

One year in a divided America

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A “mandate”? How popular is Donald Trump?

- **Trump’s popular vote margin was 49.8% to 48.3%**
- Trump won all 7 swing states for an Electoral College victory, 312-226
- **Trump: “The beauty is that we won by so much. The mandate was massive.”**
- White House web site: “After a landslide election victory in 2024, President Donald J. Trump is returning to the White House to build upon his previous successes and use his mandate to reject the extremist policies of the radical left while providing tangible quality of life improvements for the American people.”

RECENT POLLS

The Economist:

39%

CNN:

37%

NBC:

43%

NY Times poll aggregator:

42%

RealClear Politics aggregator:

43%

AP/NORC:

36%



But he has ruled as a rightwing despot

“I can undo almost everything Biden did through executive order. And on Day One, much of that will be undone.” (November 2024)

“I run the country and the world.” (April 28, 2025)

“A lot of people are saying maybe we'd like a dictator, but I'm not a dictator.”
(August 25, 2025)

141 Executive Orders in his first 100 days
212 as of November 6



Lawlessness and corruption

- Abolishing congressionally established agencies
- Reallocating congressionally appropriated funds
- Pardoning his cronies and persecuting enemies
- Profiting from office

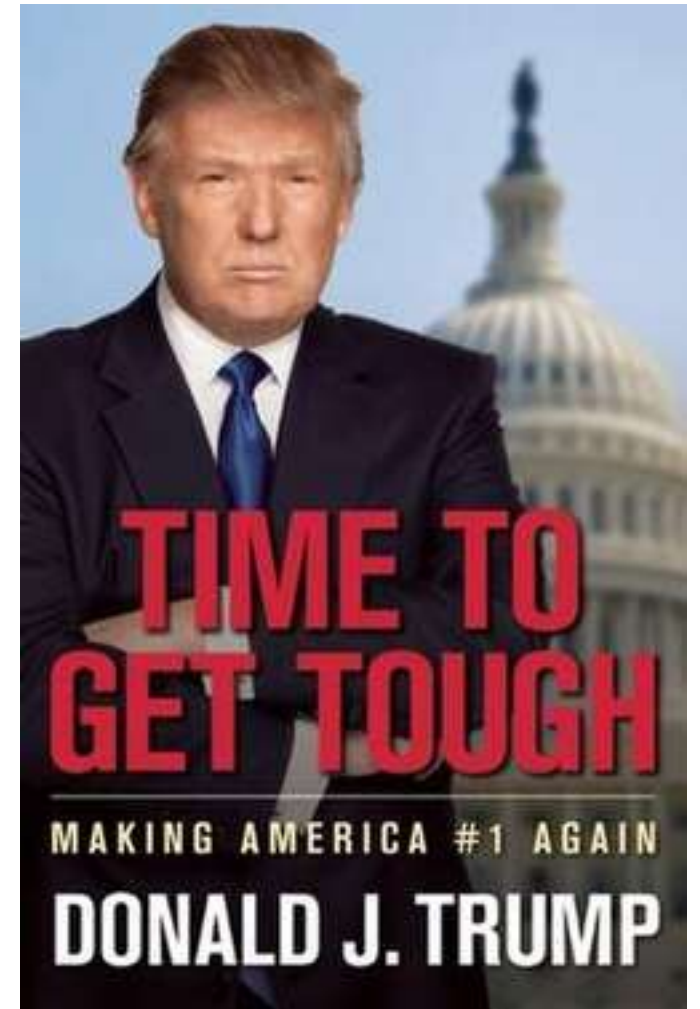
“**Donald Trump** just had the most lucrative year of his life. The president is now worth a record \$7.3 billion, up from \$4.3 billion in 2024.” – Forbes magazine (Sept.)



The Trump Revolution



- Nativist
- Protectionist
- Anti-“woke”
- Christian nationalist



Trump's big promises



- End the “migrant invasion” and “close the border” with “the largest deportation program in American history”
- “Tariff the hell out of countries that have been taking advantage of us.”
- “Exit the horrendously unfair Paris climate accords” and “drill, baby, drill”
- “Abolish all discriminatory diversity, equity and inclusion nonsense [and eliminate] radical gender ideology and critical race theory” in schools
- “Demolish the deep state” and cut “crooked” civil servants who are “destroying our country”
- “Free the January 6 hostages”

Immigration

- 400,000 deported; calls for 1 million in 2025
- Supreme Court OK's deportations to “third countries”
El Salvador, South Sudan, Rwanda, Libya
- 61,000 detained



“Under this administration, immigration enforcement has run roughshod over rights that most Americans understand to be universal.”—American Immigration Council

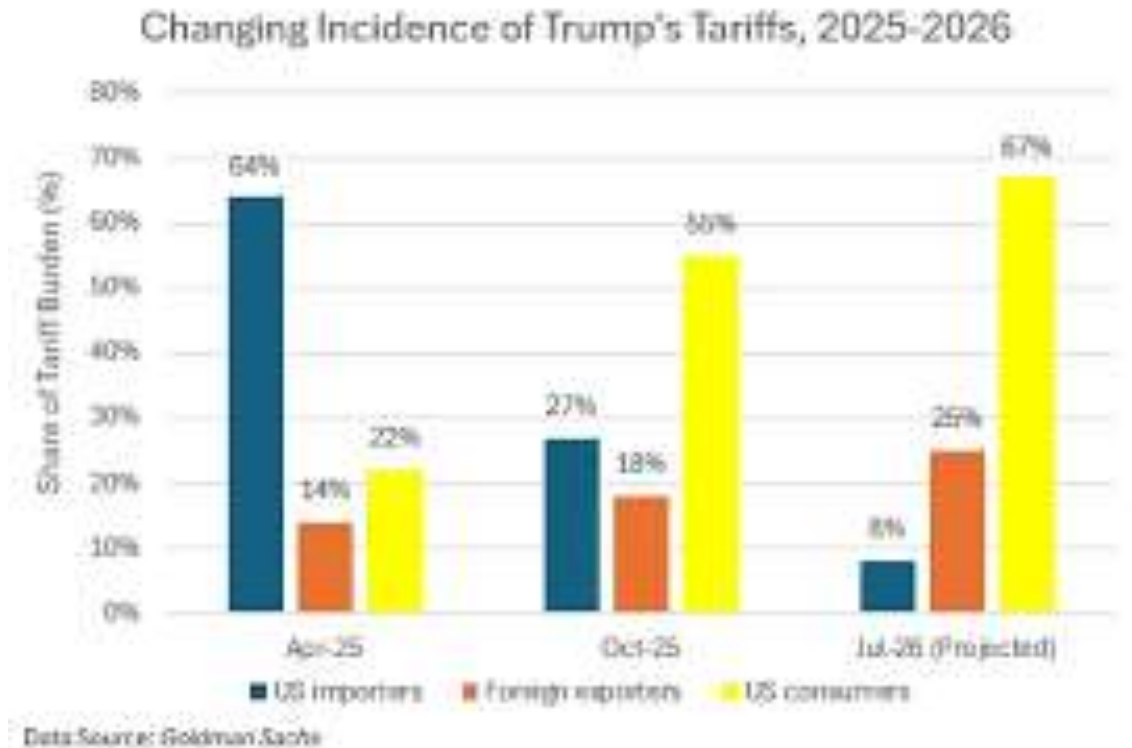
"I love the smell of deportations in the morning"--
Trump



4 out of 5 Americans view immigration as good, yet
2 out of 5 support deporting all undocumented immigrants

Tariffs and trade wars

- Trump: US has been “exploited” by “cheaters”
 - Trump: Tariffs will encourage Americans to “buy American,” support US manufacturing, create jobs, raise government revenues
 - Trump raised average tariff rate from 2.5% to 27%
 - Set baseline of 10%, with higher rates for “worst offenders”:
 - China—148%, now 58% (up from 21% in Jan.)
 - Mexico—30%
 - Canada—35% + 10%
 - Brazil—50%
 - India—50%
 - EU—15%
- Tariffs are paid by importing companies, which pass on some costs to US consumers
 - US consumers are paying an effective tariff rate of 18% (highest since 1934)
 - Trump (Nov. 9) promises to reimburse Americans \$2,000



Trump “bludgeoned the multilateral trading system” – The Economist

- Trump’s unilateral imposition of tariffs under Intl. Emer. Econ. Powers Act may well be declared illegal by the Supreme Court
- If so, how to reimburse costs already borne by U.S. businesses and consumers?
- Trump and Bessent: Other ways Trump can impose tariffs if Court declares illegal

Slashing the federal government

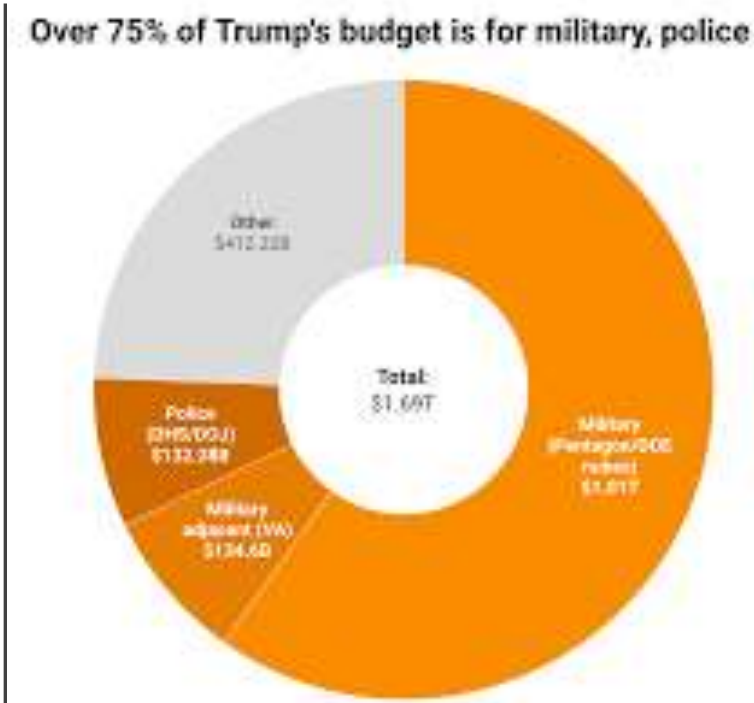
- 211,000 federal workers laid off or taken buyouts (as of Oct. 25) [approx. 10%]
 - Defense: 61,633
 - Treasury: 31,644
 - Agriculture: 21,564
 - HHS: 14,430
 - Veterans Affairs: 12,702
 - USAID: 9,985
 - Interior: 9,700

“One of the defining features of the Trump administration’s approach to governance, and the mission of the Department of Government Efficiency, has been the deliberate dismantling of the federal workforce.”
— Partnership for Public Service



The Administration has repeatedly — and illegally — blocked or delayed lawfully provided funding for programs it opposes, ranging from health research to education to disaster preparedness.

J



(Data: OMB, FY2025 Administration funding request. Military portion refers to budget function 050)
Made: Jacobo Cortes/USNews.com
(Chart: Stephen Carter (@stephencarter) / stephenmccart.com) | Licensed with Datawrapper

Trump's budget shifts funding from health, development to military, deportations

Department	2025	2026 request	+/-	
Pentagon	\$848B	\$962B		\$113B
DHS	\$65B	\$107B		\$42B
VA	\$129B	\$135B		\$5B
Transportation	\$25B	\$27B		\$2B
Energy	\$50B	\$51B		\$1B
Commerce	\$10B	\$9B		\$-2B
Treasury	\$14B	\$12B		\$-3B
Justice	\$36B	\$33B		\$-3B
Labor	\$13B	\$9B		\$-5B
Agriculture	\$27B	\$22B		\$-5B
Interior	\$17B	\$12B		\$-5B
Education	\$79B	\$67B		\$-12B
HHS	\$127B	\$94B		\$-33B
HUD	\$77B	\$44B		\$-34B
State/Int'l Programs	\$59B	\$10B		\$-49B

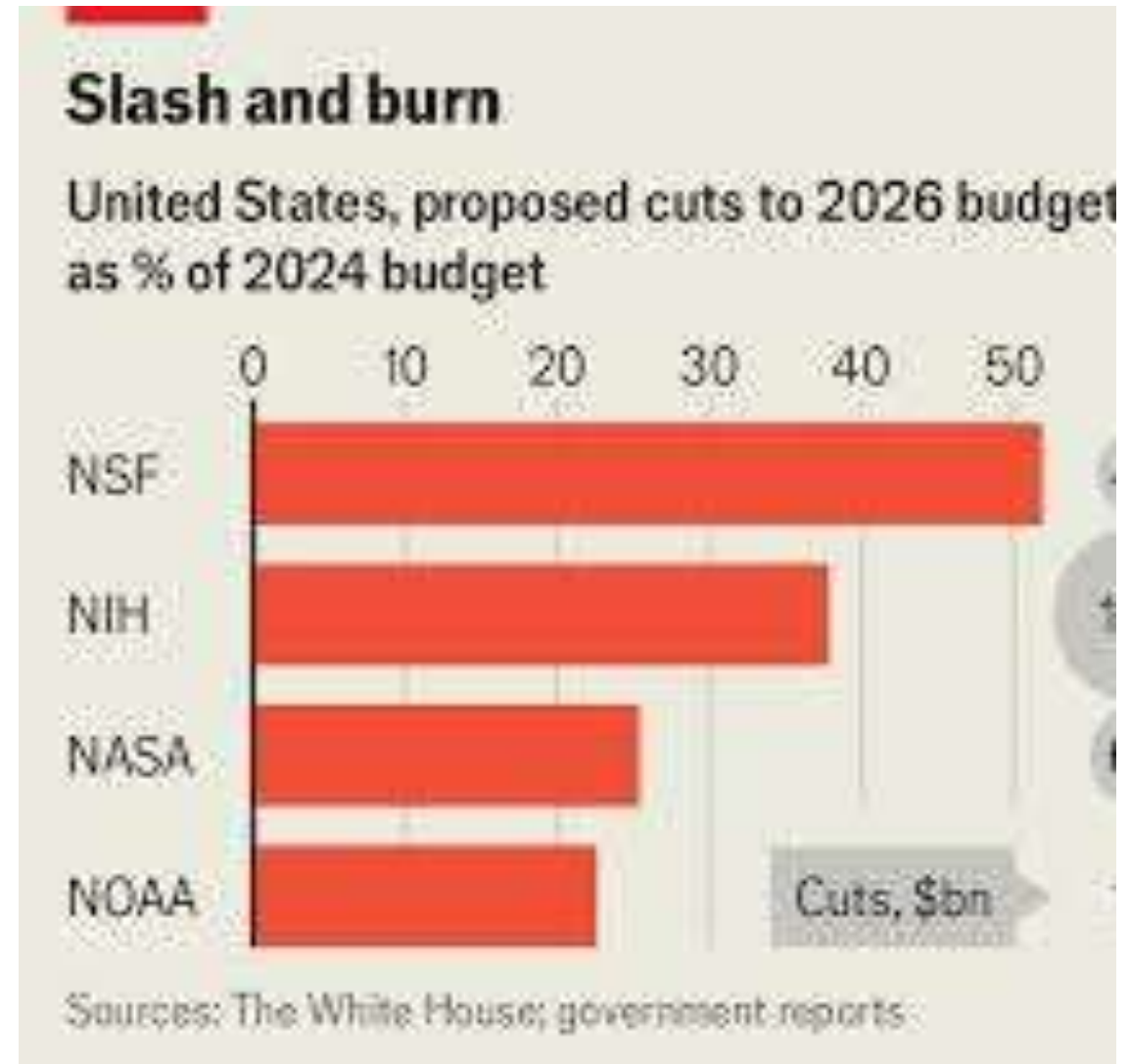
The Administration used the Impoundment Control Act to rescind, with just 51 Republican votes in the Senate, funding that originally required the approval of at least 60 senators

Attacks on science

“By most metrics, 2025 has been the worst year for the American scientific enterprise in modern history. . . Next year looks to be worse.” (The New York Times, Oct. 9, 2025)

Thousands of scientists laid off at NIH, CDC, EPA, NOAA, NPS, NSF, USGS, Forest Service

NIH: \$4.5 billion/1400 grants cut, 1000 delayed



Attacks on universities

Declared war on "woke, socialist, and anti-American ideology" in universities

- Bullied universities into making deals to restore federal funds—Columbia, Cornell, Brown, Penn, UVA. . . Paid fines, end affirmative action, cut transgender in sports
- Targeted others: Harvard, Duke, Princeton, UCLA, Berkeley, Northwestern, Johns Hopkins, U. of Minnesota, USC
- Trump's "compact": gives universities preferential access to federal funding in exchange for a commitment to advance the administration's conservative agenda

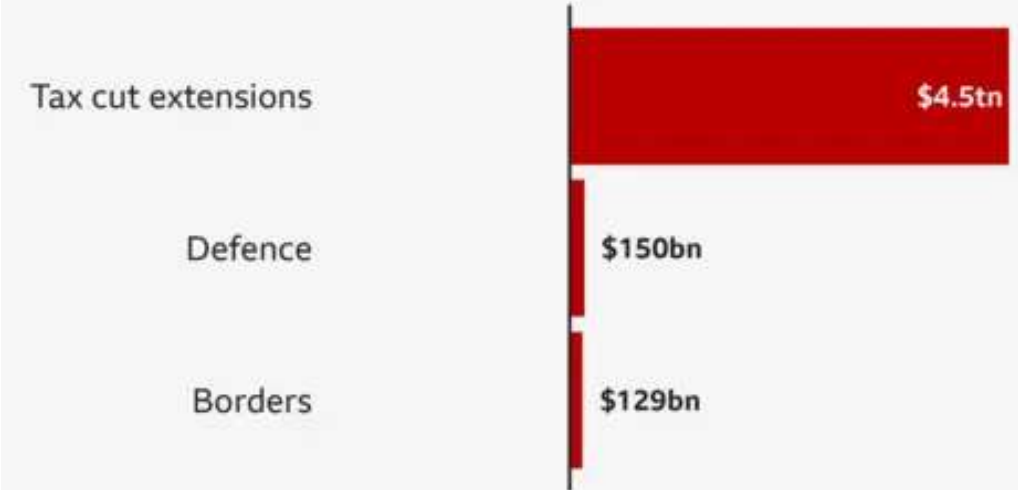


“One Big Beautiful Bill”

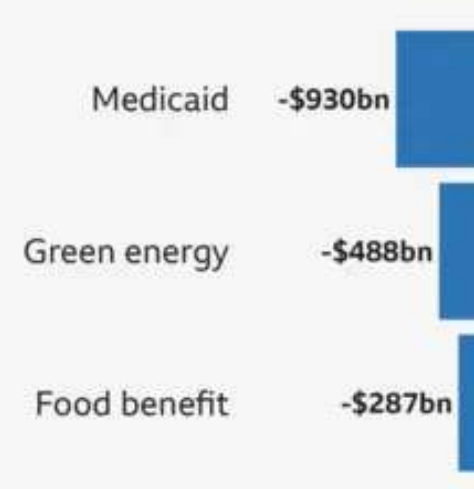
- Extends 2017 Trump tax cuts (35% of cuts go to richest 5%)
- Cuts to Medicaid and Food Stamps
- Funding increases for immigration enforcement and defense
- Cuts to clean energy funding and incentives
- Projected to **add \$3.3 trillion to federal deficits over 10 years** (debt already over \$38 trillion)

Estimated increases and savings in US federal spending from the bill

Cumulative cost increases over 10 years



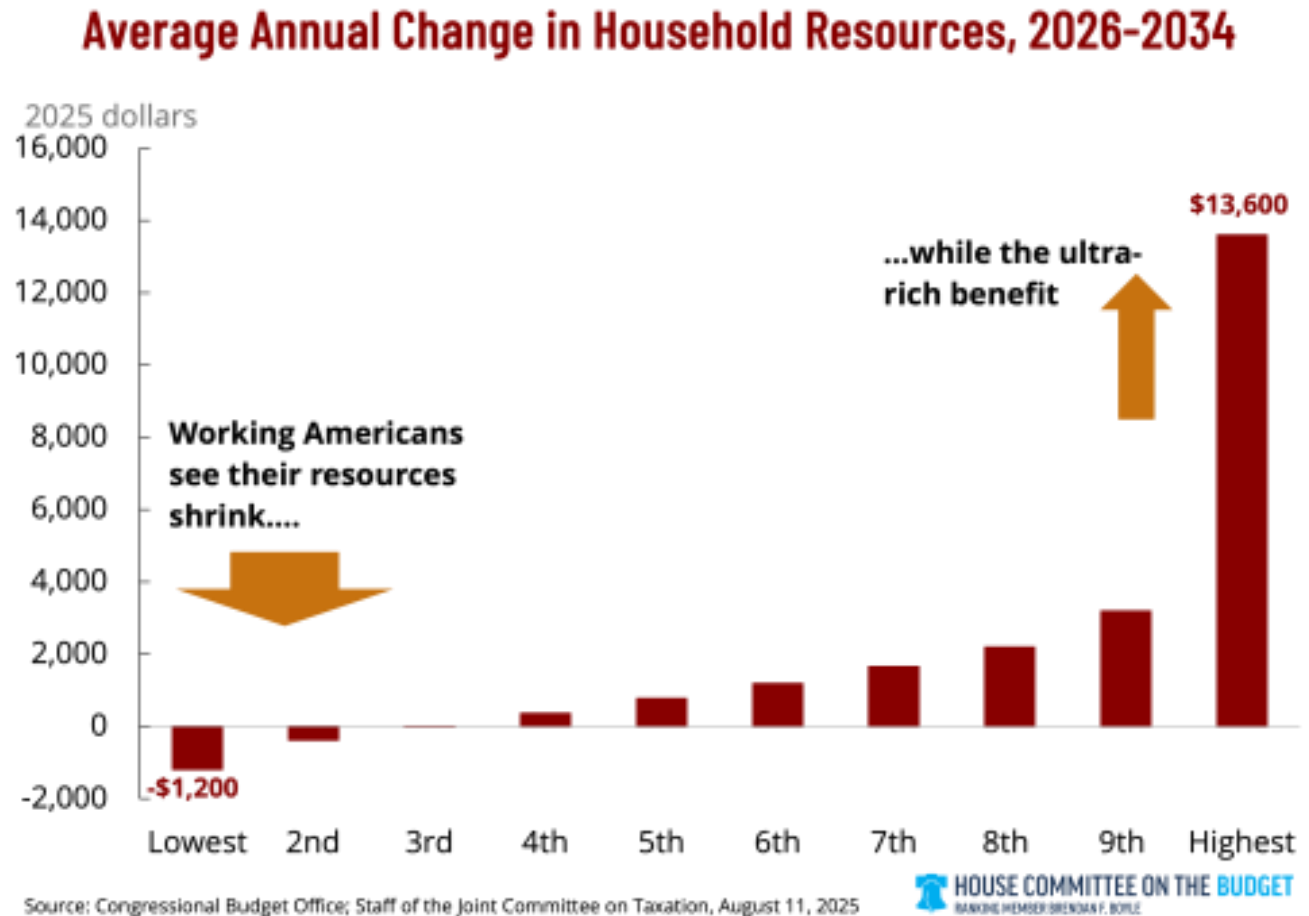
Total savings over 10 years



Source: Congressional Budget Office estimates

Attacks on the poor

- OBBBA will eliminate health insurance for 15 million poorer Americans (and sharply increase premiums for 22-24 million receiving ACA insurance)
- Holding Food Stamps for 42 million Americans hostage
- Housing assistance cuts put 170,000 at risk of homelessness
- Cuts funding for students with disabilities



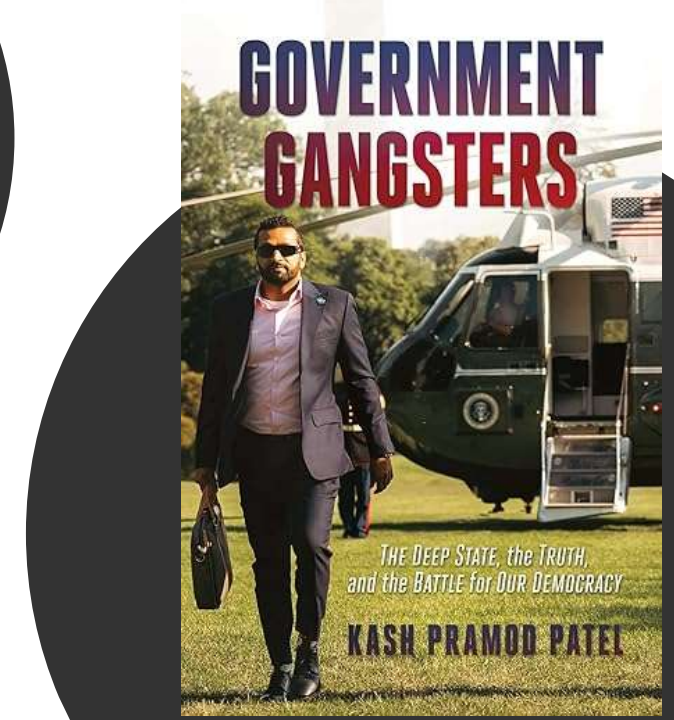
Militarize US cities

- Trump has deployed National Guard to LA (4700), Washington (2000), Memphis, Portland
- Trump: US is under “invasion” and cities are “training grounds for our military”
- “We’re gonna have troops everywhere.”
- US law prohibits the use of the military for domestic law enforcement



Enemies and friends

- NY Attorney Gen. Letitia James
- Former FBI Director James Comey
- Former Natl. Sec. Adviser John Bolton
- "Deranged Jack Smith, in my opinion, is a criminal"
- Rep. Adam Schiff
- Gen. Mark Milley
- Federal Reserve Gov. Lisa Cook
- 2 dozen subpoenas last week to ex-FBI, CIA, DNI
- 1,500 Capitol rioters pardoned on Trump's first day in office
- Rudy Giuliani pardoned this week



Sexism and Misogyny

- Nearly 1/3 of Trump's Cabinet nominees and other key members of his administration had allegations of sexual misconduct
- JD Vance, pronatalism, and the "tradwife" ideal
- Defunded aid for reproductive rights
- Slashed staff and budgets for EEOC, OFCCP, other anti-discrimination watchdog agencies
- Appointed anti-abortion judges

A jury in 2023 found Trump guilty of sexually assaulting E. Jean Carroll



JD Vance attacks women without kids as a "bunch of child cat ladies".

JD Vance Doesn't Want All Women to Be Trad Wives, Just White Women

"What he wants is simply more American babies, not necessarily better lives for those babies." — *The Christian Century*

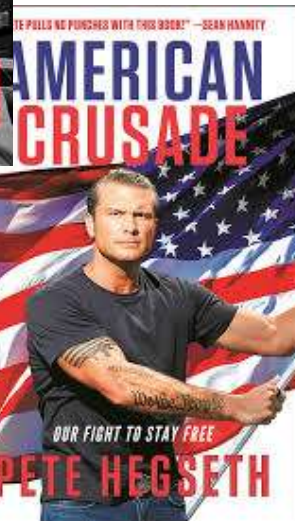
The “climate change hoax”

- Seeks to rollback 2009 finding that CO2 and greenhouse gases pose a danger to public health
- Repealing limits on greenhouse gas emissions and other pollutants from fossil fuel power plants
- Withdrawing support for wind and solar industries
- Opening up more land and the ocean to oil and gas exploration
- Canceled grants for renewable energy
- Fired climate scientists from government, ended National Climate Assessment report
- Cut FEMA support for disaster preparedness and relief
- Pulled U.S. out of Paris climate accords and boycotted COP30



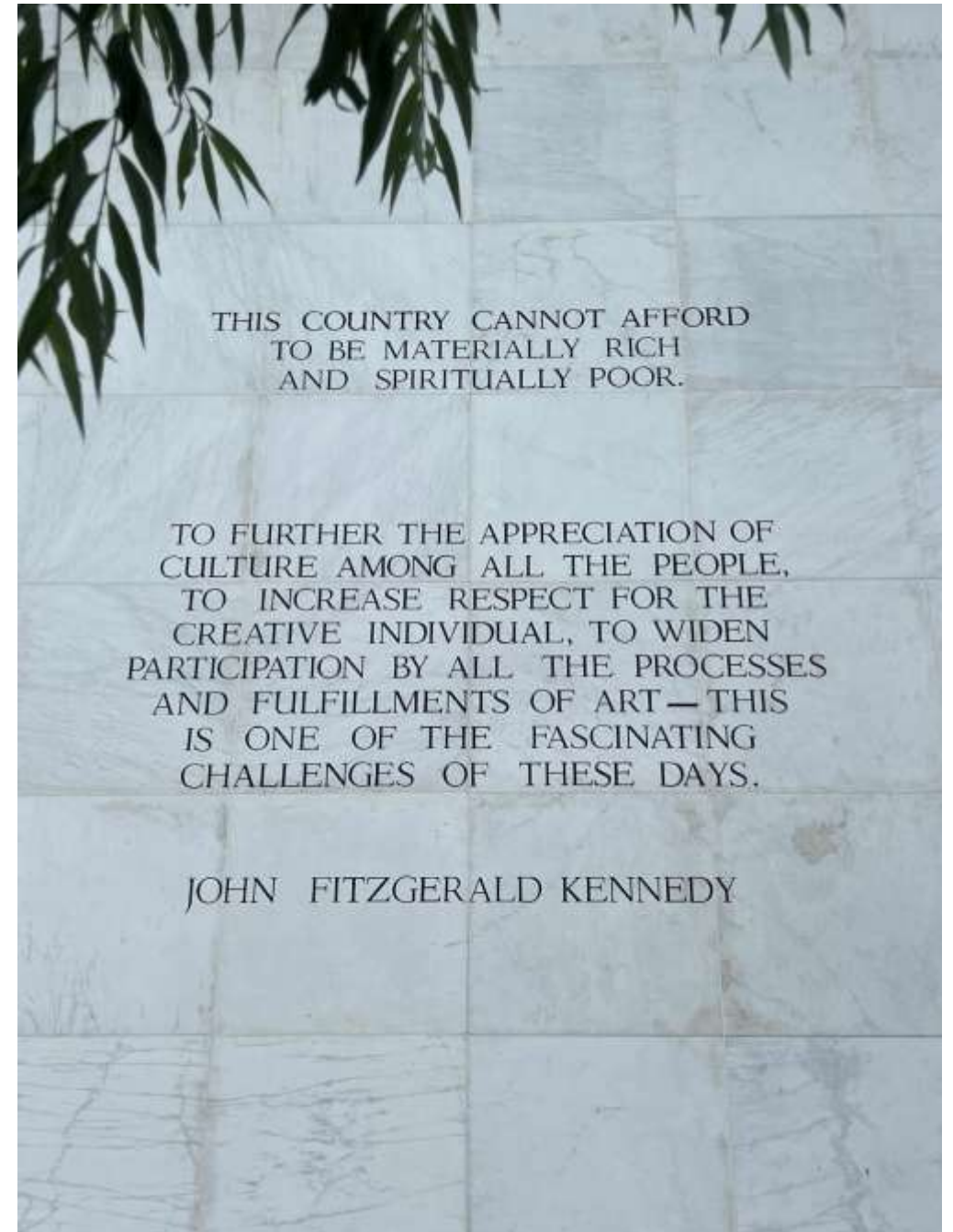
Trump appointees: A rogues' gallery

- **Tulsi Gabbard** (DNI): attacked intelligence officers as “traitors”
- **Kash Patel** (FBI): targeted 50 “members of the Executive Branch deep state”
- **Kristi Noem** (Homeland Security): no US citizens arrested by ICE
- **RFK Jr.** (HHS): anti-vax; autism fixation; “the FDA's war on public health is about to end”
- **Pete Hegseth** (DOD, aka “War”): Fired 20 generals and admirals... Goal is “lethality”... “If you do not meet the male-level, physical standards for combat positions, cannot pass a PT test or don't want to shave and look professional, it's time for a new position or a new profession.”
- **Pam Bondi**, Attorney General: prosecuting Trump’s enemies
- **Tom Homan**, “border czar,” took \$50K in cash from undercover FBI agents



American culture

- Corporation for Public Broadcasting closed
- Trump 2026 budget calls for eliminating National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities
- Crackdowns on free speech (Colbert, Kimmel)
- Kennedy Center (Chairman Trump)
- The Smithsonian
 - has focused “too much on “how bad slavery was” (Trump, August 19)



The Supreme Court (Trump's Court?)

- *Among 23 Supreme Court rulings relating to the Administration's actions, Trump had won about 90%*
 - Trump has a 21-2 record on the Court's "shadow (or "emergency") docket" (e.g., requests to halt a lower court's ruling; done with little explanation)
- *At the district court level, 240 active cases challenging Trump administration actions; 60% of rulings against Trump*
- *Trump Court:*
 - 2022: Overturned *Roe v. Wade*
 - 2024: Granted US presidents sweeping immunity from prosecution
 - 2026: *Voting Rights Act, mail-in ballots, tariffs, transgender surgery ???*
- "The Supreme Court has cleared the way for the Trump administration to implement various policies that federal courts concluded were likely illegal." -- Leah Litman, a law professor at the University of Michigan



The Wrecking Ball . . . “Et maintenant, Donald Trump veut son Arc de Triomphe!”

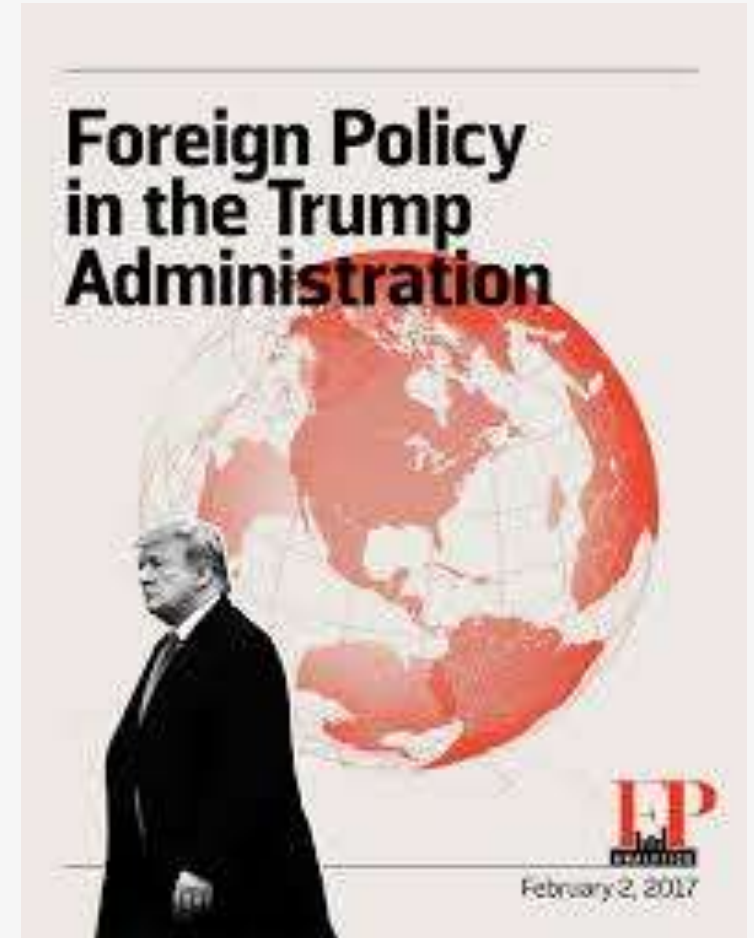


Chaotic foreign policy

- Ukraine and Russia
- China
- Israel and Gaza
- Venezuela and Colombia



-
- Trump asserted that America was in decline and must restore “peace through strength”
 - Flipflopping on Ukraine: throwing out Zelensky, kowtowing to Putin
 - Coercing allies to spend more on defense; backing away from NATO
 - Launching trade wars with most of the world
 - “Extrajudicial killings” of alleged drug traffickers – Sen. Rand Paul (R)
 - Seeking Nobel Peace Prize for Gaza quasi-ceasefire
 - Withdrawn from the Paris climate accords, the WHO, global family planning funding, the UNHRC and the UNRWA; shutdown USAID and cut 80% of foreign development funding
 - Hegseth purging Pentagon of Blacks, women, independent-minded
 - “Trump's pronouncements are so often unexpected and disconnected from reality that they leave foreign policy scholars, and foreign leaders bewildered. . . [but] MAGA loyalists will go wherever Trump leads.” – conservative columnist Max Boot



Vulgarity

“they don’t know what the f—
they’re doing”—Trump on
Iran and Israel (June 24)



(October 20)



19.4k ReTruths 65.4k Likes

Sep 30, 2025, 2:31 AM

"Nancy Pelosi, the old and
broken political hack who
impeached me twice and lost,
is finally calling it quits."
(November 7)

Trump and Jeffrey Epstein?

- Trump and Bondi pledged to release files, then backtracked
- Many in MAGA base angry
- Mike Johnson stalled on swearing in Dem. Rep. Adelita Grijalva, to become 218th signature on petition to release Epstein files. (She signed Tuesday)
- Trump “knew about the girls,” Epstein wrote. “I know how dirty Donald is.”
- Virginia Giuffre, who committed suicide in April, said she did not think Trump had participated in the sexual abuse of minors





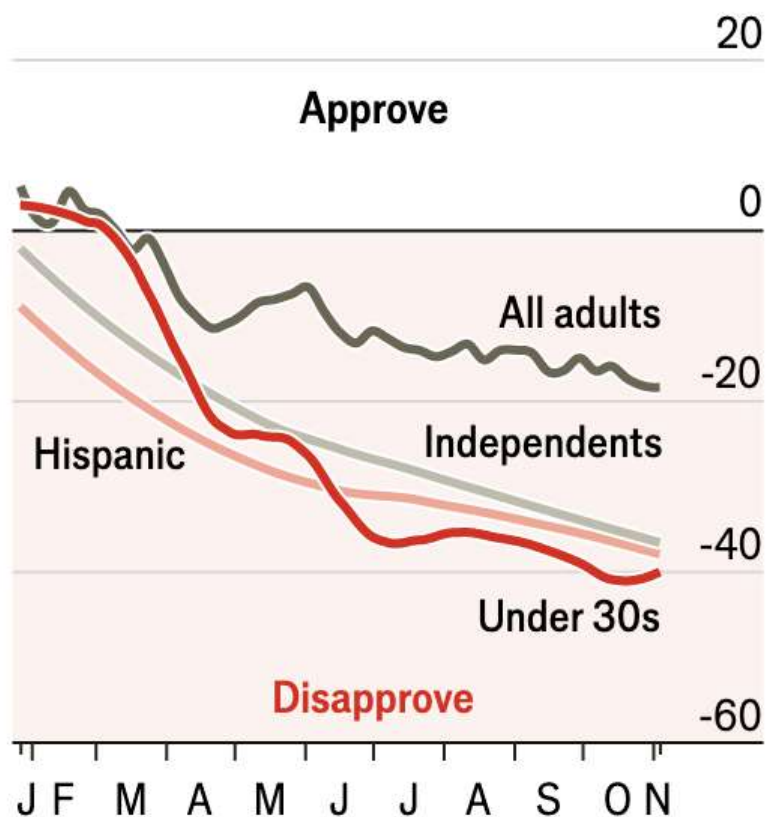
The Pro-Trump Media Universe



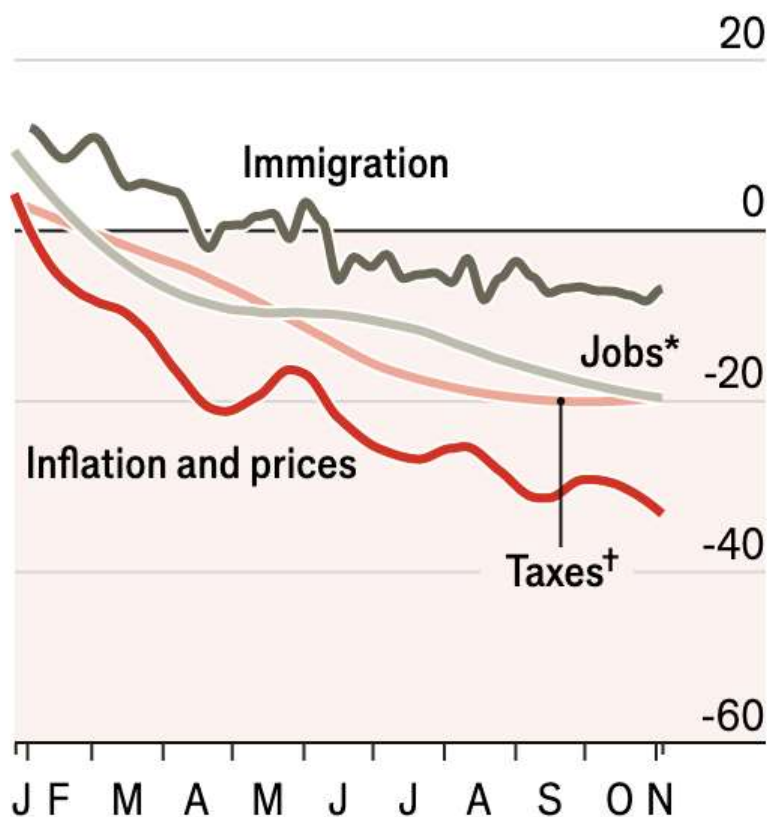
How low can you go?

Donald Trump, net approval rating, 2025, percentage points

By demographic



By issue



4

APPROVAL RATING

NY Times poll
aggregator: 42%

RealClear Politics
aggregator: 43%

**BUT 2 IN 5 AMERICANS
STILL SUPPORT HIM AND
HIS APPROVAL HAS ONLY
DIPPED ABOUT 7
PERCENTAGE POINTS**

“No Kings” protests, June and October



7 million demonstrators
at 2,700 events in all 50
states





NOVEMBER 4,
2025

How New York City Voted In the Mayoral Election



Zohran Mamdani ✓
50.4% 1,036,051 votes

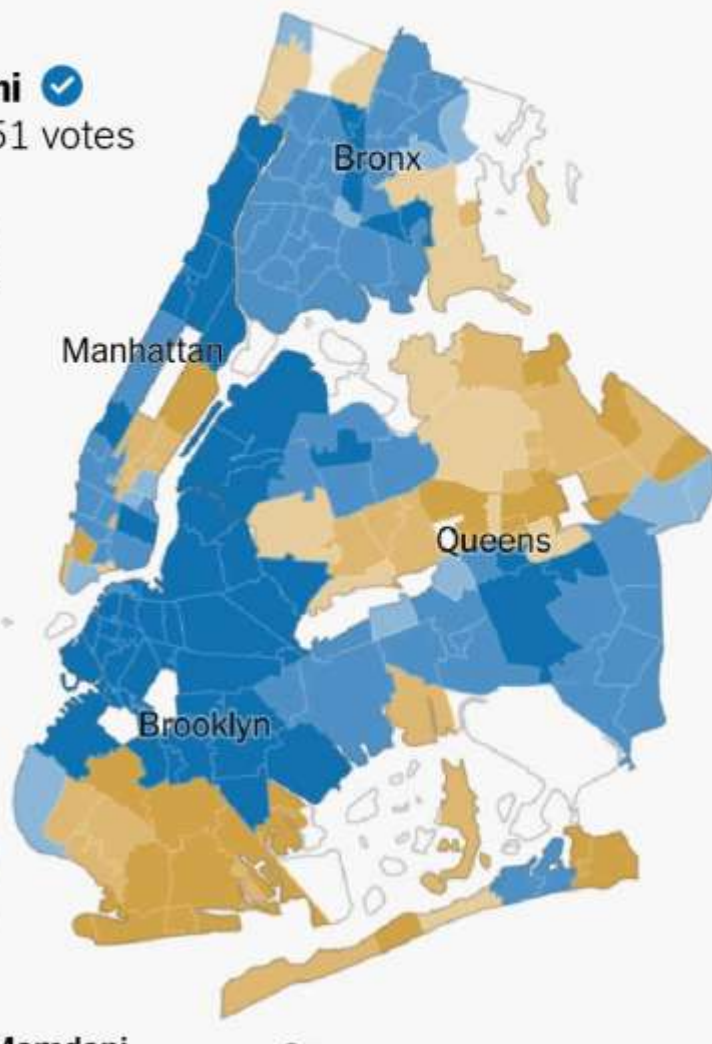


Andrew Cuomo
41.6% 854,995



Curtis Sliwa
7.1% 146,137

91% of estimated vote total reported as of 9:30 a.m. Eastern on Nov. 5.



THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nov. 2025 11:09 A.M. EST

The New York Times

MAMDANI IS ELECTED MAYOR, CAPPING ASCENT



*First Muslim to Lead the City —
A Triumph for Progressives*

BY MICHAEL LEVITSKY
Zohran Mamdani, a 34-year-old Muslim American, won the mayoral race in New York City, becoming the first Muslim to lead the city. His victory was a triumph for progressives and a sign of the city's growing diversity. Mamdani, who is also a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, won by a narrow margin over the incumbent, Andrew Cuomo. The results were announced at 9:30 a.m. Eastern on Nov. 5.





- Rent freezes, free buses, universal childcare
- Spoke of those “forgotten by the politics of our city”, the “Yemeni bodega owners and Mexican abuelas. Senegalese taxi drivers and Uzbek nurses. Trinidadian line cooks and Ethiopian aunties”



- Highest voter turnout in 60 years—
2 million voters
- Mobilized 100,000 volunteers
- Mastered
- Won the young and immigrant working class (78% of Gen Z voters)
- Won Brooklyn’s “brownstone belt” by 50 pct. points and upper Manhattan
- Won Black and Hispanic vote
- Dispatched the Cuomo dynasty

Virginia

PROJECTED WINNER ✓ • FLIP

ABIGAIL SPANBERGER WINS THE VIRGINIA GOVERNOR RACE

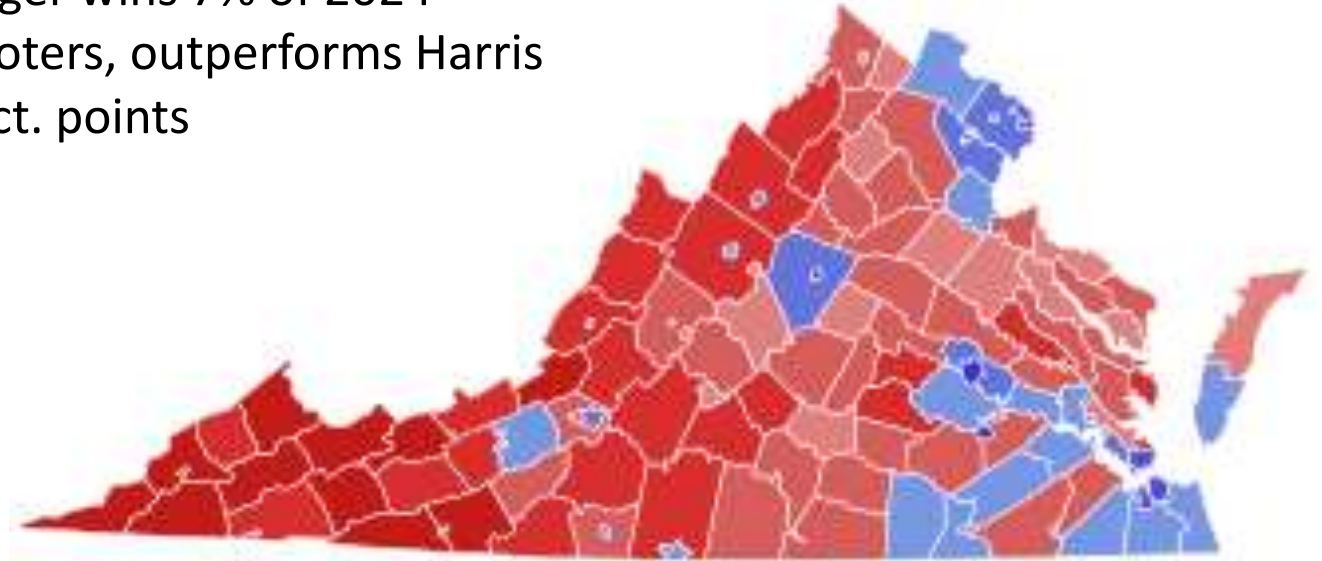


Candidate	Party	Votes	Pct.
 Abigail Spanberger ✓		1,920,381	57.2%
 Winsome Earle-Sears		1,430,200	42.6%
 Write-ins		6,702	0.2%

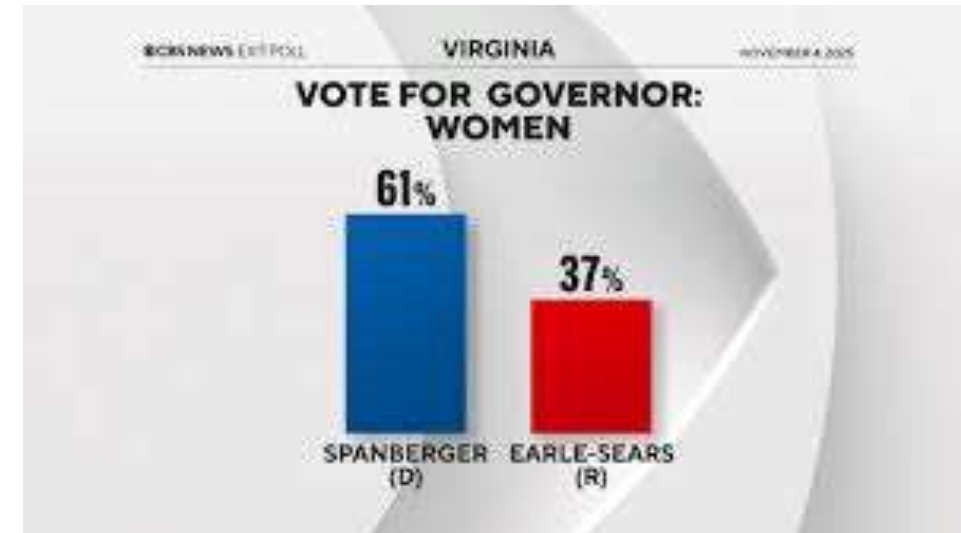
Total 3,357,283

94.8% expected votes in (Est. remaining 185,000)

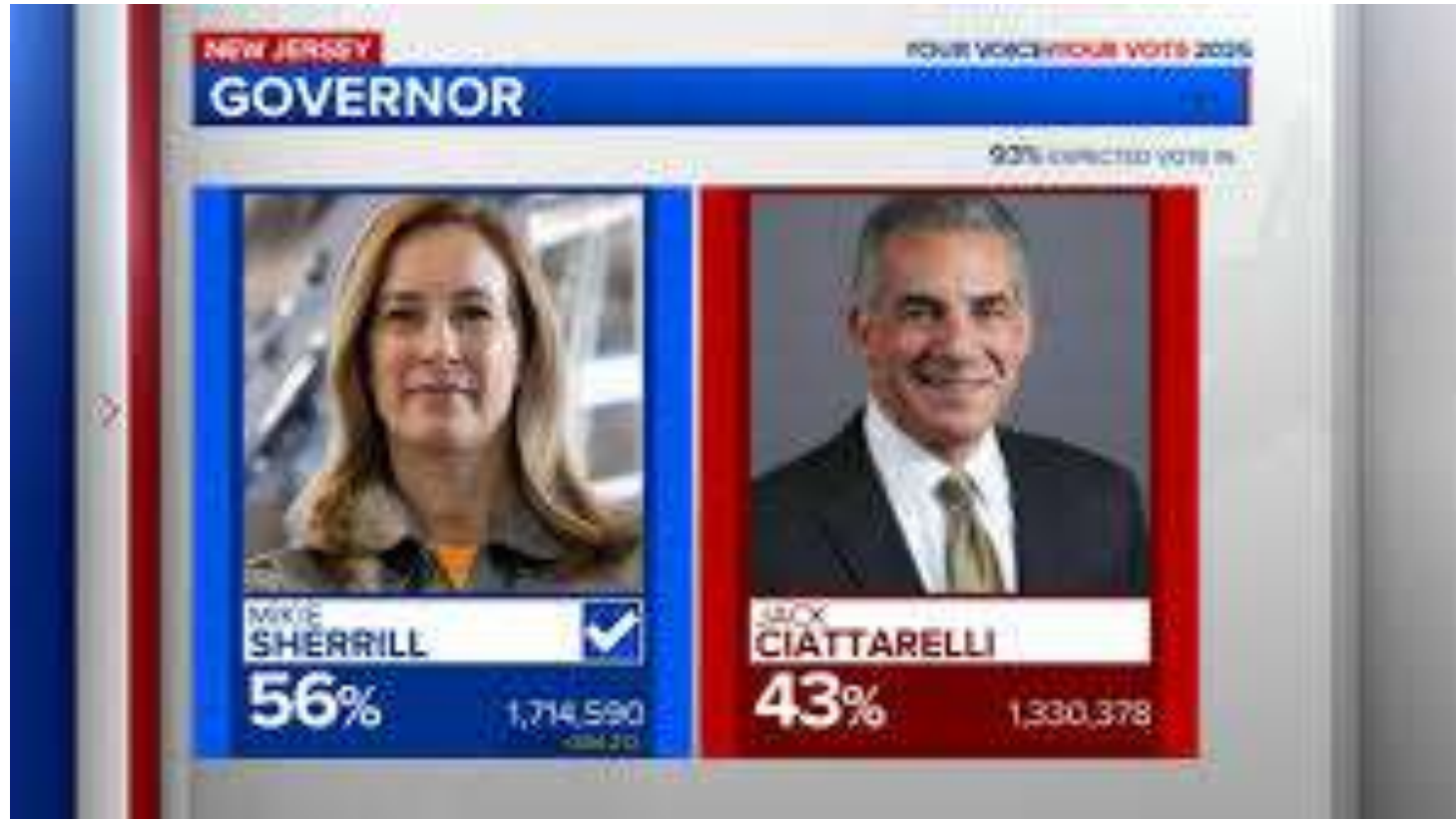
Spanberger wins 7% of 2024
Trump voters, outperforms Harris
by 5.4 pct. points



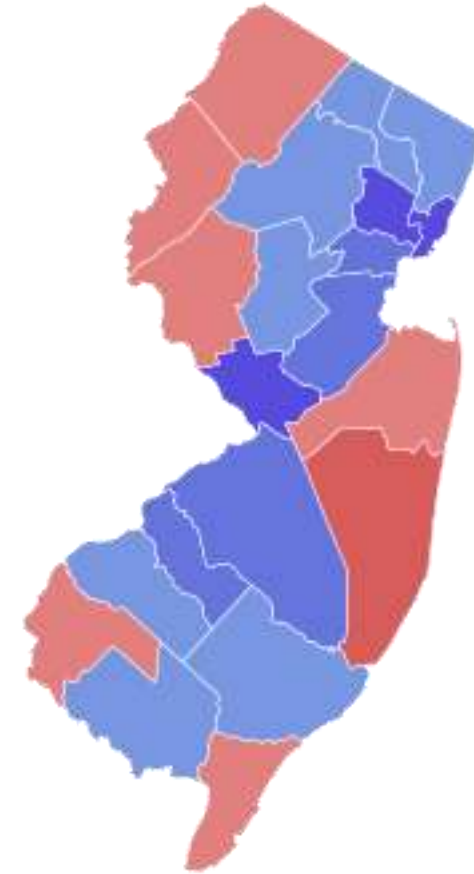
**Virginia Democrats gain 13
seats in the House of
Delegates, for 64-36 margin**



New Jersey



Sherrill wins 7% of 2024 Trump voters,
outperforms Harris by 4 ½ pct. points



Democrats won super-majority in
state's General Assembly

Pennsylvania, Georgia, Mississippi

- Democrats re-elected 3 Pennsylvania Supreme Court judges with more than 60% of the vote
- Democrat won Pittsburgh mayoral race with 87.5% of the vote
- Democrats won two offices in Bucks County, PA
- Democrats won two statewide elections in Georgia (on public utility commission) with 60+ % of the vote (first time since 2006)
- Democrats flipped two seats in Mississippi Senate



California Proposition 50 Election Results: Congressional Redistricting

The measure is an attempt by Democrats to counteract Republican gerrymanders President Trump has sought in red states. If approved, it would change California's congressional district boundaries to make it easier for Democrats to flip five seats now held by Republicans.

PASSES ✓

California voters approved the congressional redistricting measure.

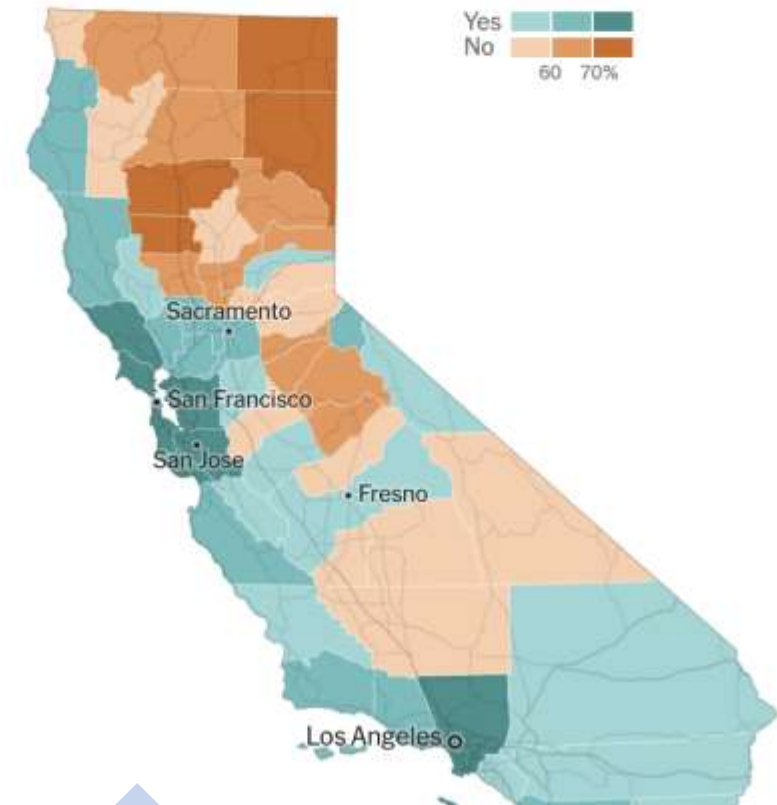
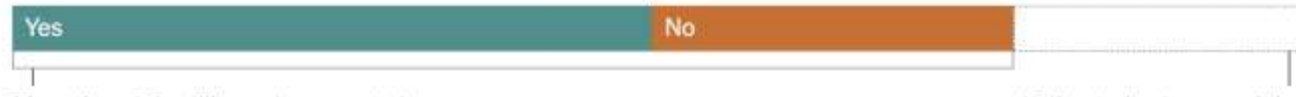
Race called by The Associated Press.

Latest results from 35m ago

77% OF VOTES IN 

Answer	Votes	Pct.
✓ Yes	5,681,645	63.9% 
No	3,213,763	36.1 
Total reported	8,895,408	

77% of the estimated vote total has been reported in California.



Other elections earlier this year

- In Arizona's 7th Congressional District, Democrat Adelita Grijalva won by 39 percentage points, 17 points more than Harris' 2024 margin
- In Wisconsin, the Democratic-backed candidate for the state's Supreme Court won handily against the Republican-backed candidate
- In Iowa, Democrats flipped a state Senate seat, breaking the Republicans' supermajority

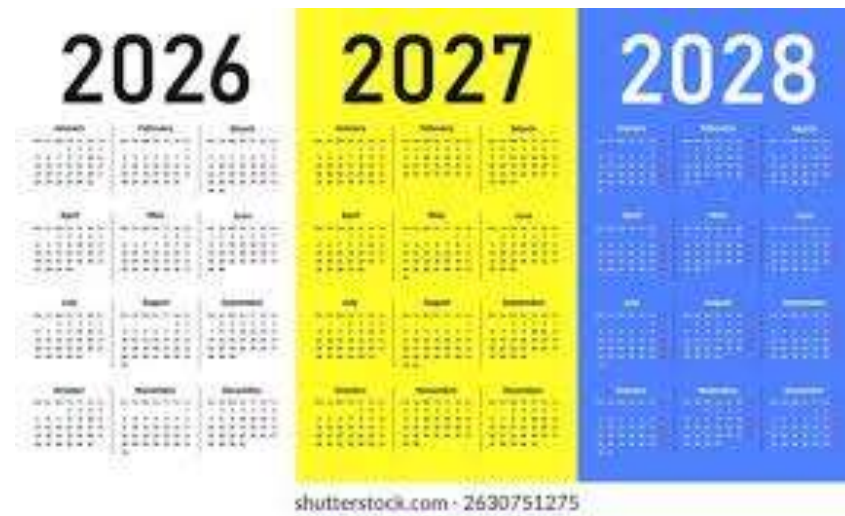


But why did 8 Democrats cave on the shutdown?

- Majority of Americans blamed Republicans for the shutdown
- Most Americans support extending Obamacare subsidies
- 4 from purple states (NH, NV), 2 retiring, 2 not up until 2030
- Airport delays, families going hungry, furloughed govt. workers
- Democratic leadership, the DNC, and the left unhappy with the deal



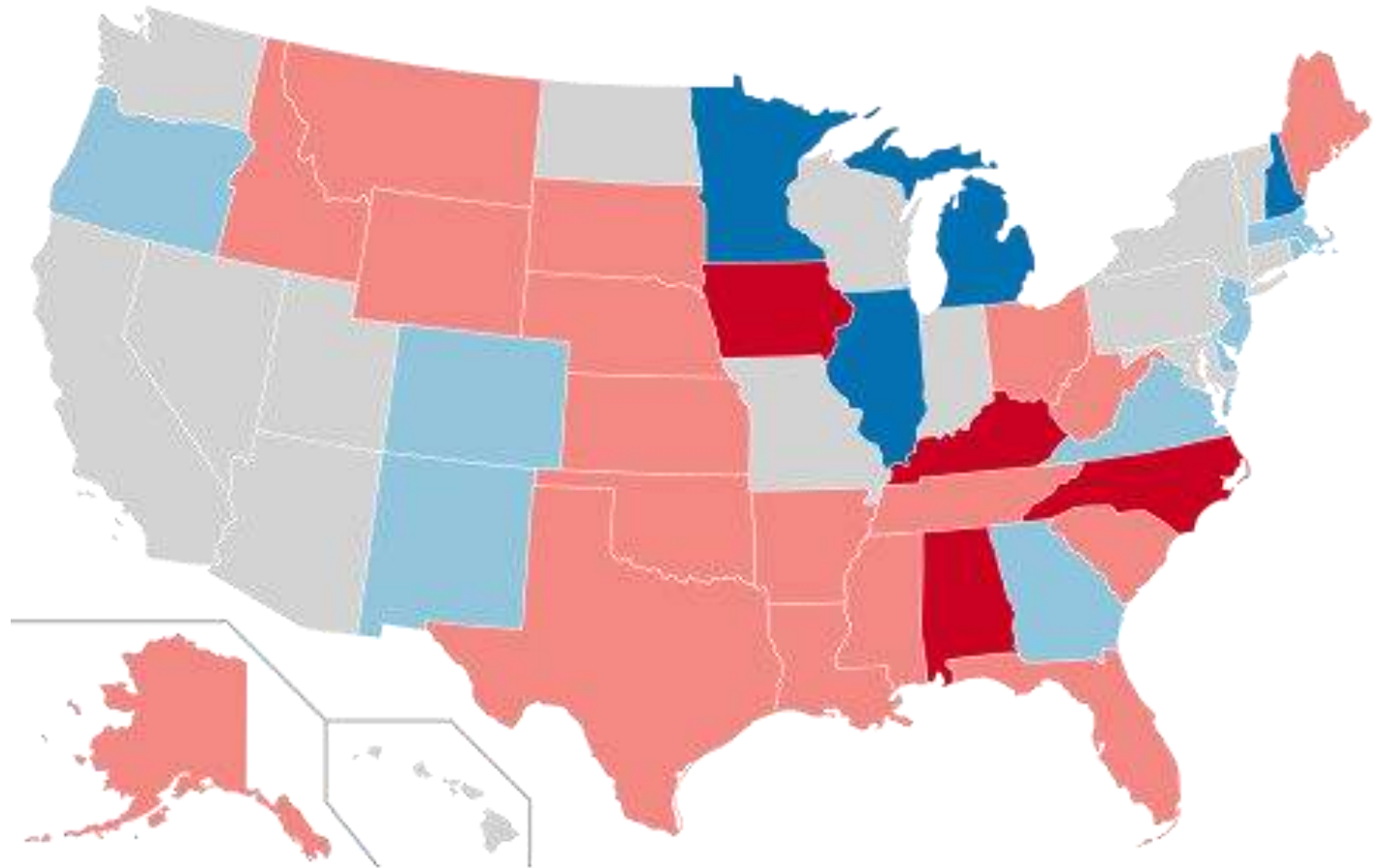
What's ahead?



- Redistricting wars
- After last week's election, Trump posted: "AND SO IT BEGINS!"
- Divisions in MAGA movement?
- 2026 midterm elections
- Democrats: next steps? To the center or the left?
- The courts? Will they curb Trump or give him a free hand?
- Trump's 2026 budget proposal
- What policies are next?
- Trump and Steve Bannon have mused about a third term
- Efforts to restrict voting in 2026 and 2028 elections?
- Will there be a recession and/or a stock market crash/correction?

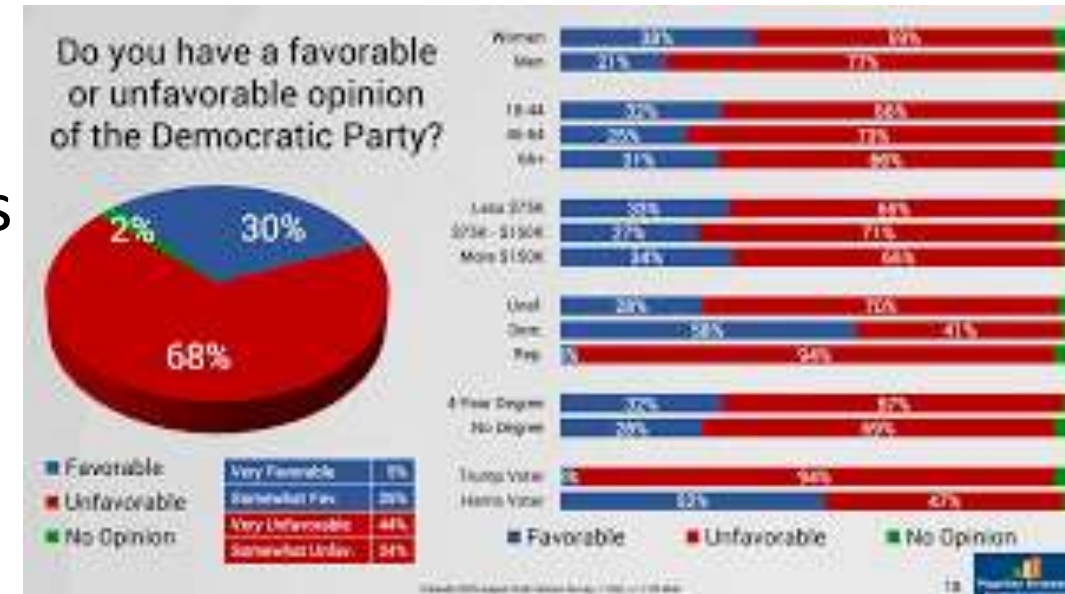
2026 elections

- All 435 House seats (219 GOP, 214 Dems, 2 vacant)
- 37 retiring (15 Dems)/47 not seeking re-election
- 33 Senate seats (20 GOP, 13 Dems)
- 8 retiring (5 Dems)/3 running for Governor



Headlines: “Trump is Sinking But Democrats Aren’t Rising”

- But Democrats are even less popular than Trump: 68% say the Democrats are “out of touch,” compared to 63% who say Trump is
- Public perception of Democrats: 34% favorable, 58% unfavorable
- Yet slim majority wants Democrats to win Congress in 2026
- Who will keep US prosperous: 47-43 Democrat
- Who will keep US safe: 48-41 Republicans
- 46% say they would vote Democratic in 2026, 44% Republican



Colorado poll, August 2025

Redistricting Wars



July/August.

Trump: "We are entitled to 5 more seats. . .

Texas never lets us down. . . More seats equals less Crime, a great Economy, and a STRONG SECOND AMENDMENT."

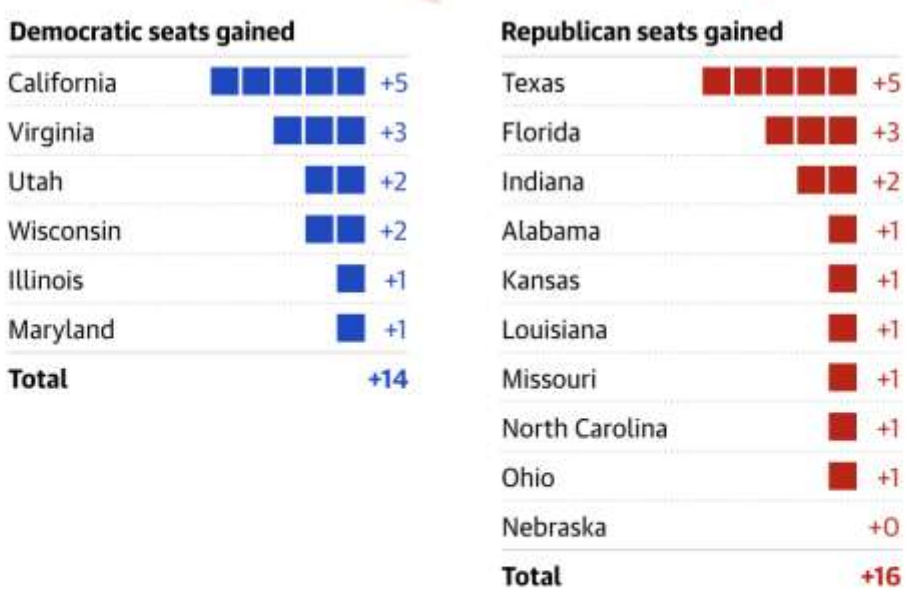
THE LAW

- The Apportionment Clause of Article I, Section 2, of the U.S. Constitution requires that all congressional districts be as nearly equal in population
- The Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution requires that state legislative districts be substantially equal
- Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 prohibits redistricting plans that intentionally or inadvertently discriminate on the basis of race

SOME ADDED TRADITIONAL PRINCIPLES

- Contiguity
- Compactness
- Preservation of political subdivisions (counties, cities)

If both parties meet their best-case scenario redistricting goals, the Republican majority could expand



Net result:
Republicans gain 2 additional seats

STATE	(2024 vote)	CURRENT	AFTER REDISTRICTING
Texas	(56% -42% R)	25-13 Republican	30-8 Republican
California	(58% -38% D)	43-9 Democrat	48-3 Democrat
Missouri.	(58% -40% R)	6-2 Republican	7-1 Republican
North Carolina	(51% -48% R)	10-4 Republican	11-3 Republican
Virginia	(52% -46% D)	6-5 Democrat	9-2 Democrat
Florida	(56% -43% R)	20-8 Republican	22/24-6/4 Republican
Indiana	(59% -40% R)	7-2 Republican	8/9-1/0 Republican

OTHERS?

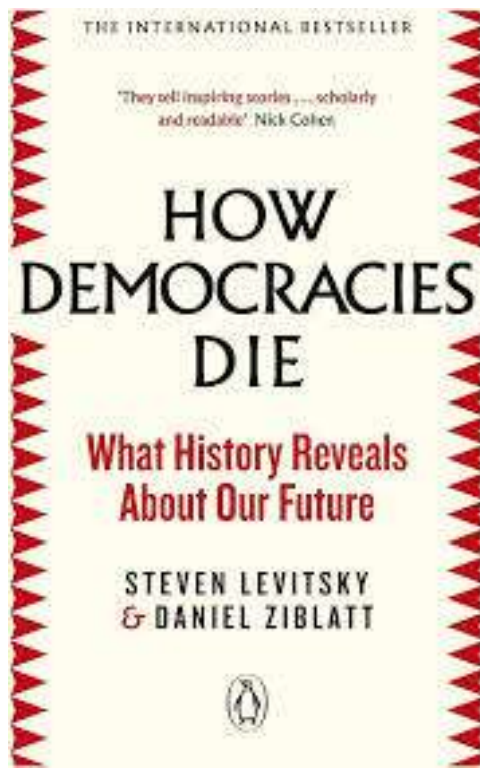
Ohio
Indiana
Kansas
Florida
Illinois
Maryland

Alabama
Utah
Nebraska
New York
Louisiana
Georgia

November 7, 2028. . . (is a long way away)

- JD Vance (or Trump???): Will any Republican challenge?
- Democrats:
 - Gavin Newsom
 - JB Pritzker
 - Chris Murphy
 - Gretchen Whitmer
 - Pete Buttigieg
 - Kamala Harris
 - Rahm Emmanuel
 - Josh Shapiro
 - Andy Beshear





Democracy no longer ends with a bang—in a revolution or military coup—but with a whimper: the slow, steady weakening of critical institutions, such as the judiciary and the press, and the gradual erosion of long-standing political norms.

Or is Trump a transformative President whose political and policy legacy will be felt for years to come?





Or, can Democrats win in 2026 and 2028, will results be honored, and can the legacy of Trump be reversed?