governorship from his father criticize my origin story.”

But there were plenty of signs of Mr. Vance’s inexperience, too.

He spoke mostly without a teleprompter at the two rallies, but some of his lines did not quite land. He made a strained joke about how Democrats may attack him as racist because he enjoyed Diet Mountain Dew.

In Ohio, he either ignored or was unaware of one headline-generating moment at his rally. State Senator George Lang, speaking shortly before Mr. Vance took the stage, told the crowd, “It’s going to take a civil war to save the country” if Republicans fail to win the White House in November. Mr. Lang issued a [*statement*](https://x.com/LangForOhio/status/1815464944466620767) after the rally saying he regretted the “divisive remarks.”

On his plane, Mr. Vance explained to reporters that his anti-abortion positions would take a back seat to Mr. Trump as the party’s presidential nominee. But on the campaign trail, he said it was fair game to make Ms. Harris answer for all of the Biden administration’s policies.

“There is simply no way that you can sit here and say the policies of Joe Biden have worked, which is to say that we’ve got to kick Kamala Harris out of the Oval Office,” Mr. Vance said in Radford. “Don’t give her a chance to run away from the Biden record — the Biden record is the Kamala Harris record.”

At the end of the day, as the sun set over the Appalachian Mountains and Mr. Vance climbed up the stairs for his return flight home to Ohio, he paused when a reporter on the runway shouted a question asking how he had enjoyed his first day on the trail.

“It was fun,” Mr. Vance shouted back.

Reporters, mostly stunned that he had stopped to answer, didn’t immediately offer a follow-up question. So Mr. Vance ducked back into his plane.

Senator JD Vance, the G.O.P. vice presidential nominee, in Middletown, Ohio, on Monday. He has said it is fair game to tie Vice President Kamala Harris to the Biden administration’s policies. JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Load-Date:** July 23, 2024

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[***Abolish the Penny?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVW-8P21-JBG3-600S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 1, 2024 Sunday 17:19 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1726 words

**Byline:** Caity Weaver, Caity Weaver is a staff writer for The New York Times Magazine.

**Highlight:** Inside an intractable problem inside America’s change purses.

**Body**

Inside an intractable problem inside America’s change purses.

I have good news and I have bad news. Actually, I have crazy news and I have bad news. Actually, all the news I have is bad, but some of it is also crazy. Before you become totally freaked out, all the news I’m describing here is about pennies; it’s nothing life and death. But you do need to buckle up.

If you are reading this and live in America, or used to live in America, or maybe just went to America one time many years ago, then you are almost certainly performing unpaid labor for the U.S. government and have been for years. How? By storing some of the billions of pennies the U.S. Mint makes every year that virtually no one uses.

Why are we still making tons (many thousands of tons) of pennies if no one uses them? That’s a sensible question with a psychotic answer: We have to keep making all these pennies — over $45 million worth last year — because no one uses them. In fact, it could be very bad if we did.

When you insert a quarter into a soda machine, that quarter eventually finds its way back to a bank, from which it can be redistributed to a store’s cash register and handed out as change — maybe even to you, who can put it into a soda machine again and start the whole process over. That’s beautiful. (Please be mindful of your soft drink consumption.)

But few of us ever spend pennies. We mostly just store them. The 1-cent coins are wherever you’ve left them: a glass jar, a winter purse, a RAV4 cup holder, a five-gallon water cooler dispenser, the couch. Many of them are simply on the ground. But take it from me, a former cashier: Cashiers don’t have time to scrounge on the sidewalk every time they need to make change. That is where the Mint comes in. Every year it makes a few billion more pennies to replace the ones everyone is thoughtlessly, indefinitely storing and scatters them like kudzu seeds across the nation.

You — a scientist of some kind, possibly — might think an obvious solution now presents itself: Why not encourage people to use the pennies they have lying around instead of manufacturing new ones every year? We can’t! Or, anyway, we’d better not. According to a Mint report, if even a modest share of our neglected pennies suddenly returned to circulation, the result would be a “logistically unmanageable” dilemma for Earth’s wealthiest nation. As in, the penny tsunami could overwhelm government vaults.

That’s not great, but at the end of the day we’re talking only about pennies. How much could a penny cost to make? A penny? If only we lived in such a paradise. Unfortunately, one penny costs more than three pennies (3.07 cents at last count) to make and distribute!

When I learned this, I lost my mind. Whose fault is this? And who can make it stop? I spent months pleading for answers from government officials, former Mint employees, numismatists, economists, scientists, scrap-metal industrialists, souvenir-elongated-penny machinists, historians, businesspeople, poverty researchers and even Canadians. Everyone said the same thing: Only Congress can retire the American 1-cent coin.

Wait, actually, there is (maybe) good news: Everyone might be wrong. While writing [*an article about all of this for The Times Magazine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/magazine/worthless-pennies-united-states-economy.html), I’m pretty sure I found a loophole buried deep in the forgotten annals of the U.S. legal code that could end this pointless penny plague. I think there is one person in the United States who can unilaterally kill the penny this afternoon if he or she wants to. It’s not the president of the United States or the director of the Mint or the head of Coinstar, the private coin-recycling company that has become a crucial cog in the U.S. monetary system (though I had a lovely long talk with him). In fact, it’s probably not anyone you would think of. Find out who in the magazine story.

And if you are a penny lover, there is happy news for you, too. Since it first began issuing 1-cent coins in 1793, the United States has produced about half a trillion of them — far more than the number of stars in the Milky Way. Even if we get rid of the penny, there will be plenty to go around forever.

THE LATEST NEWS

Israel-Hamas War

* Israel said that [*the bodies of six hostages*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/world/middleeast/hersh-goldberg-polin-hostage-gaza.html?smid=url-share) were found in a tunnel in Gaza and blamed Hamas for their deaths.

1. Some in Israel [*criticized the government*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/09/01/world/israel-hamas-gaza-war/many-israelis-direct-their-anger-at-netanyahu-over-the-deaths-of-6-hostages?smid=url-share) for not securing a deal to release the hostages. Five of those captured had been at a dance music festival in southern Israel, including Hersh Goldberg-Polin, an Israeli American citizen.
2. Health workers in Gaza began [*a polio vaccination drive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/world/middleeast/gaza-polio-vaccine.html?smid=url-share) after Hamas and Israel agreed to pauses in the fighting to allow vaccinations to take place.
3. “He couldn’t understand the danger”: A family in the occupied West Bank mourned the death of a relative with mental illness they said had been [*killed during an Israeli raid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/world/middleeast/israel-west-bank.html) this past week.

War in Ukraine

* Russia long avoided sending young conscripts to the front lines. Ukraine’s incursion into Russia’s Kursk region [*upended that practice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/world/europe/russia-ukraine-conscripts-kursk.html).

1. Residents of the eastern Ukrainian town of Pokrovsk [*are evacuating daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/world/europe/ukraine-russia-evacuation-pokrovsk.html). Kyiv hoped that its incursion would draw Russian forces away, but they are closing in.

More International News

* Around a quarter of the residents of Maracaibo — Venezuela’s second-largest city — [*have moved*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/world/americas/venezuela-maracaibo-migration.html), some driven to the U.S. and elsewhere in South America by political and economic instability.

1. The rape and murder of a junior doctor in Kolkata has [*highlighted subpar security*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/world/asia/india-doctors-safety.html) and grueling working conditions at India’s hospitals.
2. The mayor of Paris said the Olympic rings that were installed on the Eiffel Tower for the Games would become [*a permanent part of the monument*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/world/europe/olympic-rings-eiffel-tower.html).

2024 Election

* The Trump campaign, through interviews with YouTubers and internet streamers, [*is courting young men*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/30/us/politics/trump-politics-nelk-boys.html) who have been regarded as unreachable.

1. The election has soured [*old friendships in Silicon Valley*](https://www.wsj.com/politics/elections/clash-of-the-tech-titans-silicon-valley-fractures-over-harris-vs-trump-a1616754?mod=hp_lead_pos2), as some tech leaders become vocal about their support for Donald Trump, The Wall Street Journal reports.
2. The campaigns of Kamala Harris and Trump, when combined with their super PACs, have raised $1.3 billion. [*See a list of their biggest donors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/us/elections/democratic-republican-political-donors.html).

Other Big Stories

* Acadia Healthcare — a leading American psychiatric hospital chain — is [*holding people against their will*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/business/acadia-psychiatric-patients-trapped.html) to maximize insurance payouts, a Times investigation found.

1. For decades, the U.S. government has encouraged farmers to spread city sewage on farmland as fertilizer. Some scientists now say [*that sludge could contain toxic chemicals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/climate/pfas-fertilizer-sludge-farm.html).
2. Boar’s Head temporarily closed its plant in a small Virginia town after it was linked to a listeria outbreak. [*Residents are worried about the future of the local economy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/us/boars-head-jarratt-virginia.html).
3. The rapper Fatman Scoop, who performed the underground club favorite “Be Faithful,” died at 56 [*after collapsing onstage during a performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/arts/music/fatman-scoop-rapper-dead.html).

THE SUNDAY DEBATE

Did Harris’s first major TV interview as a presidential nominee help her campaign?

Yes. Harris’s interview was not flashy, but it demonstrated her levelheadedness. “A White House run by a pragmatic lawyer … is fairly dull; a good thing, at least for those of us who prefer our president to be working instead of hamming it up for the cameras,” [*Jill Filipovic writes for The Daily Beast*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/its-actually-a-good-thing-that-kamala-harriss-cnn-interview-was-so-dull).

No. Harris did not tell voters where she stood on important topics. “If Harris’s campaign is about values, but she is unwilling to more forcefully champion women’s rights and the value of Palestinian lives, she risks making some wonder just what those values are,” [*The Guardian’s Moira Donegan writes.*](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/article/2024/aug/30/kamala-harris-interview)

FROM OPINION

President Biden needs to take steps toward [*outlawing the death penalty*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/opinion/death-penalty-biden.html), even if he fails in the short term, the editorial board writes.

We should learn to [*live without air-conditioning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/opinion/heat-wave-air-conditioning-climate-change.html), both to slow climate change and to adapt to it, Stan Cox argues.

Here is a column by Nicholas Kristof on [***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/opinion/trump-voters-liberal-civil.html).

MORNING READS

‘Brat’ stones: Lime green is the color of the summer. That’s [*great news for the gemstone peridot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/28/fashion/jewelry-peridot-brat-green.html).

Most clicked: The Morning’s most popular feature in August [*asked if driving high is as dangerous as driving drunk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/12/well/live/driving-while-high-marijuana.html).

‘Retailtainment’: Mall landlords are turning to companies like Hasbro and Mattel [*for themed attractions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/business/malls-experiences-hasbro-nerf.html).

Routine: How a soberish writer [*spends her Sundays*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/nyregion/hilary-steinbaum-dry-challenge.html).

Vows: On Kobe Bryant Day, a celebration of [*love and basketball*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/28/style/malika-andrews-dave-mcmenamin-kobe-bryant-day.html).

Lives Lived: Leonard Riggio was a brash and literary-minded businessman who, in founding Barnes &amp; Noble, transformed the business of selling books. He was cast as both a hero and a villain for doing so. He [*died at 83*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/30/business/leonard-riggio-dead.html).

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

Click the cover image above to read this week’s magazine.

BOOKS

Kindergarten: These books will help prepare children [*for their first day of school*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/30/books/kindergarten-books.html).

Quiz: Can you guess these novels that [*originally got bad reviews in The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/08/26/books/booksupdate/panned-books-quiz.html)

Our editors’ picks: “Someone Like Us,” about a journalist investigating the criminal record of the man he assumes is his father, and [*six other books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/29/books/review/new-books-recommendations.html).

Times best sellers: Jodi Picoult’s historical novel “By Any Other Name” is a No. 1 debut on [*the hardcover list*](https://www.nytimes.com/books/best-sellers/hardcover-fiction/2024/09/08).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Experience the restorative power of [*a gingery tea cake*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/28/magazine/ginger-tea-cake-recipe.html).

Play these [*games on Labor Day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/30/arts/labor-day-video-games.html).

Travel [*with your pet*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/guides/guide-to-traveling-with-pets/).

Wash [*your down jacket*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/guides/how-to-wash-down-jacket/).

THE WEEK AHEAD

What to Watch For

* Tomorrow is Labor Day.

1. Jury selection for Hunter Biden’s tax trial is set to begin on Thursday.
2. The Toronto International Film Festival begins on Thursday.
3. The U.S. jobs report for August is released on Friday.
4. The U.S. Open women’s singles final is on Saturday.

Meal Plan

In this week’s [*Five Weeknight Dishes newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/dining/save-these-summery-20-minute-dinners.html), Ali Slagle offers a summer recipe scrapbook of easy meals that take around 20 minutes to make, including shrimp bathed in olive oil, cumin and cashew yogurt rice, and sardines on buttered brown bread.

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee). Yesterday’s pangrams were farting, graffitiing, grafting, rafting and tariffing.

Can you put eight historical events — including the performances of Mozart, the conquests of the Mongols, and the creation of the Slinky — in chronological order? [*Take this week’s Flashback quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/08/30/upshot/flashback.html).

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/sudoku), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/connections) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/strands).

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times.

Editor’s note: The Interview is off this week. It will return next week.

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

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

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[***The Evolution of Usha Vance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJX-R341-JBG3-60F4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 25, 2024 Thursday 14:58 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 2534 words

**Byline:** Joseph Bernstein and Katherine Rosman, Joseph Bernstein is a Times reporter who writes feature stories for the Styles section.

**Highlight:** An accomplished Yale-educated lawyer, Usha Vance has left her job at a top firm as she adjusts to the life of a high-profile political spouse.

**Body**

An accomplished Yale-educated lawyer, Usha Vance has left her job at a top firm as she adjusts to the life of a high-profile political spouse.

The night before the biggest assignment of her life, Usha Vance stayed up late with her husband, JD Vance. In their rooms at the Pfister Hotel in Milwaukee, they went over each other’s speeches to the Republican National Convention. She gave notes on his, and he tweaked hers.

In keeping with many intellectual and professional endeavors over the course of their relationship, which got its start at Yale Law School more than a decade ago, they approached the task as a couple.

Their lives were about to undergo a dramatic change. Two days earlier, former President Donald J. Trump had announced the selection of Mr. Vance as his [*running mate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) on the Republican presidential ticket. Mr. Vance was used to the spotlight, having made his name as the best-selling author of the memoir [*“Hillbilly Elegy”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) years before he was elected to the United States Senate in 2022, but his wife had remained largely a private figure.

Whatever nerves the self-possessed Mrs. Vance might have been feeling, she had allies bolstering her confidence. In the hours before she stepped onto the stage, a longtime friend texted her a trailer from [*“Bring It On,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) the 2000 movie about highly competitive cheerleaders that was filmed in part at the high school she attended in San Diego.

Standing on the stage of Fiserv Forum before an audience of more than 17,000, with millions more watching on television, Mrs. Vance [*delivered a speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) that was direct and conversational, without the theatrical bluster employed by many of her fellow convention speakers.

“When I was asked to introduce my husband, JD Vance, to all of you, I was at a loss," she began. “What could I say that hasn’t already been said before? After all, the man was already the subject of a Ron Howard movie.”

With that line, a reference to the Oscar-nominated film based on her husband’s book, she earned her first laugh, and any jitters she might have had seemed to disappear.

Those who know her said they had never had any doubt that she would bring it at the convention. After all, Mrs. Vance is used to acing tests.

“She’s never gotten a B her entire life,” said Dan Driscoll, a family friend and fellow Yale Law School graduate who was with the couple at the Pfister Hotel and is serving as a campaign adviser to Mr. Vance.

Since childhood, Mrs. Vance, a daughter of Indian immigrants who grew up in Rancho Peñasquitos, a middle-class neighborhood of San Diego, has experienced an unbroken sequence of successes in elite academic and professional institutions, including Yale College, the University of Cambridge, Yale Law School and the Supreme Court, where she served as a clerk. It is the résumé of someone destined to reach the pinnacle of American achievement. So, in that sense, her elevation to a marquee stage in national politics is unsurprising.

But the fact that she delivered her speech to a party now dominated by Mr. Trump’s combative brand of politics is perhaps less likely. A cerebral person, Mrs. Vance chooses her words carefully, and friends describe her as apolitical. Her speech did not contain the words “Trump” or “Republican.”

With minimal makeup, no-nonsense shoes, a simple blue dress and threads of gray in her hair, she also [*projected a different image*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) from that of many women in the Trump sphere. And yet conservative commentators raved.

“You’re telling us that JD Vance was able to get this super-hot, brilliant, and loving woman?” Mollie Hemingway, the editor in chief of the right-wing news site The Federalist, wrote [*on X.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) “He must be even more impressive than he already seems.”

Law School Romance

In 2006, when she was a junior at Yale College, Mrs. Vance — then Usha Chilukuri — was featured as one of the university’s “50 most beautiful” students by a campus magazine. An accompanying story featured a photograph of her giving what was described in the caption as “a smile as bright as the San Diego sun.”

The article characterized her views as “of the leftish political persuasion” while noting that her romantic partners did not necessarily share her ideology. “She does like a man who has a lot to say for himself,” the story said. “In the past, most of her liaisons have been tall, handsome, and conservative.”

In the fall of 2010, at Yale Law School, she found herself in a group for first-year students with [*Mr. Vance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), a military veteran who was then, as she put it in her convention speech, “fresh out of Ohio State, which he attended with the support of the G.I. Bill.”

Their differences were immediately apparent. Mrs. Vance was raised by a mechanical engineer and a biologist in a tight-knit community of [*families who had immigrated from India*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) before settling in Rancho Peñasquitos. Mr. Vance had a tough childhood in southwestern Ohio, where he was raised mainly by his maternal grandparents.

“Who wouldn’t want to be friends with JD?” Mrs. Vance said in her speech, going on to describe him as “a ***working-class*** guy who had overcome childhood traumas that I could barely fathom to end up at Yale Law School, a tough Marine who had served in Iraq, but whose idea of a good time was playing with puppies and watching the movie ‘Babe.’”

In “Hillbilly Elegy,” Mr. Vance wrote of his initial impression of his future wife as “a combination of every positive quality a human being should have: bright, hardworking, tall, and beautiful.”

Neither of them enjoyed the kind of generational privilege or insider advantage that marked the elite set within that elite school. And they both sought out the iconoclastic professor Amy Chua, who set off a cultural storm with her 2011 memoir [*“Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) in which she made the case that parents must push their children toward excellence, rather than allow them to settle for mere participation trophies. At Yale, Ms. Chua was known for mentoring ambitious students from immigrant backgrounds.

Usha and JD teamed up and thrived, leading an informal class on economic development in the industrialized Midwest, an enterprise that would inform Mr. Vance’s book. They also cultivated a politically heterogenous group of friends.

One friend, James Eimers, recalled a small but meaningful favor Usha had done for him. At the time, he was romantically interested in a fellow student who happened to be trying to sell a table. Usha had no need for a table, but she bought it anyway and asked Mr. Eimers — who owned a pickup truck — to fetch it for her. It was just her way of giving him a chance to talk with his crush. In an email, Mr. Eimers confirmed that he had picked up the “superfluous table, as well as a date.”

For law students, a spot on the school’s law review is a coveted position. For the 2012-13 editions of The [*Yale Law Journal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), the future Mrs. Vance served in a top position, as executive development editor; Mr. Vance’s name was listed toward the bottom of the publication’s masthead, among the dozens beneath the word “editors.”

By the time Usha and JD were in their final year, they were so accomplished and inseparable that their fellow students referred to them as “Judusha,” a portmanteau that combined “JD,” “Usha” and “judicial.” Like “Bennifer” and “Brangelina,” the duo had attained celebrity status, at least in New Haven.

As Mrs. Vance mentioned in her convention speech, she took him to meet her parents. “Although he’s a meat and potatoes kind of guy,” she said, “he adapted to my vegetarian diet and learned to cook food from my mother, Indian food. Before I knew it, he’d become an integral part of my family, a person I could not imagine living without.”

They were married in Kentucky in 2014, with wooden benches for guests set outside in the grass. In a separate ceremony, they were blessed by a Hindu pandit. This month, the businessman Anand Mahindra [*posted photos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) of the wedding on X. They show the couple dressed in traditional Hindu garb beneath bright skies.

Early in their marriage, they moved around a lot, with stops in Columbus, Ohio, Cincinnati and Washington, D.C. Mrs. Vance pursued ever more prestigious clerkships, working under Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit and then under Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. at the Supreme Court.

In 2015, the Vances moved to San Francisco. Mrs. Vance started as an associate at Munger, Tolles &amp; Olson, while Mr. Vance went to work at Mithril Capital, an investment firm co-founded by Peter Thiel, and finished writing “Hillbilly Elegy.” At Munger, which is known for its selectiveness in hiring and its progressive outlook, Mrs. Vance worked as a civil litigator representing clients including the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, Disney and the University of California.

Mr. Vance has described his wife as a key adviser who keeps him humble. “If I get a little too cocky or a little too proud, I just remind myself that she’s way more accomplished than I,” he told Megyn Kelly in a podcast interview in 2020. “I’m one of those guys who really benefits from having sort of a powerful female voice over his left shoulder saying, ‘Don’t do that, do that.’”

Though the Vances were driven to succeed, they were also eager to start a family. In her convention speech, Mrs. Vance said that her husband’s “one overriding ambition” was “to become a husband and a father and to build the kind of tight-knit family that he had longed for as a child.” Today the couple has three children under 8.

They count among their friends [*Vivek Ramaswamy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html), the former Republican presidential candidate and a law school classmate of the Vances, and his wife, Apoorva. Mr. Ramaswamy said the families had spent Thanksgiving together in 2019, and he mentioned that Mrs. Vance had sent favorite children’s books to the Ramaswamys.

“Some of them are our best bedtime stories,” Mr. Ramaswamy said. “There’s just that extra iota of thoughtfulness.”

Around 2018, the Vances moved to a diverse neighborhood on the east side of Cincinnati, where they own a 5,000 square-foot Victorian Gothic house that dates to 1858. Mrs. Vance joined the board of the city’s symphony orchestra at the urging of Rob McDonald, who befriended the couple after he had met Mr. Vance when trying to recruit him to the law firm Taft Stettinius &amp; Hollister.

In an interview for this story, Mr. McDonald said that Mrs. Vance’s background in intellectual property law had been an asset as the symphony figured out how to make its music available for streaming. (She left the board last year, at the end of her three-year term.)

Since Mr. Vance’s election to the Senate in 2022, the family has toggled between Northern Virginia and Cincinnati. In Ohio, they spend time with their children and family friends, attending events at the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and swimming in their backyard pool. When it comes to cooking, Mr. Vance tackles breakfast and desserts like chocolate mousse, while Mrs. Vance takes charge of the more healthful fare, friends said.

“JD’s upbringing definitely exposed him to some of the worst food in the world, the most preservative-heavy food in the world,” Mr. McDonald said. “Usha certainly does not lean that way in her diet.”

The Shift to MAGA

For most of her adult life, Mrs. Vance’s friends and colleagues have understood her to be a liberal or a centrist. She was registered as a Democrat as recently as 2014 and kept liberal and leftist circles during a fellowship at Cambridge. Colleagues at Munger, Tolles &amp; Olson — a firm described in a 2019 American Lawyer article as “cool” and “woke” — remember her as a moderate.

Still, Mrs. Vance’s beliefs remain a matter of speculation, and she did not comment for this story. Mr. Roberts and Mr. Kavanaugh, for whom she served as a clerk, are legal conservatives. And Mrs. Vance’s friends and colleagues said she rarely discussed politics, and never in a partisan way. But as her husband’s politics have changed, Mrs. Vance has been there to support him.

A turning point may have come when the film version of “Hillbilly Elegy,” which has recently popped into the list of most-watched movies on Netflix, was released to a critical drubbing in 2020. According to a family friend, Mr. and Mrs. Vance were stung by the criticism of the movie, in which Mrs. Vance was played by Freida Pinto.

Since going into politics, Mr. Vance has given up his role as someone who explains ***working-class*** white resentment to liberals to become a leading voice in the MAGA movement.

Mrs. Vance’s unflagging support of her husband during his political evolution has put her, from the outside at least, in a tense position: endorsing a political ideology that targets the elite institutions that helped shape her.

In November 2021, when he was running for the Senate and transforming himself from one of Mr. Trump’s toughest critics into one of his most ardent supporters, Mr. Vance [*gave a speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) to the National Conservatism Conference titled “The Universities Are the Enemy.”

That same year, he made the argument that parents should be entitled to more votes than nonparents and offered the comment, which has recently resurfaced online, disparaging Vice President Kamala Harris as a “[*childless cat lady.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html)

In a [*February interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vp-pick.html) with George Stephanopoulos of ABC News, Mr. Vance seemed to back Mr. Trump’s stance that the 2020 presidential election was fraudulent and said that President Biden’s victory should not have been immediately certified.

Now Mrs. Vance, the picture of meritocratic ambition, finds herself cast as a political wife, a traditionally passive role. Last week, representatives working with the Trump-Vance campaign said she would rather be referred to as Mrs. Vance than Ms. Vance.

Friends say they expect Mrs. Vance, already laser focused on her family, to spend even more time with her children between now and the election. Indeed, on the day of her convention speech, she resigned from her job at Munger, Tolles &amp; Olson. In a statement to People magazine, she said that she had done so “to focus on caring for our family.”

But she has the skills to go out on the stump, according to Jai Chabria, an Ohio political consultant who served as chief strategist for Mr. Vance’s Senate campaign.

Mrs. Vance did not hit the trail very often in the 2022 Senate race, he said, because she had just given birth to the couple’s third child — but when she did go out before the public, she rose to the occasion.

“Every time voters met her or were able to see her, it was a ‘wow,’” Mr. Chabria said. “There is this quiet confidence with her. I think people are drawn to it.”

Whatever role Mrs. Vance plays in the months ahead, it’s worth wondering how she may handle putting her own career ambitions on ice.

“Like any highly capable, accomplished person like Usha, I’m sure that there’s some trepidation about whether or not her career is taking a back seat,” Mr. McDonald said, “but obviously it’s a great opportunity for her and JD to have a significant impact on the world.”

PHOTO: JD and Usha Vance at the R.N.C. Much of the nation got a first glimpse of Mrs. Vance when she gave her convention speech. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A13.

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[***What Happened to the Well-Mannered Cat Burglar?; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CBB-VX61-JBG3-6007-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 25, 2024 Tuesday 23:43 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 887 words

**Byline:** Darrell Hartman

**Highlight:** In “A Gentleman and a Thief,” Dean Jobb vividly recounts the life and times of the notorious criminal — and tabloid fixture — Arthur Barry.

**Body**

In “A Gentleman and a Thief,” Dean Jobb vividly recounts the life and times of the notorious criminal — and tabloid fixture — Arthur Barry.

A GENTLEMAN AND A THIEF: The Daring Jewel Heists of a Jazz Age Rogue, by Dean Jobb

As the rich got richer in the boom years of the 1920s, many of them fled New York City noise for the newly fashionable suburbs. But in these tranquil enclaves, they found something else to keep them up at night: a mysterious jewel thief known only as “the phantom.”

There was an elegant efficiency to the phantom’s methods. He slipped past night watchmen and guard dogs, climbed up trellises and through bedroom windows, and was usually long gone before any alarm could be sounded. Victims were stunned to realize they’d been dining downstairs, or sleeping a few feet away, while he’d ransacked their dresser drawers. He could tell real pearls from fakes. He left minimal evidence of an intrusion, and no fingerprints.

Had any of his victims gotten a proper look at him, they would have seen that the burglar was a dapper dresser with movie-star good looks. Indeed, he was known to gate-crash fancy house parties, where he would introduce himself to guests as “Dr. Gibson” before wandering off to case the joint for future burglaries. His act was so convincing that he once spent a night on the town with the visiting Prince of Wales. The nephew of John D. Rockefeller and the glamorous Lady Edwina Mountbatten were among his victims.

Though he sounds like a screenwriter’s invention, Arthur Barry was real. Life magazine called him “the greatest jewel thief who ever lived.” And, as Dean Jobb notes in his delectably entertaining new biography, “A Gentleman and a Thief,” Barry was a triple threat: “a bold impostor, a charming con artist and a master cat burglar rolled into one.”

Barry came from a ***working-class*** Irish American family in Worcester, Mass. From his first boss, a retired safecracker, he received some memorable advice: “Be gentlemanly and sincere. It will save you countless inconveniences, and maybe a few trips to the clink.”

Nevertheless, he made his first such trip at age 18. It was for attempted burglary, a conviction that Barry lied about in order to serve — courageously, it seems — in World War I. By the time he returned to America, the postwar celebrations and best (legal) jobs had evaporated.

Over a career that peaked between 1922 and 1927, Jobb concludes that Barry stole jewels with a combined worth of $60 million in today’s dollars. His biggest single payday came after he broke into a six-room suite at the Plaza Hotel — a rare Manhattan job — and made off with jewelry worth a staggering $10 million. The owner was the department-store heiress Jessie Woolworth Donahue, whose prize pearls Barry ended up selling back to her insurance company at a discount. “Anyone who could afford to wear a $100,000 necklace could afford to lose it,” Barry later declared.

He wasn’t the only one who considered the thefts victimless — or deserved. Though Barry’s reign of low-key terror alarmed whole communities in Westchester and Long Island, it enthralled the public.

He began rousing “clients” from their beds at gunpoint and politely asking them to hand over valuables; his suavity became the stuff of legend — especially after he agreed to spare items of sentimental value. When one victim showed signs of fainting, he escorted her into the bathroom and fed her an aspirin.

His 1927 capture and conviction was headline news. Barry spends much of the last third of Jobb’s book in handcuffs, in jail or in hiding. As the Jazz Age gave way to the Depression, his daily existence also lost its luster — which is not to say that the story gets boring. Barry helped lead a prison riot and reappeared in the headlines during the Lindbergh baby kidnapping, and Jobb, whose fondness for cold chapter-opens matches that of “Law &amp; Order”’s writers, seems incapable of penning a dull moment.

Barry wrote letters to his adoring wife, Anna, while incarcerated. They are the closest thing to a record of his private thoughts, but not terribly revealing. The version of his life story that he later provided was self-serving and incomplete, and he remains an elusive subject.

Unlike the con man Leo Koretz, another 1920s criminal whom Jobb has chronicled, Barry was rarely described in print by those who knew him. And did they really know him? (Anna claimed to have been unaware of her husband’s double life.)

Instead of analyzing this “prince of thieves” psychologically, Jobb examines the culture that celebrated him — noting, for example, how popular fictional characters (even some that Barry claimed he’d never heard of) paved the way for a real-life version.

The mood darkened during the Depression; the next generation of robbers was more prone to brandishing machine guns. By the 1930s, Jobb writes with a dash of tabloid hyperbole, Barry was “a throwback to a time of glitz and excess that now seemed as remote and distant as the Middle Ages.” Readers can decide whether his light touch merited a lighter sentence.

A GENTLEMAN AND A THIEF: The Daring Jewel Heists of a Jazz Age Rogue | By Dean Jobb | Algonquin | 438 pp. | $32.50

PHOTO: Arthur Barry (left) was famous for his suavity and good manners. (PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE DEAN JOBB COLLECTION) This article appeared in print on page BR14.

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Essay / Snap, Crackle and Pop***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRW-TG11-DXY4-X042-00000-00&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; Pg. 12; ESSAY

**Length:** 1548 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

How the author of ''The Right Stuff,'' ''Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers'' and other classics turned sociology into art.

There are certain writers you should never read before you yourself sit down to write, like P.G. Wodehouse and Tom Wolfe. For if you do, you will not be able to get their voices and rhythms out of your head, and you will have to confront the absolute certainty that you can't pull off what they did. In Wolfe's case you'll find that you can't quite replicate the raw energy of his prose: the fun; the snap, crackle, pop; the fuzzy effusions of new sociological categories -- masters of the universe, social X-rays.

And then there's his sheer audacity. His essay ''Radical Chic'' -- about a cocktail party the conductor Leonard Bernstein and his wife, Felicia, threw for the Black Panthers in 1970 -- begins with Bernstein waking up in the middle of the night in a state of wild alarm. He had mentioned having a bad dream in an interview somewhere, and Wolfe took that little autobiographical morsel and spun it into a grand tour through the inside of Bernstein's brain. Any responsible journalist can report, ''Bernstein had a nightmare,'' but Wolfe has the guts to take a flight of fancy and describe the nightmare from the inside, with its moments of narcissistic grandiosity and its descent into degrading humiliation.

Wolfe was known for his style, but it was his worldview that made him. He read Max Weber at Yale and it all clicked: Life is a contest for status. Some people think humans are driven by money, or love, or to heal the wounds they suffered in childhood, but Wolfe put the relentless scramble up the pecking order at the center of his worldview. It gave him his brilliant eye for surfaces, for the care with which people put on their social displays. He had the ability to name the status rules that envelop us in ways we are hardly aware of. He had a knack for capturing what it feels like to be caught up in a certain sort of social dilemma.

He was drawn to times and places where the status rules were shifting. His book ''The Right Stuff,'' about the U.S. space program, takes place at such a moment. Before, the combat pilots were the tippy-top alpha males in the world of flight, but then along came the astronauts to knock them off their perch. In ''Radical Chic,'' you can catch glimpses of the old blue-blood Protestant elite -- the Astors, the Whitneys, the Rockefellers. But this is 1970. A new crowd is beginning to displace them: the Bernsteins, Barbara Walters. The members of this rising elite have often made their money in culture and the media, and include the formerly unthinkables -- Catholics, Jews, Black people.

The old aristocrats had it so easy, those stately bankers in the J.P. Morgan mold. They may have been frequently bewildered about why the masses didn't like them, but their own place in the social aristocracy was secure. It was right there in their bloodlines -- the generations of grandees stretching back centuries. The status rules were simple. All you had to do was live like an English earl and collect European culture by the boatload, and you could cruise through Manhattan amid the sound of others bowing and scraping.

The members of the new cultural elite could never be so secure. Their status -- their very reason for being -- was based on their own superior sensibility. They lived by their wits and their public attitudes. These media-age aristocrats had to excel at tasks that members of the beau monde have always excelled at -- being rich, thin and well connected; keeping the duplexes adorned with the design trends. But they had to do so much more. They had to be morally avant-garde, able to articulate the luxury opinions du jour. They had to perform all these inversions -- rising to the social stratosphere by ostentatiously demonstrating their solidarity with the oppressed, assuring their place atop the structures of power by striking radical poses and pretending to support tearing those structures down. Wolfe was there at the dawn of 20th-century one-downmanship, when you could rise to the social stratosphere by donning peasant and revolutionary garb.

Some people think ''Radical Chic'' is simply about race relations. It's not. His essay ''Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers'' deals with this issue more squarely in its study of the bureaucratic tangle at the center of the chillingly named Office of Economic Opportunity in San Francisco, where white fears around political correctness collide with entrenched poverty in the city's Black, Chicano, Filipino and Samoan communities. The program is supposed to help create opportunity for disadvantaged groups but ends up becoming a farce in which jobs and money are manipulated from harassed and clueless office workers. ''Radical Chic'' is about status codes and narcissism. The Black Panthers in the essay are treated by the white characters as luxury goods, beings who bring a frisson of righteous danger to the safe tranquillity of the Upper East Side.

Wolfe would later say that he learned about that evening at the Bernsteins' when he was visiting the offices of Harper's Magazine. He wandered into David Halberstam's office (Halberstam wasn't there), and noticed on his desk a handwritten invitation from Mrs. Leonard Bernstein to attend a soiree with the Black Panthers. He saw immediately what the members of the beau monde were too oblivious to see: that if you told the people in Queens or Topeka that the rich white residents of the Upper East Side were throwing parties for the Panthers, they would fall all over themselves laughing. He called the R.S.V.P. number, gave his own name and said he'd be happy to attend. At the party he sat quietly in a chair, his notebook prominently displayed, taking it all down in shorthand. A New York Times reporter was also there, allowed to record the festivities. The Bernsteins were being so noble! Who could possibly ridicule them for it?

Wolfe captures all the little challenges that afflict the new elite. Of course you can't have Black servants at a Panther party, but where do you find white servants? Sideburns are symbols that you're on board with the revolution, but how low should you wear them? Should they go down to the ''intertragic notch,'' that spot near the lower rim of the ear, or should you flaunt full mutton chops, with all their countercultural glory? And what do you call Black people, anyway? Wolfe has his characters wondering. This was the moment when the notion that the word ''Negro'' was offensive was beginning to penetrate even these patrician circles. With your fellow militant-by-invitation elites, you say ''Black,'' but what happens when you're talking to your white servants? If you use that word, they'll think you're just one of those limousine liberals.

Wolfe recognizes the climax of a cultural moment when he sees it. It comes when an uptown art gallery owner in a tuxedo, pregaming before a private party at the Met, rises in full revolutionary fervor and cries out, ''Who do you call to give a party?''

Any college lampooner could make fun of this stuff. But Wolfe goes several levels deeper. There's a lot of double-track thinking going on here, he writes. The partygoers really do care for those who are oppressed. Racial injustice really is one of the core themes of American history. It's just that these people want to care in a way that makes them look gorgeous. Wolfe is asking a question that decades later would be at the heart of Instagram activism: How much of all this is about caring for the oppressed, and how much is about the image of you caring for the oppressed?

Wolfe's goal was to be like Balzac, not JD Vance. He was a provocateur, not an advocate. He came to examine fashions, not legislate morality. His writing rests upon a quiet self-confidence. As a young man, he came up from the South to graduate school at Yale and found that all those Northeastern preppies looked down on Southerners. He could have tried to conform to his new milieu, but he became even more his idiosyncratic Southern self. Then he came to New York, and there, too, he could have lost himself in all the glamour, in the if-you-can-make-it-here-you-can-make-it-anywhere ambition. He sipped from the cup of that ambition, but mostly he stationed himself where writers are supposed to station themselves, off to the side, observing, never quite belonging. It's lonely there, but it allowed him a peek at what was emerging: The new coastal elites had made themselves insufferable to ***working-class*** Americans, and sooner or later there would be hell to pay.

Wolfe satirized the upper crust, but he had empathy, fellow feeling and sometimes admiration. He labored to accurately get inside their heads. What made him humane was that his sensibility was ultimately literary; his goal was to simply depict modern life, to describe people in their foibles and follies, to capture the way their sad and sometimes wonderful longings tortured, drove and uplifted them. Wolfe pulled off an astounding trick, turning sociology into art.David Brooks is an Opinion columnist for The Times. This essay is adapted from his introduction to a new edition of ''Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers,'' to be published by Picador in August.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/15/books/review/tom-wolfe-radical-chic-black-panthers-leonard-bernstein.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/15/books/review/tom-wolfe-radical-chic-black-panthers-leonard-bernstein.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Tom Wolfe in Midtown Manhattan in 1968. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SAM FALK/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BR12)

Wolfe's goal was to be like Balzac, not JD Vance. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANGEL FRANCO/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BR13) This article appeared in print on page BR12, BR13.

**Load-Date:** August 18, 2024

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[***JD Vance’s Combative Style Confounds Democrats but Pleases Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVM-X5F1-DXY4-X1R1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 31, 2024 Saturday 22:52 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1798 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:** Over dozens of events and more than 70 interviews, Mr. Vance’s performances as Donald Trump’s attack dog have endeared him to his boss, even if America broadly is less enthusiastic.

**Body**

Over dozens of events and more than 70 interviews, Mr. Vance’s performances as Donald Trump’s attack dog have endeared him to his boss, even if America broadly is less enthusiastic.

Donald J. Trump knew that JD Vance could take a punch. But during their first week together on the campaign trail, the former president wondered just how many hits his new running mate could absorb.

The volume and velocity of attacks from Democrats stunned even Mr. Trump. He was unaware of the most incendiary remarks that opponents were rapidly unearthing from Mr. Vance’s past, and the former president told allies that he was troubled by the idea that more comments would come to light as Democrats savaged his heir apparent as weird and anti-women.

A month later, [*polls show*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/favorability/jd-vance/) that the number of Americans who dislike Mr. Vance continues to grow — but Mr. Trump could not be happier.

The reason: Mr. Vance’s relentless pace of full-throttle performances as Mr. Trump’s well-trained attack dog has pleased the former president and instilled a sense of stability inside a campaign still [*shaken*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/favorability/jd-vance/) by President Biden’s sudden exit from the race.

Mr. Trump had instructed his young sidekick to fight forcefully through those initial attacks, and later said Mr. Vance’s execution exceeded his expectations, according to three allies who insisted on anonymity to discuss private conversations.

In a quintessentially Trumpian display of bravado, the former president has privately praised Mr. Vance by comparing himself to Vince Lombardi, telling people that his eye for political talent was now on par with the Hall of Fame football coach’s ability to find Super Bowl-caliber players.

But beyond Mar-a-Lago, early returns on Mr. Vance are less enthusiastic. Polls show that he effectively amplifies Mr. Trump’s political strengths but that he also magnifies his weaknesses. Mr. Vance’s approval rating improved by nearly double digits among the nation’s least educated and poorest voters since joining the Republican ticket — but plunged by even wider margins among college graduates and independent women, according to an [*NPR/PBS News/Marist poll*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/favorability/jd-vance/).

How those conflicting opinions either resolve themselves or become further inflamed will help determine whether Mr. Trump ends the race in less than 10 weeks with a second presidential term or a second electoral defeat.

“JD never had a honeymoon — he had a hurricane, but I think a lot of that is in the rearview mirror now,” said Charlie Kirk, a Republican activist close to the Trump campaign. “He’s further animated the conservative base and also voters we are looking to run up the score with, which are white ***working-class*** voters and young male voters.”

Democrats, however, have been outraged and confounded by Mr. Vance’s vice-presidential bid. This year, Mr. Trump had spoken at length about finding a running mate who was uniquely qualified to take over as president — and then picked Mr. Vance, who assumed his first elected office just last year and turned 40 less than a month ago.

Mr. Vance would be the nation’s youngest vice president since 1953, when Richard Nixon took the oath of office at 40. Common traits run through their backgrounds and early careers.

Both were born into poor families and earned law degrees from prestigious universities, Duke for Mr. Nixon and Yale for Mr. Vance. Both served in the military. Mr. Nixon had a more robust political résumé, but both were also less than two years into their first terms in the Senate when they joined their party’s presidential ticket.

Mr. Nixon was arguably one of the most combative vice-presidential contenders of the past century, although Mr. Vance may challenge him in that regard.

Mr. Vance has accused Vice President Kamala Harris of being personally responsible for the deaths of 13 service members in Afghanistan in 2021 and of opening the southern border to “let these cartels bring in the poison that’s killing our families.” He has said that she plans to buy oil from “every tin-pot dictator,” is more interested in building the economy in “Communist China” than at home and longs to put truck drivers out of business to force them into computer-coding classes.

And that was all from one 30-minute event on Wednesday in Erie, Pa.

“I really don’t know what Trump was thinking with this pick because Vance hasn’t done anything to show he’s ready to be the leader of the free world,” said Joel Benenson, a Democratic pollster who worked for former President Barack Obama. “Is he doing anything other than playing to the conservative base? The answer is no, and you don’t win elections from the left or the right. You win from the middle out, and these guys are not appealing to the middle.”

The most damaging attack on Mr. Vance last month centered on his comments from a Fox News interview in 2021, when he lamented the numerous “[*childless cat ladies*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/favorability/jd-vance/)” among American leaders, including Ms. Harris.

Many voters shrug off similar comments from Mr. Trump because they view the 78-year-old former president as something of an elderly uncle “who doesn’t understand the world has changed,” said Bill Kristol, who was the chief of staff for Vice President Dan Quayle in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

“But Vance has gone out of his way to adopt a set of views from an ideological, right-wing milieu on things like child-rearing and how women should more or less stay home,” said Mr. Kristol, an organizer of Republican Voters Against Trump. “That is harder to understand from someone who is 40.”

The Trump campaign had planned to ease Mr. Vance into the spotlight, but the furor over “cat ladies” accelerated that timetable.

Mr. Vance’s excitement at joining the fray was immediately visible. He arrived with a fresh haircut and neatly trimmed beard for his first solo rally, a hometown event in Middletown, Ohio. In a sign of his astonishment at every warm welcome from his pro-Trump crowds, Mr. Vance opened each event for the first several weeks with the same single exclamation: “Wow!”

He has enjoyed traveling with family members aboard his chartered Boeing 737. His wife, Usha, is rarely without a book in her hands. His mother, Beverly Aikins, posed for selfies at an A&amp;W in Big Rapids, Mich., and joined him at a private fund-raiser in Nashville. His father-in-law, Krish Chilukuri, carried an oversize bag of popcorn onboard for his day on the trail as if he anticipated an entertaining show.

Since Mr. Trump announced his selection on July 15, Mr. Vance has held two dozen campaign events, mainly in the battleground states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. He has hosted about two dozen fund-raisers. He has participated in more than 70 interviews on television, conservative radio and podcasts, as well as with newspaper and magazine reporters. At least 10 other times, he has answered questions from reporters traveling on his campaign plane.

Mr. Vance’s media strategy, allies said, functioned as his attempt to reach beyond the conservative base and to joust — carefully and respectfully, for the most part — with network anchors.

“Every V.P. candidate gets attacked when they’re chosen; it’s how you handle it that matters,” said Senator Steve Daines, a Montana Republican overseeing his party’s Senate campaigns. “They’re throwing hardballs at him, throwing curveballs at him, and he’s really been very impressive.”

Mr. Vance’s interactions with reporters produced one of his most effective days on the trail when he attacked his Democratic counterpart, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota. The Harris campaign had posted an old video of Mr. Walz pushing to restrict access to “weapons of war that I carried in war.” Mr. Walz served 24 years in the military but never in combat.

Mr. Vance and his team had been searching for some way to disrupt a streak of positive news for Ms. Harris, who had unified her party around her nomination, and their tactic of highlighting the discrepancy worked. Cable networks broke into their coverage to report his criticisms of Mr. Walz.

Some pundits concluded that the move had been designed by Chris LaCivita, a senior Trump campaign adviser who had played a key role in similar “Swift Boat” attacks on Senator John Kerry, the 2004 Democratic nominee. But Mr. Vance had anticipated the opportunity on his own and quickly seized it.

Later, when his plane followed Air Force Two into Chippewa Valley Regional Airport in Wisconsin, he hurried down the tarmac straight for Ms. Harris’s plane.

Her motorcade sped off before Mr. Vance could execute any publicity stunt, so he instead spent a few minutes with reporters who had gathered to see Ms. Harris. He mostly mocked Ms. Harris for not taking more questions, a criticism that remains a top talking point for Republicans.

“I just wanted to check out my future plane,” Mr. Vance said when he returned to his motorcade.

Ms. Harris’s campaign later posted a meme-style video on social media aimed at mocking Mr. Vance. The clip shows her meeting with Girl Scouts on the tarmac before quickly cutting to footage of Mr. Vance’s arrival. A narrator says, “All of a sudden, I hear this agitating, grating voice.”

Mr. Vance’s self-assured manner with the news media has reached the point where questions from reporters now account for about half of his typical 30-minute events. The rules are stacked in his favor.

Mr. Vance seeks questions mostly from local outlets, which, by definition, are typically focused on regional issues. The news media is corralled at the back of the room, where the microphone is held by campaign staff members, limiting opportunities for follow-up questions.

“You all want to see me take some questions from the media?” Mr. Vance asked a crowd inside a Wisconsin warehouse stacked with PVC products on Wednesday.

An approving roar erupted from the crowd.

But unscripted events carry risk, too. At a trucking logistics company in Pennsylvania, Mr. Vance’s audience sustained a chorus of earsplitting boos when a woman introduced herself as a reporter from CNN.

The next reporter stumbled on her question, and multiple audience members heckled her and loudly mimicked her stammer.

Mr. Vance also overextended himself while speaking about [*a confrontation between Mr. Trump’s team and Arlington National Cemetery officials*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/favorability/jd-vance/). Mr. Vance angrily cursed Ms. Harris for her response to the incident — but she has said nothing. Her campaign’s only reaction was from a spokesman who offered a brief and largely unnoticed response to a question during a cable news interview.

“She wants to yell at Donald Trump because he showed up?” Mr. Vance said to applause. “She can go to hell.”

PHOTO: Polls show that JD Vance effectively amplifies Donald J. Trump’s political strengths but that he also magnifies his weaknesses. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

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[***A Debut Transcends A Genre's Dreariness***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6901-JT81-JBG3-6018-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 824 words

**Byline:** By Simran Hans

**Body**

Charlotte Regan's debut feature ''Scrapper'' is part of a lineage of British social-realist films, but its pastel palette and surreal humor resist the genre's dreariness.

When Charlotte Regan was a child, she spent summer vacations playing on the street. ''It felt like you were at a holiday park with all your best friends,'' said the British filmmaker, 29, in a recent interview. At the time, Regan lived in a North London housing project with her grandmother, whose balcony overlooked the makeshift playground. ''It felt like magic,'' she said.

Regan revisits those childhood memories in her spirited debut film ''Scrapper,'' which opens in theaters on Aug. 25 in Britain, Ireland and the United States. The movie's 12-year-old protagonist, Georgie (Lola Campbell, in her screen debut,) lives alone after her mother's death, and spends a summer vacation avoiding social services and finding creative -- if illegal ways -- to make money. Georgie still thinks of the project where she lives as ''the best place in the world,'' Regan said, until her previously absent father Jason (Harris Dickinson, ''Triangle of Sadness'') turns up, disrupting her summer of dance routines and freedom.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/18/movies/scrapper-charlotte-regan.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/18/movies/scrapper-charlotte-regan.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: In ''Scrapper,'' Lola Campbell plays Georgie, a 12-year-old living alone after her mother's death. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KINO LORBER) This article appeared in print on page C4.

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**End of Document**



[***Republican Voices, Far From the Stage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHX-M5K1-DXY4-X2BW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 21, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1166 words

**Byline:** By Alicia Parlapiano

**Body**

How the party has changed and where it might be going, according to its most committed members.

With the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee this week, we wanted to learn how the party has changed and where it might be going, not from the officials who will give prime-time convention speeches, but in the words of some of its most committed members from across the country.

We spoke with 65 delegates and other attendees, a majority of whom were going to their first convention. We asked them their views on Donald J. Trump, the issues that drive them, what they've seen change, formative political moments, their favorite Republicans and who might be the next leader of the party. The initial conversations happened before the attempted assassination of Mr. Trump on Saturday, and we followed up with respondents at the convention.

1/6

How would you describe your feelings or level of enthusiasm about Donald Trump as the nominee?

Most of the attendees we spoke to said they were very enthusiastic about nominating him. Some said they were energized by his felony conviction in Manhattan in May. While the delegate selection process varies by state, the presumptive nominee has significant influence on who is chosen.

When asked at the convention how they felt about the shooting, many said they were even more determined to see Mr. Trump elected. Another common response was the belief that God had intervened to protect him. Some expressed hope that the political temperature would cool down, while others blamed the rhetoric of Mr. Trump's detractors. ''When you dehumanize people, it opens the door for others to take action in some ways,'' said Matthew Rust, a delegate from Wisconsin.

In conversations leading up to the convention, some respondents expressed their support for Mr. Trump but acknowledged that he was not always their first choice, or that they preferred his policies to his personality.

Just one participant said he was not at all enthusiastic about Mr. Trump. Jason Watts, a former district party treasurer who was impeached after telling The New York Times that he had not voted for Mr. Trump in 2016 or 2020, says he feels like an abandoned orphan in the party.

2/6

Is there a particular issue that drives you toward or excites you about the Republican Party right now?

The economy was mentioned by more than 40 percent of respondents. Younger Republicans were more likely to be concerned about the cost of living. ''It is near impossible to buy a home, to get married and afford to have kids,'' said Stevie Giorno, a 24-year-old delegate from Tennessee.

Immigration was mentioned just as frequently (most respondents raised more than one driving issue), especially among older attendees. The responses track with a recent Times/Siena College poll in which more than half of Republicans said either the economy or immigration was the most important issue in deciding their vote.

Last week, Republican Party members approved a new, significantly pared down party platform reflective of Mr. Trump's priorities. The document calls for mass deportations as well as sealing off the border to migrants.

Several respondents talked about the size of government and the national debt, long-held Republican priorities that were largely dropped from the party's platform.

Abortion came up less frequently in the survey. The new party platform softens the party's stance on the issue, reflecting Mr. Trump's recent position that it should be handled by the states, upsetting many anti-abortion activists.

A handful of respondents mentioned issues surrounding education, gender and sexuality, including the Biden administration's revised Title IX rules. A few respondents included election integrity as important to them, or offered that they believed in the false claim that the 2020 election was stolen.

3/6

Is there something you've seen change in the party?

Nearly all of the respondents hold positions within their local or state parties, or are members of groups for young Republicans or Republican women. Some hold public office. Many acknowledged an internal struggle in the party stemming from an influx of conservative activists.

Other respondents said they'd seen a sustained movement of the ***working class*** toward their party since blue-collar voters helped secure Mr. Trump's victory in 2016.

When it comes to foreign conflicts like in Gaza and Ukraine, they say today's party is less willing to be involved.

Some, but not all, who mentioned diversity said it had increased. In surveys over the past year, Mr. Trump has improved his standing with young and nonwhite voters.

4/6

Has there been a particularly meaningful or formative political moment in your life?

Most of the respondents said they had been Republicans their entire lives (or at least since they could vote). One said he campaigned door-to-door with his mother when he was still in the womb. Another recalled running a Reagan re-election campaign at his elementary school as a first grader.

Researchers have estimated that the years between age 14 and 24 are the most formative in shaping political preferences. Many of the major national or world events cited by respondents as meaningful occurred during their young adult years. Karl Von Batten, a 37-year-old lobbyist in Washington, remembered that after Sept. 11, ''President George Bush got on a bullhorn and made a call for action.'' He added, ''I joined the Army after that.''

For most, an election or a campaign event activated their involvement. For the few who were not lifelong Republicans, these moments motivated them to join the party.

The pandemic was also frequently mentioned.

5/6

Which Republican figure do you consider your favorite, or think aligns most closely with your positions?

Many respondents mentioned Mr. Trump. But more than half, including those born long after his presidency, mentioned Ronald Reagan. ''Any true Republican should hold Reagan in the highest regard,'' said Arik Amundsen, a 24-year-old delegate from Oklahoma.

Many people couldn't name just one favorite. In all, they mentioned 40 Republicans. These were named more than once:

There were a wide range of others mentioned once, including several home-state lawmakers.

6/6

Is there someone you see as the next leader of the party after Trump?

Participants named 25 people they thought had potential to lead the party after Mr. Trump. Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida received the most mentions, from more than one-third of respondents.

These responses were compiled before Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio was announced as Mr. Trump's running mate, with some attendees saying they were waiting to see who the choice would be. The most common names mentioned after Mr. DeSantis were Vivek Ramaswamy, Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, and the former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley -- all onetime primary contenders.

More than 20 percent of participants did not name anyone with the potential to take up Mr. Trump's mantle.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/upshot/six-questions-we-asked-65-republican-convention-attendees.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/upshot/six-questions-we-asked-65-republican-convention-attendees.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (A18

A19) This article appeared in print on page A18, A19.

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**End of Document**



[***Kitchen-Sink Drama, With the Color Turned Up***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68YT-W511-JBG3-64NY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 18, 2023 Friday 01:25 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 838 words

**Byline:** Simran Hans

**Highlight:** Charlotte Regan’s debut feature “Scrapper” is part of a lineage of British social-realist films, but its pastel palette and surreal humor resist the genre’s dreariness.

**Body**

Charlotte Regan’s debut feature “Scrapper” is part of a lineage of British social-realist films, but its pastel palette and surreal humor resist the genre’s dreariness.

When Charlotte Regan was a child, she spent summer vacations playing on the street. “It felt like you were at a holiday park with all your best friends,” said the British filmmaker, 29, in a recent interview. At the time, Regan lived in a North London housing project with her grandmother, whose balcony overlooked the makeshift playground. “It felt like magic,” she said.

Regan revisits those childhood memories in her spirited debut film “[*Scrapper*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TcEY8_9n2U8&amp;pp=ygUQc2NyYXBwZXIgdHJhaWxlcg%3D%3D),” which opens in theaters on Aug. 25 in Britain, Ireland and the United States. The movie’s 12-year-old protagonist, Georgie (Lola Campbell, in her screen debut,) lives alone after her mother’s death, and spends a summer vacation avoiding social services and finding creative — if illegal ways — to make money. Georgie still thinks of the project where she lives as “the best place in the world,” Regan said, until her previously absent father Jason (Harris Dickinson, “[*Triangle of Sadness*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/06/movies/triangle-of-sadness-review.html)”) turns up, disrupting her summer of dance routines and freedom.

“Scrapper,” which won the World Cinema Grand Jury Prize at this year’s Sundance Film Festival, is part of a rich lineage of British social-realist films that center children and often cast nonprofessional actors. From Ken Loach (“Kes”) to Clio Barnard (“The Selfish Giant”) many of Britain’s most celebrated auteurs have explored the bleak injustices of the country’s class system from a child’s-eye view. But with its kinetic camerawork, pastel color palette and surreal sense of humor (there are talking spiders), “Scrapper” is a rejection of the genre’s so-called kitchen-sink gloom.

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In a video interview, Campbell praised Regan’s laid back approach on set. “She wasn’t strict,” she said, adding that the director “fits in” with the younger cast members. “She just messes about with all of us. She’s up-to-date with children’s jokes,” she said.

But Regan said that before making the film, she had fallen out of touch with what it felt like to be a kid. While she was writing “Scrapper,” the filmmaker’s father passed away. “I was probably much more grown up before he died,” she said. After losing him and her grandmother in quick succession, she read a lot of books about coping with grief. She found that reading about “how kids deal with things” resonated more than advice aimed at adults, she said.

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Both Regan and the film’s cinematographer, Molly Manning Walker, have a background in directing [*music videos*](https://vimeo.com/353961774), and Regan said the pair wanted to ensure the film’s look had “a bit more joy” than the “gritty ***working class*** films” that international audiences have come to expect from Britain.

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PHOTO: In “Scrapper,” Lola Campbell plays Georgie, a 12-year-old living alone after her mother’s death. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KINO LORBER) This article appeared in print on page C4.

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Are We in the Midst of a Political Realignment?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BM9-KKM1-JBG3-600R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 23, 2024 Saturday 12:11 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 973 words

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

**Highlight:** Assessing the level of change in partisan allegiance in recent years, as well as the president’s numbers since the State of the Union.

**Body**

Assessing the level of change in partisan allegiance in recent years, as well as the president’s numbers since the State of the Union.

We’re trying to find more ways to weigh in on the political conversation as the tempo of the campaign picks up.

This is our first try: a weekly roundup newsletter, offering thoughts on some of the bigger questions of the week and a few of our favorite links. There will also be an opportunity to answer occasional reader questions.

Racial realignment?

“Realignment” is the holy grail of American politics — the fantasy of every political consultant who wants to usher in a new era of Democratic or Republican dominance.

What’s a realignment? It’s a lasting shift in the partisan allegiance of the country, or at least a large demographic group. Think, for instance, of the rise of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal coalition, or the realignment of the South from Democrats to Republicans after the enactment of the Civil Rights Act. These are epochal, defining moments in American history.

With that in mind, try to imagine how wide my eyes got when I read an [*article*](https://www.ft.com/content/a7607626-5491-48bd-aa56-5a10cbeeb768) in The Financial Times arguing that America is undergoing a “racial realignment,” seemingly based on the [*results*](https://www.ft.com/content/a7607626-5491-48bd-aa56-5a10cbeeb768) of our last New York Times/Siena College poll, which found President Biden leading by a slim 10 points among nonwhite voters, a group that usually backs Democrats by 50-plus points.

This claim strikes me as, at best, premature. The general election campaign is barely underway, and poll results in February do not constitute a realignment. As we have written several times: No one should be remotely surprised if Mr. Biden ultimately reassembles his support among Black and Latino voters. Alternately, many of the dissenting voters may simply stay home, as they did in the midterms. This would be bad for Mr. Biden, but it would be no realignment.

Perhaps a more interesting question is whether the current polling would count as a realignment if it held in the final results. Clearly, it would be a significant shift with hugely important electoral consequences, both now and beyond. In the final account, it might clearly demarcate a post-Civil Rights era, when Democrats could count on overwhelming support from nonwhite voters, from a new era when they cannot.

But even in the worst case for Democrats, Mr. Biden would probably still win among Black, Hispanic and Asian American voters. This would arguably fall short of counting as a wholesale realignment in political preferences.

For good measure, realignments usually require a subsequent election to confirm the shift. In the old political science textbooks, this is sometimes called a “confirming election.” That’s because unique candidates and circumstances can produce major electoral shifts that don’t last.

It’s hard enough to predict whether Donald J. Trump’s gains in the polls among nonwhite voters will last until November, let alone whether they’ll fuel Republicans through 2028. His resilience will probably depend on the source of his strength, which is still up for debate. Last fall, I [*worked through five hypotheses*](https://www.ft.com/content/a7607626-5491-48bd-aa56-5a10cbeeb768), and some might be likelier to yield a lasting shift than others. Even beyond this cycle, if Mr. Trump won, how he governed in the White House would be an important variable. Mass deportations of undocumented immigrants, for instance, may not be the way to cement an incipient realignment of young, nonwhite and Latino voters.

All that said, there is a case to think of Trump gains among Black and Latino voters as part of a broader realignment: the realignment of American politics along the lines of Mr. Trump’s conservative populism.

It may not have happened in one realigning election, but if you take 2016, 2020 and a hypothetical 2024 result that mirrors today’s polling together, you have a pretty fundamental change in the dimensions of partisan conflict compared with the elections from 1980 to 2012. If Mr. Trump’s gains among ***working-class*** white voters ultimately extended to ***working-class*** Black and Latino voters as well, it would represent the culmination of a decadelong shift in American politics, whether you call it a realignment or not.

Did the State of the Union lift Biden’s numbers?

Two weeks after the State of the Union address, there are a few hints that maybe, just maybe, Mr. Biden’s poll numbers have started to tick up a bit.

If you squint at the figures, the most prolific online pollsters show his approval rating inching up, by an average of around a point or two. His gains in the polling of the presidential race are even smaller, but it’s just enough to make the case that something’s afoot.

It’s also just small enough to question whether anything is happening at all, especially as there has been plenty of unfavorable data for Mr. Biden. He has not led in any battleground state poll over the last few weeks, and Mr. Trump led the latest Selzer poll by seven points nationwide. It’s worth being cautious until there’s additional high-quality polling.

Whether it’s little change or no change, it shouldn’t be any big surprise that the State of the Union didn’t upend the race. Historically, it doesn’t move the polls much. It’s mostly watched by highly engaged partisans who already hold firm views about the president.

Thing on the internet

It’s hard to believe, but the [*Roper Center for Public Opinion Research*](https://www.ft.com/content/a7607626-5491-48bd-aa56-5a10cbeeb768) may have published a game about polling that is actually fun: [*Campaign Weathervane.*](https://www.ft.com/content/a7607626-5491-48bd-aa56-5a10cbeeb768) The core of the game is to try to guess historical polling results, like how you believe Americans in 1940 would have responded to the question: “If England is defeated in the next few weeks, should we invite Canada to become part of the United States?”

I’ll admit it: I enjoyed it.

PHOTO: Voting patterns have changed a lot in the last decade. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Cody O&#39;Loughlin for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Nearly Everything in American Politics Is Topsy-Turvy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BMY-60D1-JBG3-6021-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 26, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; THE CONVERSATION

**Length:** 1618 words

**Byline:** By Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Body**

Bret Stephens: Hi, Gail. It goes without saying that we wish Catherine, Princess of Wales, health and strength in her battle with cancer. Other than that, I think the best we can do to respect her privacy is to say as little about it as possible.

Gail Collins: Absolutely no reason to torment public figures in such dire circumstances -- unless, of course, they're running a country. Princesses are obviously a different matter. But let's move on: Who would you like to carp at first?

Bret: Thomas Edsall had a great essay in The Times last week noting that the Democratic Party is losing support among nonwhite voters. Although Joe Biden still leads Donald Trump by wide margins among Black and Hispanic Americans, the percentages seem to be shrinking. Biden's lead among Hispanics has dropped from 24 points in 2020 to just six points now. What gives?

Gail: A great essay indeed. Bret, I do think you have to consider the exhaustion factor -- everybody's looking at seven to eight more months of this campaign and it's not surprising that voters -- especially younger voters -- are looking for a little variety.

Bret: If Trump qualifies as ''a little variety,'' I wonder what counts as a lot.

Gail: Donald Trump is a terrible, terrible guy but he's a professional entertainer. It's a lot easier to be bored by Biden. And in part because Biden has a good record and personal character, there's not much to debate.

Listening to late-night comics, you realize that they're constantly joking about Biden's age -- I think for lack of anything else to make fun of. I'm betting that when we approach the fall with official nominees and elections around the corner, the real issues are going to surface. TV ads will remind people every night that Trump is basically a septuagenarian juvenile delinquent.

Am I too optimistic?

Bret: To quote the immortal line from ''Airplane II'': ''Just a tad.''

To me, Edsall's findings are further evidence that the deepest fault line in American society may not be about color but about class. Over the last few years, Democrats have become a party dominated by college-educated people, which is why you see Biden spending a lot of his political capital on issues like student-debt relief. In the meantime, Trump has successfully recast the G.O.P. as a ***working-class*** party, which helps account for his gains among Black and Hispanic voters, many of whom are on his side when it comes to issues like law and order and the rising cost of living.

Gail: Real-world-wise, the ***working-class*** party is the one that fights for a higher minimum wage, affordable child care for working mothers and protecting the right of unions to organize.

But go on ....

Bret: Well, if that were so, then the real-world ***working class*** wouldn't be tilting in Trump's direction. But they also care a lot about safer streets, affordable groceries, lower financing costs and better educational options for their children than failing public schools -- none of which feel like they have improved under Biden. Democrats should be reaching out to those voters, not treating them as moral reprobates.

Gail: I totally agree that Trump voters should be regarded as targets for conversion, not contempt. Obviously that doesn't mean every person who supports him is a worthy candidate for rehabilitation. For example, when you're talking about the folks who are prepared to invest several billion dollars in Trump's disastrous Twitter alternative, I'm leaning toward the reprobate interpretation.

Bret: I take it you're referring to Truth Social, which in an honest world would be renamed Lies Sociopathic.

Gail: Your name wins.

Bret: This is another example of how Trump's enemies are always doing him unwitting favors. Here was a company that until a few weeks ago was basically worthless but may now reap the former president a $3 billion windfall -- apparently, it seems, because his supporters bought up the stock in a frenzy to help him pay off the $454 million judgment against him in a New York civil-suit judgment. If the judgment against him had come down, say, to 200 hours of community service cleaning out garbage cans in Central Park, it would have done a lot more to humble and hinder him.

And speaking of self-defeating efforts, can we talk about Marjorie Taylor Greene's threat to oust Mike Johnson as House speaker?

Gail: Wouldn't have imagined working up much sympathy for Mike Johnson but Greene's attempt to punish him for getting a budget passed really does force you to ... temporarily rethink. Johnson is facing the immediate prospect of seeing his majority drop down to one, including dozens of members who won't vote for anything that would make the government work. So Democrats in the House have actually been talking about saving him if push comes to shove.

What do you think is going to happen?

Bret: There's a theory in political science that parliamentary majorities become more cohesive as they get smaller, since nobody wants to be the traitor who brings the majority down. But Greene or some other member of the G.O.P.'s space laser caucus just might prove the theory wrong. For them, politics isn't about governing. It's about getting attention. At some psychological level, today's Republican members probably want to be in a permanent minority, because that gives them a platform with maximum TV time and minimum political responsibility.

But hey, we're agreeing too much. How do you feel about Texas managing its own border policy?

Gail: In the long list of bad ideas to emanate from Gov. Greg Abbott, this would be close to the top of the worst. Do we want North Dakota and Montana setting up their own immigration laws? Or New York or Michigan, for that matter?

And hey, didn't we have a bipartisan plan to deal with the border and immigration issue? Which Trump demanded the Republicans kill so he could keep yammering about the ''animals'' trying to cross the border.

Do you agree with me about Texas? If so, if we want to fight, we're gonna have to go back to early childhood education or Biden's college loan forgiveness.

Bret: Well ... sorta. On the constitutional question, there's no doubt that this is a federal responsibility and Texas is traveling down a states' rights road that can't have a good outcome.

But the politics of this is a different story. Abbott's hard-line policies are one of the reasons migrants have been deterred from coming through Texas over the past months. Democrats can blame Republicans all they want for not passing the bipartisan deal -- and they have a point. But most Americans also understand that Biden and Kamala Harris pretty much ignored the crisis for years until Abbott and other Southern governors started sending migrants to places like Chicago and New York, and Democratic officials began to see the problem at their doorstep. If Biden loses in November, this will be a major reason.

Gail: The border states had to wrestle with the migrant issue for ages before the federal government did much to help them out. Terrible burden on some Texas cities but providing labor that was a great benefit to large chunks of the economy.

Bret: Then again, if Trump loses, it might be because he insists on calling the people who assaulted the Capitol on Jan. 6 ''hostages'' and ''unbelievable patriots.'' That strikes me not just as awful but also politically crazy. Is there any method to the madness?

Gail: As I've pointed out a time or two, he's a professional reality show entertainer who instinctively says something he thinks will draw attention -- whether it's true or false, good for the country or terrible. The method is in his poll numbers, but I truly, truly believe that when the public has to go deep and focus this fall, they'll reject him.

Bret: He definitely has a genius for baiting his critics. I also think he means it when it comes to Jan. 6, which is why it's so important that he lose the election.

I just wish the Biden team hadn't done so much to facilitate his comeback. When the history of this administration is written, I think it will note that Biden's biggest mistake was to tack to the left instead of the center on immigration and the economy, to use the Justice Department to go after Trump and to denounce ''MAGA Republicans'' as if they were enemies of the state. Much better would have been to never even mention ''the former guy'' and to have nominated Kamala Harris to the Supreme Court after Stephen Breyer announced his retirement.

But hey: We can always pray Americans will come to their senses.

Gail: Well, pleased to say I currently have more faith in our fellow Americans than you do. But let's talk about elections -- people are starting to focus on Congress. Both of us are rooting for a Democrat, Sherrod Brown, to keep his Senate seat in Ohio, right?

Still, I wasn't too crazy about the fact that some Brown backers were rooting for -- and even financially supporting -- the current Republican nominee because he seems too far to the right, even for Ohio. Never did like the idea of pursuing political goals by helping make the other side worse.

Bret: Exactly. And Brown -- who is decent, smart, honest and funny, even if his politics are well to my left -- is the kind of Democrat I want in the Senate; his opponent, Bernie Moreno, is the kind of Republican I don't. I'd rather disagree with an honorable opponent than agree with a dishonorable one.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL MCELROY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***This New Olympic Sport Is One of America’s Greatest Cultural Exports; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNY-J2T1-DXY4-X33P-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1381 words

**Byline:** Jeff Chang and Giulia Frigieri

**Highlight:** The hip-hop curriculum at this public high school in France helps breaking flourish far from the country where it was born.

**Body**

On Friday, breaking makes its Olympics debut at the Place de la Concorde in Paris. This form of dance, created by Black youths in the Bronx in the early 1970s, has traveled far from its birthplace. It is now studied, practiced and performed enthusiastically in countries all over the world — and has inspired Olympic-bound B-boys and B-girls, as the dancers are called, from a diverse group of countries including Canada, Ukraine, Japan, South Korea and France.

Over a half-century from its origins, breaking has become another American-grown art form that, much like jazz, other nations are now cultivating more imaginatively than we are.

Support for hip-hop education in the States typically comes from nonprofit organizations, after-school programs and for-profit dance schools. Despite breaking’s American roots, it has never been institutionally supported in public schools as part of a coordinated national policy. In France, however, an enlightened arts education effort is helping to identify and train the dancers who could represent the form’s future.

Consider what’s happening in Paris’s chic Third Arrondissement, about three miles northeast of the Olympic dance floor. The Lycée Turgot, a public high school housed in a majestic 19th-century building, has for the past seven years been home to France’s premier national hip-hop dance program.

Each year, about 50 dancers compete for admission to some 15 slots at Lycée Turgot’s [*“section of hip-hop dances excellence.”*](https://www.instagram.com/hiphopturgot/) One-third of the dancers are breakers, while the rest dance in a style that the French call “debout” or “standing” dance, which includes popping, locking, house and “hip-hop newstyle.” The dancers admitted to the program receive three years of some of the best arts education any aspiring breaker could imagine.

In addition to taking courses in traditional academic study, Turgot’s hip-hop cohort focuses on developing the elements of breaking — mind, body and soul — by following an expansive hip-hop pedagogy. For up to 12 hours a week students train, learn technique and analyze hip-hop history and battle strategy, all while being instructed in respect, openness and self-knowledge.

Each day, the students arrive to dance in a bright room with high ceilings, emerald Ionic columns, and barre railings and mirrors. They move in baggy sweaters and joggers, their sneakers squeaking across the blond hardwood, free to occupy their portions of the floor and make magic with their bodies.

David Bérillon, the [*founder*](https://www.instagram.com/hiphopturgot/) of Turgot’s hip-hop section, runs his students through choreographed routines and improvisational battle sessions. Teaching hip-hop dance requires attention to balance: fostering the excitement of competition with bold, creative expression, while helping the students use movement as a tool of self-inquiry and collective effort.

About 15 middle school hip-hop dance programs across France currently feed applicants to Turgot. Thierry Demaizière and Alban Teurlai’s acclaimed 2022 documentary, “[*Allons Enfants*](https://www.instagram.com/hiphopturgot/)” (released in the United States as “Rookies”), spotlighted Mr. Bérillon and his students. B-girl Señorita Carlota, who will be competing for France on the Olympic stage, is a current post-baccalaureate student at Turgot.

Many of Turgot’s dancers come from the ***working-class*** suburbs that are home to students of African and Arab descent. Applicants have been accepted from as far away as Germany, Norway and Réunion, a French island in the Indian Ocean. Educators often point to the school’s diversity as a model for France, with its long history of colonialism and racial tensions — which erupted in widespread riots in 2023.

When 19-year-old [*Jade Rincla*](https://www.instagram.com/hiphopturgot/), whose parents are from the French West Indies, first came to the Lycée from the Saint-Ouen-sur-Seine, a suburb north of Paris in Seine-Saint-Denis, she worried she’d feel out of place. Some of her classmates were born to the professional class and carried Balenciaga bags. If they talked about Seine-Saint-Denis, it was, she said, “often for the wrong reasons.”

The hip-hop section gave her confidence and purpose. “Entering Turgot also meant maturing,” she said. She carried the Olympic torch through Seine-Saint-Denis and danced on the barge on the Seine in the opening ceremony, and now plans to attend the Université Paris Cité to study biotechnology.

“Hip-hop allows you to open up to the world,” she says. “There are no barriers.”

Hip-hop first landed in France in 1982, when an elite group of ambassadors from New York City, including rappers, D.J.s, graffiti artists, double Dutch dancers and the popular breakers the Rock Steady Crew, toured the country. Crowds were often small, but by the time they had left, a contingent of French fans was hooked, especially on breaking.

Two years later, Mr. Bérillon was one of thousands of French viewers tuning in to a national television show titled “H.I.P.H.O.P.,” often cited as the first program of its kind. By the end of the 1980s, France had become the second-biggest hip-hop market in the world.

Mr. Bérillon began breaking at the relatively late age of 22. He was a long jumper studying to become a physical education teacher but was losing interest in track and field. He was galvanized by hearing hip-hop lecturers, including Lamine Diouf from the world champion [*Vagabond Crew*](https://www.instagram.com/hiphopturgot/), which inspired him to set out on a 25-year mission to bring hip-hop dance into France’s public schools.

In 2017, Mr. Bérillon, who had already been working at the Lycée Turgot, found a principal willing to take risks with the curriculum. Funding from the Ministry of National Education and L’Académie de Paris quickly followed. With the announcement that breaking would debut as an event in Buenos Aires at the 2018 Youth Olympics, Mr. Bérillon’s mission seemed visionary. Breaking’s success as an Olympic sport in Argentina — and the infrastructure France had already built around it — may have figured in the decision to greenlight its debut as an official sport in Paris in 2024.

Rules adopted by the International Olympic Committee in 2014 dictated that, starting with the 2020 Tokyo Games, each host city could submit additional sports to be part of the games. For the 2024 games, Paris lobbied to include breaking, following its 2018 success. The 2028 Olympic Summer Games will be held in Los Angeles, but breaking was not selected by organizers. (Flag football and squash will be making their Olympic debuts in Los Angeles.)

Despite breaking’s roots in the United States — and its global popularity — it’s received little official support in this country, where cultural policy is left largely to the marketplace. In the United States, breakers and a small group of entrepreneurs have relied on private capital, corporate sponsorships and a lot of bootstrapping to build an infrastructure of private academies and national professional tours.

The success of the Turgot school makes a case that breaking should be part of a national curriculum in America. Educators like Mr. Bérillon see in the dance a tool for self-expression, creativity, even spiritual discovery.

The dance battle, performed in a circle called [*a cypher*](https://www.instagram.com/hiphopturgot/), remains at the heart of breaking. In a cypher, the dancer is enclosed by a community who’ve gathered there to witness and affirm their joy, surprise and awe as dancers express themselves.

“Turgot, c’est pour la vie, une grande famille,” Mr. Bérillon said, which translates as “Turgot is for life, a big family.”

Jeff Chang is the author of “Can’t Stop Won’t Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation,” and “Water Mirror Echo,” a forthcoming biography of the martial artist Bruce Lee.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.instagram.com/hiphopturgot/) 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/hiphopturgot/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.instagram.com/hiphopturgot/).

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Mr. Chang is the author of “Can’t Stop Won’t Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation.” Ms. Frigieri is a documentary photographer based inTK place.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top left: Lotti Thomas, 18; Jade Rincla, 19; dancers in Paris; a dancer outside the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; a student at Lycée Turgot. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GIULIA FRIGIERI) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***Trump Super PAC Says It Took In Nearly $70 Million in May***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C63-F911-JBG3-6015-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 684 words

**Byline:** Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan Maggie Haberman is a senior political correspondent reporting on the 2024 presidential campaign, down ballot races across the country and the investigations into former President Donald J. Trump. Jonathan Swan is a political reporter covering the 2024 presidential election and Donald Trump&amp;#8217;s campaign.

**Highlight:** In a memo for donors obtained by The New York Times, the group also said it viewed Pennsylvania as critical to the Trump campaign’s success in November.

**Body**

In a memo for donors obtained by The New York Times, the group also said it viewed Pennsylvania as critical to the Trump campaign’s success in November.

The original super PAC supporting Donald J. Trump’s presidential campaign plans to report that it raised nearly $70 million in May, and that it will spend a further $100 million through Labor Day, according to a memo written for the group’s donors.

The super PAC, Make America Great Again Inc., is preparing an advertising blitz focused on a handful of key states in the Rust Belt and the Sun Belt, where several polls show Mr. Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, leading President Biden.

The memo, a copy of which was provided to The New York Times by someone who received it, was written by the group’s chief executive, Taylor Budowich. The burst of fund-raising it describes is on track with the surge that the Trump campaign has said it experienced after Mr. Trump was convicted last week in a Manhattan courtroom on 34 counts of falsifying business records intended to conceal a hush-money payment to a porn star in 2016.

The Trump campaign has said that it raised $141 million in the days after the verdict on May 30. That, along with the MAGA Inc. figure, cannot be independently verified until campaign finance reports are made public. But by all accounts, Mr. Trump and his allied groups are moving to chip away at what has been an enormous cash advantage held by Democrats.

Mr. Budowich argued that the conviction in the Manhattan case had not changed the fundamentals of a race in which Mr. Biden is running as an incumbent with dangerously low approval ratings.

In the memo, Mr. Budowich said the money would be used to continue to try to peel off Black and Latino voters, from whom Mr. Trump is currently attracting more support than he has in the past. The money will also be spent in the Rust Belt, where Mr. Trump’s longtime base of white ***working-class*** voters dominates.

The memo provides insight into how Mr. Trump’s extended orbit views his paths to the 270 electoral votes necessary to win the presidency, and how pivotal one state in particular — Pennsylvania — is to their plans.

Democrats “need to both solidify the blue wall states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, while keeping President Trump defensive in the Sun Belt states of Georgia, Arizona, North Carolina and Nevada,” Mr. Budowich wrote.

He noted that Mr. Trump had been faring better in the Sun Belt states, adding: “That doesn’t mean it’s a certainty — but we are well positioned. That’s why MAGA Inc.’s summer investments will prioritize providing Team Trump with the most electoral paths to victory, while narrowing the battlefield geographically come fall.”

He wrote that Pennsylvania is “the ballgame,” but also said Georgia’s 16 electoral votes presented, through the south, “the best gateway to the White House for President Trump — delivering the targeted 270 electoral votes.”

The super PAC has focused heavily on Pennsylvania, where Mr. Biden’s support is stronger than in other Rust Belt states.

Mr. Budowich noted that Mr. Biden’s campaign had spent aggressively on advertising, but that the outlays had not yet materialized into a more expansive block of support for the president. Repeatedly, he pointed out that Mr. Trump was being outspent even as he maintained a solid position in polls.

And he said that MAGA Inc. would work off a targeted voter model with its spending in Arizona, Georgia, Nevada and Pennsylvania.

“We may not be able to outspend Democrats, but we can ensure the messages that are being distributed are done so using the targeting that each individual voter requires,” he wrote.

While MAGA Inc. was the first blessed super PAC supporting Mr. Trump, another group, Right for America, is being led by a Trump ally, Sergio Gor. In addition, Miriam Adelson, the megadonor and widow of the casino magnate Sheldon Adelson, plans to fund a separate entity supporting Mr. Trump, called Preserve America. That group was initially formed in 2020, when Mr. Trump was running for re-election.

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