

DONKEY TRACKS

DECEMBER, 2023

#bluetothe core

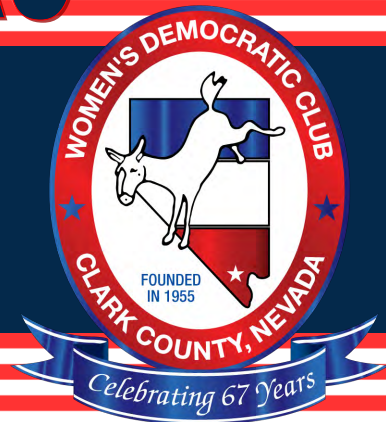
Visit our web site at:

www.womensdemo.com

Women's Democratic Club of Clark County



@womensdemocc



Marla Turner
President



Rhonda Nolen
1st Vice President



Margie Gonzales
2nd Vice President



Dawn Dudas,
Treasurer



ShaRhonda Ramos
Corresponding Secretary



Mary Ella Holloway
Recording Secretary



Ida Gaines
Inspirationalist



HAPPY HANUKKAH



Merry Christmas!



HAPPY
Kwanzaa



2024

happy new year

A Message from the President

First off, THANK YOU for re-electing me as your president for 2024! I am both thrilled and humbled to have earned your confidence. I am very excited to work with incoming officers Carolyn Murray (1st VP), Bonnie Swadling (2nd VP), Rita Ransom (Corresponding Secretary), and Judy Klein (Recording Secretary) as well as returning officers Dawn Dudas (Treasurer) and Ida Gaines (Spiritual Leader). We will be having an officer's retreat very soon and set goals for the coming year.




Our holiday party and potluck is fast approaching, and we can't wait to see everyone in a fun, casual setting! The party is on Saturday, December 9th at 5PM. [RSVP today](#) and then [let us know what you'll be bringing to the potluck.](#)


The Nevada State Democratic Party is holding their second Weekend of Service [December 15th-17th](#) and Women's Demo will once again be participating. Watch your email for additional information about that. We'd love to have you come out and support us and the community.

January is Human Trafficking Awareness month, and our [January meeting](#) takes place on Human Trafficking Awareness Day (January 11th). We will learn how to recognize the signs of someone being trafficked and what each of us can individually do about it. Also at that meeting will be officer installations and we are honored to have Judge Bonnie Bulla administer the oath of office.

And finally, as we head into a new year, I leave you with this quote from Ellen Goodman:



“We spend January 1st walking through our lives, room by room, drawing up a list of work to be done, cracks to be patched. Maybe this year, to balance the list, we ought to walk through the rooms of our lives...not looking for flaws, but for potential.”



Whatever you celebrate (or don't), I wish you and yours a very happy holiday season and a healthy new year.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Marla".

Marla Turner, President
Women's Democratic Club of Clark County

NACJ HOLIDAY PARTY



Please join us at the Fumo
residence for lots of food and
merriment!

DECEMBER 8TH 2023 AT 6 P.M.

9470 Stone Castle Way

Las Vegas NV 89123

GATE CODE: 3866 (FUMO)

THINGS TO ENJOY FOR ALL

- Face Painting
- Bouncy house
- Gamer truck
- Photo booth
- Special Guest: **Santa at 7pm**

Please RSVP with name and ages of children
by Monday November 27th 2023

Emily Strand

702-455-4238

Or

Ozzie Fumo

702-474-7554



YOU ARE INVITED TO THE
WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC CLUB
OF CLARK COUNTY'S ANNUAL

*Holiday Party
& Potluck*

SATURDAY

DECEMBER 9, 2023

5:00 PM - 9:00 PM

Location and address information
provided one week before event

RSVP here: <https://bit.ly/3Pys6RJ>



After Thanksgiving.....

TO DO LIST



Finish off the pumpkin pie



Peruse various diet plans



Renew Women's Demo Dues



Membership gives you great benefits like reduced pricing at WDC events, educational forums, volunteer opportunities, community and networking experiences, face time with elected officials, and more. Thank you for renewing your membership today.

Renew Now

**\$35 for general membership
\$15 for students & past presidents**

Membership runs on a calendar year of January through December.

<https://womensdemo.com/membership>

Sponsored by the NV State Democratic Party
& Women's Democratic Club of Clark County

WEEKEND OF SERVICE!



CALLING ALL MEMBERS AND COMMUNITY PARTNERS!

WHEN: SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17, 2023

Women's Demo is partnering with Moms Demand Action - Nevada Chapter on a winter drive for No Racism in Schools. We are gathering new socks and new and/or gently used gloves, coats, scarves, and hats that will be given to the homeless.

Please bring your unwrapped donation:

- With you if you are coming to the holiday party on December 9th, or;
- Deliver anytime between now and the 17th to 3731 My Way, Las Vegas, NV 89103.

[SIGN UP HERE](https://bit.ly/3sSzCzw)

<https://bit.ly/3sSzCzw>

www.womensdemo.com





December

Judge Anna Albertson
 Dr. Brenda Braam
 Mary Chandler
 Assemblywoman Lesley Cohen
 Paul DePierro
 Anthony Doyle
 Amy Esparza
 Judge Jessica Goodey
 Dan Kruger
 Esther Rodriguez
 Sharon Segerblom
 Governor Steve Sisolak
 Carol Tipton
 Marla Turner
 Assemblyman Howard Watts
 Caren Wolfson

January

The Honorable Shelley Berkley
 Senate Majority Leader Nicole
 Cannizzaro
 Melissa Clary
 Donna Darden
 Dawn Dudas
 Chloe Moore
 Rhonda Nolen
 Judy Phelps
 Sabrina Torres
 Judge Bitu Yeager



2024



MEETING SCHEDULE

JAN	FEB	MARCH	APRIL	MAY
Jan 11 Meeting & Officer Installations	Feb 8 Meeting	Mar 14 Meeting	Apr 11 Meeting	May 9 Meeting
JUNE	JULY	AUG	SEPT	OCT
June 13 Meeting	July 13 BBQ & Pool Party NO Meeting	Aug 8 Women's Equality Day Meeting	TBA Spotlight Dinner NO Meeting	Oct 10 Meeting
NOV	DEC			
Nov 14 Meeting	Dec 14 Holiday Party NO Meeting			



Sharing Our Legacy

By Judy Klein



The holidays are fast approaching as is the end of another year. This is the time when we reflect over the past year and make plans for the upcoming one.

As we look back over this year, we can be proud of the accomplishments of the Club. Our members went out ,into the community, and did some outstanding service on behalf of the Nevada State Democratic Party and Women's Democratic Club. Our President and Board made tremendous strides to bring the Club into the tech world with updates in our mailing, our social media, and how we can communicate with one another. I'd like to thank the Board Members, Marla Turner - President, Rhonda Nolen - 1st Vice President, Margie Gonzales - 2nd Vice President, Dawn Dudas - Treasurer, ShaRhonda Ramos - Corresponding Secretary, Mary Ella Holloway - Recording Secretary and, Ida Gaines - Inspirationalist. Thank you all for your service.

As we prepare for Hanukkah, Christmas and, Kwanzaa, let us all be grateful for family and friends that surround and love us. No matter what we celebrate, or don't celebrate, let's make a concerted effort to extend our hand and our heart to the diversity in all of us. Let's share our cultures to better understand our community and the friends we have made this year. Women's Democratic Club of Clark County ("WDC") has a sixty-eight (68) year history of bringing in members that span all cultures, ethnicity and generations. We are fortunate to make friendships that last life times through our Club! What a miracle each brings to the other!

Our Annual Holiday Party will be held at former Congresswoman Shelley Berkley's home. She and her husband, Dr. Larry Lehrner have opened their home for us on Saturday, December 9th from 5:00 pm to 9:00 pm. Please visit our website and sign up to bring an item to our pot luck. Use this link: <https://bit.ly/3Pys6RJ>

See you there!

1st row: Ruby Duncan, Bebe Hoffman, First Lady Rosalynn Carter, Marie Ripps, and Beverly Carlino Banta
2nd row: Jan Jenkins, Gloria Edwards, Aileen O'Neill, Myrna Tormé Williams, and Helen Waterman



WINNER!

On Sunday, December 12th, the Clark County Democratic Party (“CCDP”) held its first Mac ‘n Cheese Competition! Several clubs were represented in the competition and the judges conducted a blind taste test. They concluded the win-ning Mac ‘n Cheese sample was from **Women’s Democratic Club**, prepared by Rhonda Nolen! Lani Paz, a member of WDC and Red Rock Democratic Club won the People’s Choice award.

Rhonda brought two (2) extra pans of mac ‘n cheese and donated it to the Boulder City Democratic Club. They, in turn, took Rhonda’s winning entry to a food pantry in Boulder City that serves a hot meal on Sunday evenings. Women’s Demo performed well and showed what being a Democrat means, sharing food with humankind. Our thanks to Rhonda.





***Congratulations
Vegas Golden Knights
Stanley Cup Champions!***

Winners of the Stanley Cup, Las Vegas Golden Knights! A trip to the White House to celebrate! Those in attendance included two (2) of our members, Lisa Levine and Senator Cannizzaro.

Letters From An American

By Heather Cox Richardson

Yesterday, David Roberts of the energy and politics newsletter *Volts* noted that a *Washington Post* article illustrated how right-wing extremism is accomplishing its goal of destroying faith in democracy. Examining how “in a swing Wisconsin county, everyone is tired of politics,” the article revealed how right-wing extremism has sucked up so much media oxygen that people have tuned out, making them unaware that Biden and the Democrats are doing their best to deliver precisely what those in the article claim to want: compromise, access to abortion, affordable health care, and gun safety.

One person interviewed said, “I can’t really speak to anything [Biden] has done because I’ve tuned it out, like a lot of people have. We’re so tired of the us-against-them politics.” Roberts points out that “both sides” are not extremists, but many Americans have no idea that the Democrats are actually trying to govern, including by reaching across the aisle. Roberts notes that the media focus on the right wing enables the right wing to define our politics. That, in turn, serves the radical right by destroying Americans’ faith in our democratic government.

Former Republican National Committee chair Michael Steele echoed that observation this morning when he wrote, “We need to stop the false equivalency BS between Biden and Trump. Only one acts with the intention to do real harm.”

Indeed, as David Kurtz of *Talking Points Memo* puts it, “the gathering storm of Trump 2.0 is upon us,” and Trump and his people are telling us exactly what a second Trump term would look like. Yesterday, Trump echoed his “vermin” post of the other day, saying: “2024 is our final battle. With you at my side, we will demolish the Deep State, we will expel the warmongers from our government, we will drive out the globalists, we will cast out the Communists, Marxists, and Fascists, we will throw off the sick political class that hates our Country, we will rout the Fake News Media, we will evict Joe Biden from the White House, and we will FINISH THE JOB ONCE AND FOR ALL!”

Trump’s open swing toward authoritarianism should be disqualifying even for Republicans—can you imagine Ronald Reagan talking this way?—but MAGA Republicans are lining up behind him. Last week the Texas legislature passed a bill to seize immigration authority from the federal government in what is a clear violation of the U.S. Constitution, and yesterday, Texas governor Greg Abbott announced that he was “proud to endorse” Trump for president because of his proposed border policies (which include the deportation of 10 million people).

House speaker Mike Johnson (R-LA) has also endorsed Trump, and on Friday he announced he was ordering the release of more than 40,000 hours of tapes from the January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol, answering the demands of far-right congress members who insist the tapes will prove there was no such attack despite the conclusion of the House committee investigating the attack that Trump criminally conspired to overturn the lawful results of the 2020 presidential election and refused to stop his supporters from attacking the Capitol.

Trump loyalist Senator Mike Lee (R-UT) promptly spread a debunked conspiracy theory that one of the attackers shown in the tapes, Kevin Lyons, was actually a law enforcement officer hiding a badge. Lyons—who was not, in fact, a police officer—was carrying a vape and a photo he stole from then–House speaker Nancy Pelosi’s office and is now serving a 51-month prison sentence. (Former representative Liz Cheney (R-WY) tweeted: “Hey [Mike Lee]—heads up. A nutball conspiracy theorist appears to be posting from your account.”)

Both E.J. Dionne of the *Washington Post* and Will Bunch of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* noted yesterday that MAGA Republicans have no policies for addressing inflation or relations with China or gun safety; instead, they have coalesced only around the belief that officials in “the administrative state” thwarted Trump in his first term and that a second term will be about revenge on his enemies and smashing American liberalism.

Mike Davis, one of the men under consideration for attorney general, told a podcast host in September that he would “unleash hell on Washington, D.C.,” getting rid of career politicians, indicting President Joe Biden “and every other scumball, sleazeball Biden,” and helping pardon those found guilty of crimes associated with the January 6th attack on the U.S. Capitol. “We’re gonna deport a lot of people, 10 million people and growing—anchor babies, their parents, their grandparents,” Davis said. “We’re gonna put kids in cages. It’s gonna be glorious. We’re gonna detain a lot of people in the D.C. gulag and Gitmo.”

In the *Washington Post*, Josh Dawsey talked to former Trump officials who do not believe Trump should be anywhere near the presidency, and yet they either fear for their safety if they oppose him or despair that nothing they say seems to matter. John F. Kelly, Trump’s longest-serving chief of staff, told Dawsey that it is beyond his comprehension that Trump has the support he does.

“I came out and told people the awful things he said about wounded soldiers, and it didn’t have half a day’s bounce. You had his attorney general Bill Barr come out, and not a half a day’s bounce. If anything, his numbers go up. It might even move the needle in the wrong direction. I think we’re in a dangerous zone in our country,” Kelly said.

Part of the attraction of right-wing figures is they offer easy solutions to the complicated issues of the modern world. Argentina has inflation over 140%, and 40% of its people live in poverty. Yesterday, voters elected as president far-right libertarian Javier Milei, who is known as “El Loco” (The Madman). Milei wants to legalize

the sale of organs, denies climate change, and wielded a chainsaw on the campaign trail to show he would cut down the state and “exterminate” inflation. Both Trump and Brazil’s Jair Bolsonaro, two far-right former presidents who launched attacks against their own governments, congratulated him.

In 1959, President Dwight D. Eisenhower took on the question of authoritarianism. Robert J. Biggs, a terminally ill World War II veteran, wrote to Eisenhower, asking him to cut through the confusion of the postwar years. “We wait for someone to speak for us and back him completely if the statement is made in truth,” Biggs wrote. Eisenhower responded at length. While unity was imperative in the military, he said, “in a democracy debate is the breath of life. This is to me what Lincoln meant by government ‘of the people, by the people, and for the people.’”

Dictators, Eisenhower wrote, “make one contribution to their people which leads them to tend to support such systems—freedom from the necessity of informing themselves and making up their own minds concerning these tremendous complex and difficult questions.”

Once again, liberal democracy is under attack, but it is notable—to me, anyway, as I watch to see how the public conversation is changing—that more and more people are stepping up to defend it. In the *New York Times* today, legal scholar Cass Sunstein warned that “[o]n the left, some people insist that liberalism is exhausted and dying, and unable to handle the problems posed by entrenched inequalities, corporate power and environmental degradation. On the right, some people think that liberalism is responsible for the collapse of traditional values, rampant criminality, disrespect for authority and widespread immorality.”

Sunstein went on to defend liberalism in a 34-point description, but his first point was the most important: “Liberals believe in six things,” he wrote: “freedom, human rights, pluralism, security, the rule of law and democracy,” including fact-based debate and accountability of elected officials to the people.

Finally, former First Lady Rosalynn Carter, who was a staunch advocate for the health and empowerment of marginalized people—and who embodied the principles Sunstein listed, though that’s not why I’m mentioning her—died yesterday at 96. “Rosalynn was my equal partner in everything I ever accomplished,” former President Jimmy Carter said in a statement.

More to the point, perhaps, considering the Carters’ profound humanity, is that when journalist Katie Couric once asked President Carter whether winning a Nobel Peace Prize or being elected president of the United States was the most exciting thing that ever happened to him, Carter answered: “When Rosalynn said she’d marry me—I think that’s the most exciting thing.”

Nevada Voters Deserve An Apology For 2020 Election Lies

By John L. Smith



It seems like only yesterday that former President Donald Trump's White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows was leading the chorus of election deniers and making a full-throated endorsement of Nevada secretary of state candidate Jim Marchant.

It was, in fact, in November 2021 during a [Republican fundraiser](#) at a Henderson country club that the two fraud promoters stood side by side with their thumbs up and their heads high. The cult of election denialism was in full bluster that night.

It was an evening that saw Republican State Party Chairman and snake oil salesman supreme Michael McDonald once again malign state Attorney General Barbara Cegavske for working "on behalf of Democrats." Cegavske was only doing her duty when she stood up to the GOP's shameful campaign of prevarication. The longtime Republican refused to buckle to the pressure in the wake of the 2020 election despite a series of specious lawsuits and increasing vitriol from the party to which she had dedicated so much of her public life. She endured an insulting censure from Nevada's Trump zealots.

Marchant's unwavering fealty toward Trump makes him an easy character to parody. Write off his candidacy as a joke if you'd like, but remember that he lost to Cisco Aguilar in the [2022 general election](#) by just 2.28 percent of the vote. Such was the staying power of Trump's big lie about widespread voter fraud. It's undeniably clear that most of its traveling promoters knew that was so when they graffitied our democracy in battleground states with their character assassinations and slanders about election department heads and voting machines.

In Georgia, Trump and 18 others have been charged with criminal racketeering in attempting to overturn the state's presidential election results. Three of the former president's lawyers have already pleaded guilty as part of generous plea agreements that don't require them to serve prison time despite their integral roles in the alleged scheme.

This past week, [ABC News reported](#) that Meadows has testified under a grant of immunity before a grand jury in Trump's federal prosecution for allegedly attempting to unlawfully retain power and "spread lies" about the propriety of the 2020 election. Meadows has admitted he knew Trump was being dishonest with the public when he immediately claimed victory on election night and then continued his claims of fraud, according to the news report. Meadows has also acknowledged that it was obvious that Trump hadn't won, a fact that did nothing to deter Meadows from joining the chorus of lies in the weeks and months that followed.

Meadows was in full bullshit mode in November 2021 when he hit Southern Nevada stumping for Trump-backed candidates, especially Marchant, who was seeking an office that plays a central role in protecting election integrity in the state. He called Marchant "one of the most tenacious guys I know." For his part, Marchant was a rabid election denier and was on hand when [Nevada's contingent](#) of fake electors posed in Carson City on Dec. 14, 2020. He also promoted a [traveling group](#) of self-styled "experts" who claimed to have found weaknesses in Nevada's voting machines.

That night in Henderson, according to published reports, Meadows delivered what was purportedly a personal message to the crowd: "President Trump wants Nevada to know that he loves Nevada. He is going to win Nevada the next time, and he won the last time."

Setting aside the fact Trump lost Nevada to Joe Biden by more than 33,000 votes, ABC News has now reported what anyone with an ounce of sense has known for a long time: Mark Meadows, one of the few sophisticated political loyalists in the Trump White House, knew his boss had lost in 2020 and promoted the big lie anyway.

Who knows, maybe someday he'll get around to apologizing.

As part of its plea agreement strategy, Georgia prosecutors have required defendants taking a deal to write a letter of apology to the voters of the state they had attempted to mislead. It probably seems like a small gesture given the scale of fraud attempted, but I think it's a good thing. The people of Georgia deserve an apology and a whole lot more.

Although no Nevadans have been charged despite their almost giddy participation in Trump's massive election fraud scheme, it would be refreshing if even one of them had the strength of character to publicly apologize to voters in this state for the deception they perpetrated and the damage they've done.

John L. Smith is an author and longtime columnist. He was born in Henderson and his family's Nevada roots go back to 1881. His stories have appeared in Time, Readers Digest, The Daily Beast, Reuters, Ruralite and Desert Companion, among others. He also offers weekly commentary on Nevada Public Radio station KNPR.

New Members - 2023

January Nicole Bhat Jennifer Brown Forrest Darby Francine Green Stephanie Alendia	February Cecia Alvarado	March Marbella Alfonzo Blanca Ortiz Sabrina Torres	April Honey Boria Anthony Doyle Estifania Esparza Sharifa Wahab Kevin Wong	May Joel Enriquez Olivia Enriquez Kai Huffman Chloe Moore Emilia "Amy" Nicolas Harriet Reitman-Goldstein
	June Edith Cardiff John Delibos	July Teresa Crawford Mary Hickey Iris Revels Brenda Smith-Braam	August Leaha Crawford	
	September Ashlee Cooper Joan Israel Donna Miller Teneshia Spencer	October Senator Dallas Harris	November Jovan Jackson Jacque Jones Jonathan Jones Launa Waldrop	



As we approach 2024, in just about one month from today, I'm feeling anger, angst, apprehension and, especially abhorrence! I find myself waking up in the mornings around 5:30 a.m., get up right away, get my coffee and turn on MSNBC so I can see what horrible things happened overnight! And most mornings do not disappoint!

The usual conflicts around the world, first, Putin trying to bring back the Russian heydays of the USSR! And, the new/old days of Hamas/Israel/Palestine are flammings anew! As horrific as these are, I keep going back to "but, this is not my Country" which gets scarier by the day! I don't recognize some of the people who apparently hate Social Security, Obamacare, and especially anyone who don't look like them! We have folks going off about immigrants, who apparently never learned that their ancestors came to this, once great, Country as, guess what...immigrants!

Make America Great Again? Are they that stupid or what? We were a pretty great Country, albeit a few slips now and then until the Presidential election of 2015-2016, introduced us to a reality TV person who convinced voters that he could make us better! And he got elected and made us worse!

Now, this fool has civil and criminal charges and wants to get his hands on our beloved Country, again, with an agenda that will end our Democracy as we know it! We must stop him and his supporters who are spreading lies about how wonderful this guy is and still wearing those stupid red MAGA hats.

Who are these folks? And, what is he? We need to get our Party, yep, the Democratic Party moving in the right direction! We need to get strong Precinct leaders, we need to support them, we need to recognize them in very positive ways! How do we do that! We stay in contact with them, we recruit leaders where there are empty spots! We need to make sure our Party is working hard to organize so that every Democrat is contacted and understands what is at risk if they don't vote!

In my many years in politics I firmly believe that 2024 is our most consequential election! We have to win! If you understand that, you must get involved in a way that maybe you have never been! You need to raise money for the campaigns, you need to start doorbelling, you need to start telephoning, you need to get non voters registered to vote and get them out to vote! This is how we win! We must win!

I truly believe that women can make a difference! And I believe in you, the Democratic women of Clark County, and All of Nevada!

Let's get going and WIN! It's for our Country!!!

A Policy Shift In How Democrats Address Inequality Has Cost Them, A Paper Argues

By Peter Coy

A lot of Democrats are bewildered by why their party isn't doing better in campaigns against a Republican Party that is deeply dysfunctional. A new paper by three economists proposes a fresh explanation that seems persuasive to me. It says the Democrats went astray right around ... 1976.

The argument, in a nutshell, is that the Democratic Party has gained educated voters but lost less educated voters because of a change in how it tried to help the working class and the poor. Instead of trying to prevent market forces from generating inequality, it has leaned toward giving free rein to market forces and then fixing the resulting inequalities through the tax-and-transfer system, taking some of the gains of the most successful and sharing them with the least successful.

The [working paper](#), from the National Bureau of Economic Research, is titled “‘Compensate the Losers?’ Economic Policy and Partisan Realignment in the U.S.” Its three authors are Ilyana Kuziemko, a professor at Princeton; Nicolas Longuet Marx, a doctoral candidate at Columbia; and Suresh Naidu, a Columbia professor.

Historically, the Democratic Party was a party of the working class. Democrats inspired by the successes of the New Deal stood for helping working people earn a decent living through measures such as a higher minimum wage, unionization and restrictions on imports of cheap goods that would take jobs away from Americans.

But in the 1970s, New Democrats began to exert more influence over the party. They argued that many traditional Democratic policies were inefficient, creating what economists call deadweight losses. For example, they contended that high minimum wages killed jobs and that tariffs harmed consumers (including low-income ones) by raising prices.

The New Democrats weren't heartless. They wanted to help the poor and working class. But they wanted to let the free market do what it does best, namely create wealth, and then use government policy to take from the rich and give to the poor. That's “compensating the losers,”

as the paper's title has it. Their economics-inflected strategy was aimed at recapturing white, middle-class voters who had defected to the Republican Party.

For decades, Democratic primaries pitted traditional Democrats against New Democrats. Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale and Jesse Jackson were traditionalists. Gary Hart, Bill and Hillary Clinton and John Kerry were revisionists. Gradually the revisionists gained the upper hand. The Democratic Leadership Council, formed in 1985, was their think tank. Bill Clinton's victories in 1992 and 1996 were seen as proof of the rightness of their approach.

Something wasn't working, though. The Democratic Party was picking up college-educated suburban voters, but the working class was abandoning it in droves. The Democratic Party went from being less educated than the Republican Party to more educated.

"In the 1940s, every additional year of education predicts a three-percentage-point decrease in the likelihood of identifying as a Democrat," Kuziemko, Marx and Naidu wrote. "This relationship holds with little change until an inflection point, which we estimate as occurring in 1976. Since then, the pace of realignment remains relatively steady."

Party leaders consoled themselves that at least they had managed to hang on to Black and Hispanic voters, but lately Hispanic voters, too, have begun drifting toward the G.O.P.

To understand the party realignment, the three economists analyzed results of more than 800 surveys of about two million respondents since the 1940s. They also studied congressional voting records, party platforms and data on donations. They found that at least since the 1940s, "less educated voters appear to prefer a less market-based and more interventionist economic program that aims to promote domestic employment and wages." Those voters left the Democratic Party when the party left them.

The authors labeled the traditional, New Deal approach as "predistributionist" and the New Democrat approach as "redistributionist." The authors didn't have data on why less educated voters prefer predistributionist policies. One explanation could be the dignity of work: People want to feel that they earned their own way (even if their earnings were invisibly bolstered by government policies such as tariffs). Or "voters may believe that the tax-and-transfer system is more opaque, corrupt or inefficient," they wrote.

The traditional knock on a "compensate the losers" strategy is that the promises of compensation are often unfulfilled. For example, people who lose their jobs because of cheap

imports don't get the retraining they need to start new careers. When I emailed Kuziemko and Naidu about that, Naidu wrote back, in part: "Our paper is more about the political efficacy of the 'compensate the losers' view than whether or not it's actually economically efficient. It might be that less educated voters don't trust that it will happen, or it could be that even if it did happen, it wouldn't preserve what people like about their current job." He added, "We can't disentangle those things."

In reality, every government does some predistribution and some redistribution. It's just that the Democratic Party has tipped more toward redistribution in recent decades. Whether that is good or bad from an economic perspective is not something the paper addresses.

From a political perspective, the tilt toward the preferences of the more educated might have won the Democrats a firmer majority of the electorate if the rate of college completion had continued to grow as vigorously as it did in the 1970s and 1980s, but it did not, Kuziemko told me in a phone interview with her and Naidu.

An alternative theory you sometimes hear is that the culture wars caused the party realignment. But that doesn't match the evidence, the authors wrote. College-educated voters tend to be socially liberal, whereas Bill Clinton and other New Democrats were actually less socially liberal than old-fashioned Democrats such as McGovern. The fact that educated voters chose New Democrats anyway is evidence that economic factors were so important to them that they outweighed social ones, the authors wrote.

President Biden doesn't fit the paper's thesis. He is a throwback to the New Deal era of the Democratic Party. He has more in common with Humphrey than with Clinton or Barack Obama, whom he served as vice president. When he supported the United Auto Workers in its strike against General Motors, Ford and Stellantis, he became [the first](#) sitting president to walk a picket line.

Kuziemko and Naidu told me that their research didn't extend to the Biden presidency but that Biden's unrelenting emphasis on creating good, well-paying jobs is consistent with trying to win back less educated voters.

I ran the paper's thesis past some people at a conference of progressive Democrats, Bold New Consensus, that was held in New York on Thursday at Cooper Union. Felicia Wong, the president of the Roosevelt Institute, said Biden is on the right track in emphasizing

predistributionist policies, although she said there will always be a need for redistribution as well. Dorian Warren, who is a co-president of the progressive organizing group Community Change and co-chair of the Economic Security Project, said predistributionist and redistributionist policies can reinforce one another, to workers' benefit.

I wouldn't say that pre- versus re- is the entire explanation for what has happened in party politics over the past half-century, and I don't think the authors would, either. At the conference of progressives in New York, the author Anand Giridharadas said, "We need to throw a more fun party than the other side," calling Democrats "tedious, moralistic, scolding and wonky." That sounds about right. My colleague Pamela Paul just [interviewed](#) John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira, whose new book "Where Have All the Democrats Gone?" pins the blame for Democrats' losses on a mix of economic and social policies.

That said, I do think that Kuziemko, Marx and Naidu have put their collective finger on a genuinely important factor in the Democrats' loss of an important constituency. Assuming their analysis holds up to peer review — and I don't know why it wouldn't — this research is likely to be cited by economists and political scientists for years.

Outlook: Andrew Hunter

Judging from the weakness in recent economic data, "it is increasingly hard to imagine" that the Federal Reserve will increase interest rates any more, Andrew Hunter, the deputy chief U.S. economist of Capital Economics, wrote in a note to clients on Friday. He pointed to the slowdown of payroll and wage growth and a decline in the number of people reported as employed in the October [jobs report](#). "Overall, we suspect the softening in labor market conditions has much further to run and still expect the Fed to be cutting interest rates again in the first half of next year," he wrote.



WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF CLARK COUNTY

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Please Print

2024

First Name _____ Last Name _____ Date _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Home Phone _____ Cell Phone _____ Work Phone _____

Fax _____ Email _____

Facebook _____ Twitter _____

Instagram _____ Date of Birth _____

I affirm that I am registered to vote with the Democratic Party in the State of Nevada: Yes []
(Only a registered Democrat can be a member)

General Membership: \$35 Annual Dues Paid By: Check [] Money Order [] Cash []

Past WDC Presidents and Current Students: \$15 Annual Dues Paid By: Check [] Money Order [] Cash []

Renee Diamond Scholarship Fund Donation: Paid By: Check [] Money Order [] Cash [] Online []

I am interested in participating on the following Committees:
(you will be notified if there are vacancies available)

Ambassador Committee [] Candidate Donation Distribution Committee [] Communications/Media []

Thank You For Joining
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