

DEMOCRATS, STUDENTS AND FOREIGN ALLIES FACE THE REALITY OF A TRUMP PRESIDENCY



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump and his family on election night. He has shown a willingness to entertain two contradictory thoughts at once.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Populist Fury May Backfire

By PETER S. GOODMAN

A populist insurrection is gaining force in much of the world, drawing middle-class and blue-collar recruits who lament that they have been left behind by globalization. This upheaval threatens to upend the economic order that has prevailed since the end of World War II.

This was evident before Donald J. Trump's triumphant rogue campaign for the American presidency. Now it is beyond argument.

National leaders in Europe and North America are scrambling to placate energized, often unruly groups of people demanding change and a more generous share of the economic spoils. But the options for addressing the deficiencies of capitalism are severely constrained — both by traditional political realities and by the broader truths of the global economy.

In Britain, which shocked the world in June with its so-called Brexit vote to abandon the European Union, and now in the United States, with its stunning elevation of Mr. Trump, electorates have essentially handed governments a mandate to limit free trade. Voters have unleashed this action plan in the name of lifting the fortunes of working people.

But trade is such an elemental part of the modern global econ-

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Having Heard the Talk, World Awaits Action

This article is by David E. Sanger, Maggie Haberman and Binyamin Appelbaum.

WASHINGTON — In Donald J. Trump's private conversations and public commentary, one guiding principle shines through: The world is a zero-sum place, and nations, like real estate developers, are either on the winning side of a deal or the losing side.

Yet he also is the ultimate pragmatist, perfectly willing to dispense with seemingly core beliefs in return for negotiating advantage. That is why many of his closest supporters have long cautioned that the most headline-

grabbing proposals of his run for the presidency should not be taken literally — they are guideposts, the supporters suggest, not plans. Even Mr. Trump once described his proposed ban on Muslim immigrants as a mere "suggestion."

As he enters the Oval Office that Ronald Reagan — another populist pragmatist, but one who had served in public office before the White House — left nearly 28 years ago, the world is about to find out what Donald Trump really believes. Or at least what he is going to try to do, in partnership with Republicans who on Tuesday retained control of both houses of Congress.

It was in Mr. Reagan's last months in office that Mr. Trump took out a full-page ad in several newspapers complaining that "for decades, Japan and other nations have been taking advantage of the United States." Flirting with a presidential run himself — he was 41 — and seeking the publicity that would become addictive, he called for the United States to pull out of the Middle East, which he called "of only marginal significance to the United States for its oil supplies," and asked, "Why are these nations not paying the United States for the human lives and billions of dollars we are losing pro-

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

'We Owe Him an Open Mind'

Hillary Clinton called her loss "painful" but also called for unity in her concession speech. Page P1.

Grief and Glee as an Administration Once Unthinkable Takes Shape

By PATRICK HEALY and JEREMY W. PETERS

The American political establishment reeled on Wednesday as leaders in both parties began coming to grips with four years of President Donald J. Trump in the White House, a once-unimaginable scenario that has now plunged the United States and its allies and adversaries into a period of deep uncertainty about the policies and impact of his administration.

Democrats, who will be out of power in both the White House and Congress for the first time since 2006, were particularly crestfallen that Hillary Clinton had a slender lead in the popular vote but lost in the Electoral College, a fate similar to Al Gore's in 2000.

On campuses nationwide, students marched against Mr. Trump with signs bearing slogans like "Not my president," and protesters in Oakland, Calif., smashed windows and set fire to garbage bins. On Wednesday night, thousands of people protested in several cities, including Chicago, Philadelphia, Seattle and New York, where demonstrators converged in Midtown Manhattan in front of Trump Tower, the home of the president-elect. [Page P12.]

With millions of other voters euphoric at the election of a true political outsider as president, the clear divide over Mr. Trump in-

spired pleas of unity from his two biggest opponents, President Obama and Mrs. Clinton. At separate news conferences, they urged Americans to come together for the sake of the republic, and for the good of Mr. Trump's presidency.

"We are all now rooting for his success," said Mr. Obama, who planned to meet with Mr. Trump at the White House on Thursday. "The peaceful transfer of power is one of the hallmarks of our democracy. And over the next few months, we are going to show that to the world."

Mrs. Clinton, in her first remarks to supporters after the election, said Americans owed Mr. Continued in Election 2016, Page P3



AL DRAGO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama and Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

News Outlets Wonder Where They Stumbled

The country's major news organizations, as surprised as anybody by Donald J. Trump's ascension to the presidency,

JIM RUTENBERG faced a question from their audiences on Wednesday that was laced with a sense of betrayal and anger: How did you get it so wrong?

The question came in letters. ("To editors and writers of The NYT," one reader wrote, "you were so wrong for so long. You misled your readers and were blinded by your own journalistic bigotry.") It came in Facebook posts. ("You were in a bubble and weren't paying attention to your fellow Americans," the filmmaker Michael Moore wrote in a post shared more than 100,000 times.) Most ominously, it came in the form of canceled subscriptions, something that will surely be monitored.

After projecting a relatively easy victory for Hillary Clinton with all the certainty of a calculus solution, news outlets like The New York Times, The Huffington Post and the major networks scrambled to provide candid answers.

With a new administration about to take shape in Washington, news executives tried to take stock of their mistakes and

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White Voters In Broad Bloc Shaped Upset

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE and NATE COHN

Donald J. Trump's America flowered through the old union strongholds of the Midwest, along rivers and rail lines that once moved coal from southern Ohio and the hollows of West Virginia to the smelters of Pennsylvania.

It flowed south along the Mississippi River, through the rural Iowa counties that gave Barack Obama more votes than any Democrat in decades, and to the Northeast, through a corner of Connecticut and deep into Maine.

And it extended through the suburbs of Cleveland and Minneapolis, of Manchester, N.H., and the sprawl north of Tampa, Fla., where middle-class white voters chose Mr. Trump over Hillary Clinton.

One of the biggest upsets in American political history was built on a coalition of white voters unlike that of any other previous Republican candidate, according to election results and interviews with voters and demographic experts.

Mr. Trump's coalition comprised not just staunchly conservative Republicans in the South and West. They were joined by millions of voters in the onetime heartlands of 20th-century liberal populism — the Upper and Lower Midwest — where white Americans without a college degree

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Democratic Soul-Searching

Democrats, relegated to the sidelines of power by Hillary Clinton's loss, are bracing for internal arguments about the party's philosophy.

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Celebrating, but Uncertain

Donald J. Trump's supporters were gleeful after his victory, if a tad unsure of what it might bring and not always taking his promises literally.

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Planning for Change

Immigration and health care are just two of the arenas in which the president-elect has vowed action.

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A Win for Some World Rivals

The election's outcome was an unexpected gift to leaders who resent the encroachment of the West.

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On This We Can Mostly Agree

From the presidential race down to local ballot measures, there seemed to be wide support on Tuesday for improvements in infrastructure, like highways, bridges and tunnels.

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BUSINESS DAY B1-8

How the Data Failed Us

Voters showed the extent to which predictive analytics, and election forecasting in particular, remains a young science that can fail to detect context and nuance.

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Expecting a Rollback of Rules

There is a growing consensus that Donald J. Trump will seek major cuts in regulations affecting the banking, health care and energy industries.

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A Divide of About a City Mile

Both campaigns held election night events in Manhattan, just a mile apart, and there were signs in the space between them of the America that the president-elect will inherit.

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A Very Uncomfortable Night

As Donald J. Trump's victory became clear, Stephen Colbert's live show on Showtime became surreal.

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Erick-Woods Erickson

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