#### #1

# The State of the Nation. US 2024 Presidential Election: Voting, Present & Impending Domestic Issues, Matters of Euro-American Concern.

Augsburg Gymnasium, Week of December 9, 2024. Prof. John Dean, The Catholic University of Paris/ l'Institut Catholique de Paris / & University of Versailles (UVSQ), France.

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\*PPT #2\* Domestic & International Issues \*PPT #2\*

US and -- or versus -- Euro-American Matters



Media Bias

**Cultural Studies:** 

A Dose of Theory

Culture:

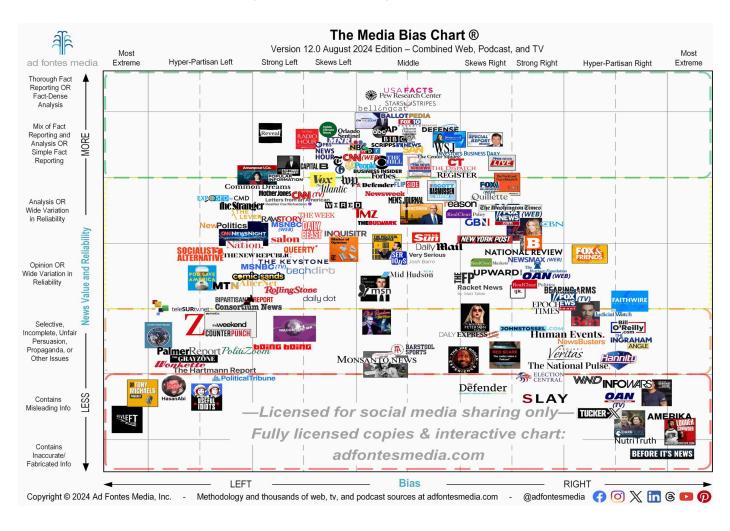
The Other

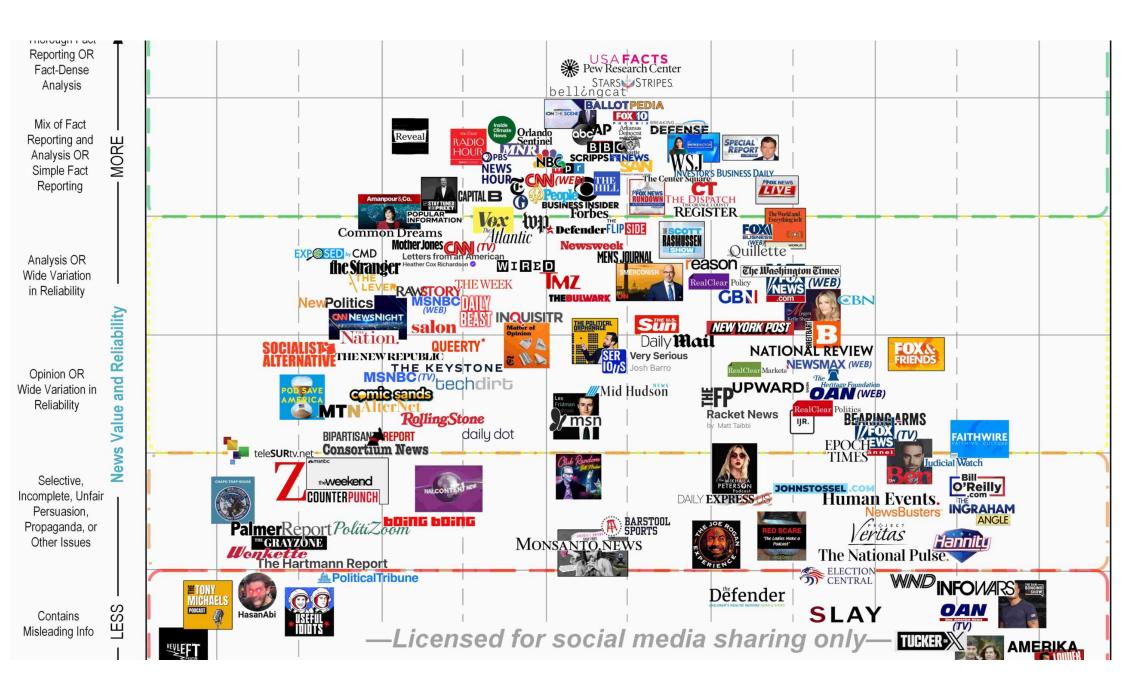
I was asked by an Augsburg Gymnasium student for this week's talk:

# "How do you find out about current political issues?"

· My answer.....choose some & regularly follow:

# News & Information: Media Bias Chart. Communication Partisanship & Prejudice (updated twice a year)

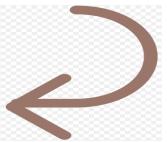




# My <u>viewpoint</u> = How do I question?

 "To be able to ask a question clearly is two-thirds of the way to getting it answered." ~John Ruskin





- French call this process: problématique
- German (& Greek-Socratic): dialectic -- people who hold different vews on a subject, discuss it & try to arrive at truth through reasoned argumentation.
- <u>American English</u>: *issues* of the debate

#### My Approach:

- Neither Political Science nor Economics, Sociology, Linguistics or Psychology -- but Cultural Studies.
- Cultural Studies tries to answer the fundamental question of how national and individual identity is formed. What is valued, why, and to what end?
- How do symbolic cultural codes and systems of expression and the administration of values shape both powerful and dominant public interests as well as forceful and personal, ordinary, successful or failed existence within a civilization?

- How do the distinct cultural assignments of meanings given to key words and images, media, a language as spoken and written, valued personality traits, institutions & organizations together form and express each human society?
- How do eclectic elements form a syncretic whole which distinguishes a nation, a state, and its people?
- Culture itself is a process; to shape, to cultivate. It is not spontaneously, organically handed down from generation to generation. Culture is maintained & reproduced. Culture lacks independent inertia.

#### culture

the process of growth & development

- . As the soil, so the sprouting.
- Cheyenne saying

[ "to sprout" - <u>D</u>.: zu sprießen]

L.: *cultura*: to till the land, agriculture.

[ "to till the land" -D.: das Land zu bestellen]



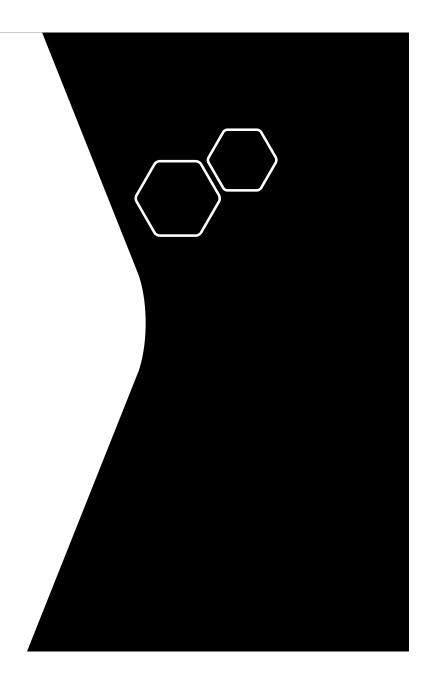


US Civilization is Not European Civilization

- So what?
- Many things about Europe do not make sense to Americans & many things about America do not make sense to Europeans.
- It's a stretch. Stretch....
- "It is hard to fill a cup that is

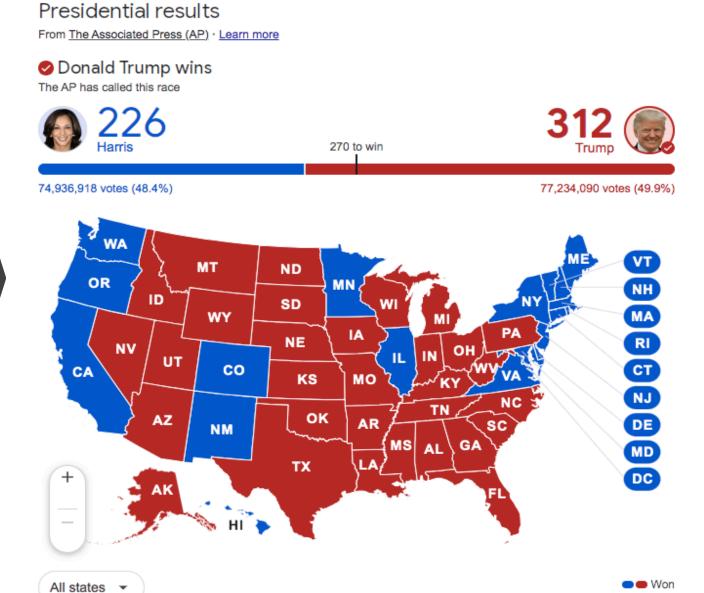
already full." -- Mo'at, spiritual leader of the Omatikaya clan in Avatar.





# I. Assets & Defects: Kamala Harris, Donald J. Trump

I. Voters: The Election
Assets & Defects: Kamala Harris,
Donald J. Trump



The State of the Nation. US 2024 Presidential Election

# I. Voting:The Election& Its Culture



#### Assets: Kamala Harris

#### Assets

1. She was a fresh candidate.



#### Assets

- 2. She got the \$money\$ she needed to run. Fast.
  - Follow the \$money\$: in a matter of 72 hours practically all of Biden's support funding shifted to her.
- 3. She's an incumbent and already held the office of No.2 C-in-C.
- **4.** She's a highly polished lawyer & professional politician. (+/-)
  - Caliornia's elected Attorney General.



## 5. Prosecutorial style: her particular communicative brilliance

• <u>See</u>: in the Trump debate --<u>Highlights</u> @: <u>https://www.youtube.com/wat</u> <u>ch?v=2ec4Oa2L1fo</u>

mm OT mm

https://www.youtube.com/watch ?v=X\_z-V8hsujs





#### Assets

#### 6. Minority: ethnic & a woman (+/-)



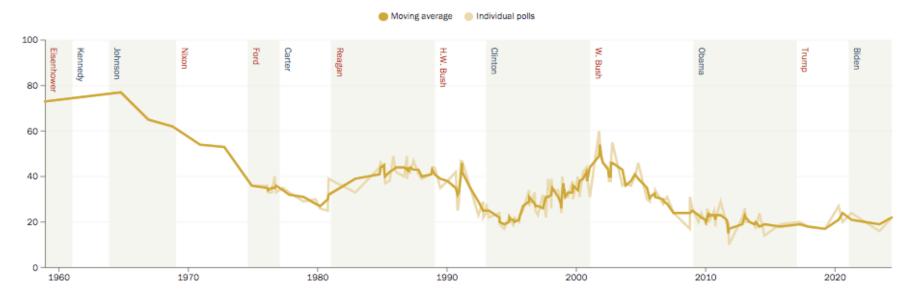
A photo illustration of Vice President-elect Kamala Harris walking alongside the shadow of civil rights trailblazer Ruby Bridges went viral after the announcement that the Biden campaign had won the 2020 presidential election. It was created by an artist working with the Sacramento-based company Good Trubble. (Good Trubble)

#### K. Harris: **DEFECTS**

- 1. She is not good on her feet. Can't react well quickly. Too formal for the
- 2. Now 's period when Americans have a deep <u>distrust</u> of the <u>times</u> government and <u>other long-established secular institutions.</u>

#### Public trust in government near historic lows

% who say they trust the government to do what is right just about always/most of the time



Sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN surveys.

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#### It's an anti-state nation.

States' rights, individual rights are primary.

- Consent of the governed: government's legitimacy & moral right to use state power is justified & lawful only when consented to by the people or society over which that political power is exercised.
- Declaration of Independence: "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"
- Social norm: independence.

#### DEFECTS

- 3. Looking back: Biden's early <u>debate with Trump</u> (July 27, 2024, CNN) sealed the deal. Biden <u>embodied the Democratic Party</u>, now a dead duck in the water. She had to reanimate a cadaver.
- 4. Her policy positions stayed in the slipstream of Biden's

  Presidency. When asked how she's different from Biden she responded: "Nothing comes to mind."
- Many of you asked the Question: "Why, once again, did a white old man win, considering the USA's diverse population?"
- Answer: Because of how more Americans saw Kamala Harris.

#### Her failure & Trump's success wasn't about race or age.

- More Americans saw her as a <u>so-what's-new?</u> candidate.
- Under the bright spotlights of the electoral campaign: she was a used car with all the weaknesses gifted to it by the previous owner.
- 5. <u>Biden's Democratic Party</u> did not translate its achievements well. Could she?
  - \*Brand slogans matter\* Hers was the anaemic:
    - "A New Way Forward!" & "It's time to turn the page."

- 6. Brand Loyalty. Like most VPs, she was <u>neither well</u> known nor conspicuous in the media to begin with.
- The USA is a nation of consumers and Trump had developed brand loyalty
- -- "Brand-loyal customers believe that a certain brand represents both higher quality and better service than any competitor—and the price does not matter."
- -- q. "Investopedia"



US business, marketing, & political essential

7. Her speech was too polished & professional for many Americans. Her running mate Tim Walz' Midwestern accent embodied a more familiar and friendly sound. "Farm-friendly image": Walz.





8. Her <u>prosecutorial style</u> served her well in debate & formal presentations, but <u>not</u> in interviews or chance encounters (x/-)

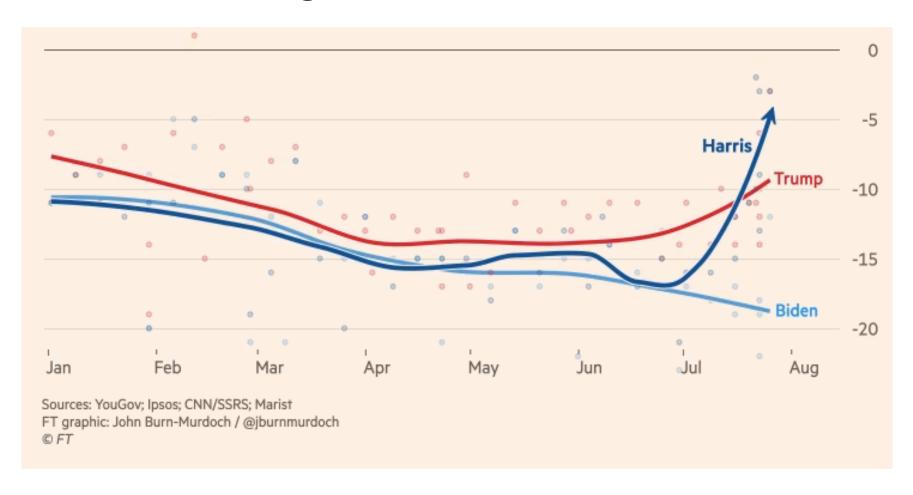




- See: first 31 secs 1.30 mins. @:
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v =lyIZG9OIQS8



9. Harris lost her initial traction and momentum the more voters got to know & see her.



10. She <u>couldn't intensify</u> <u>voter emotions</u>. By November 5 democrats declared they were

"nauseously optimistic" -while she kept belting out
her message: "I want to
thank everyone...I will be a
president for all
Americans!...Momentum is
on our side...Can you feel it?"

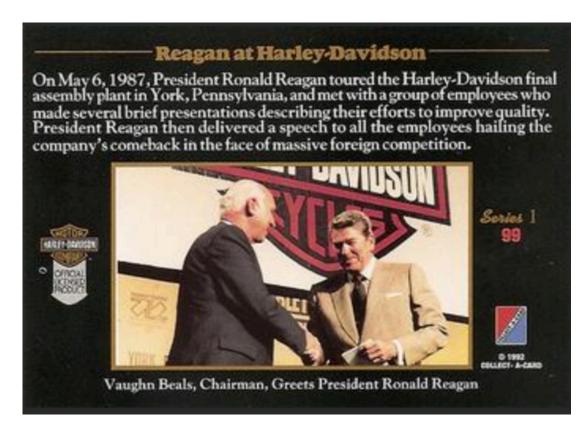
• She ran on faith, drive, and reason above fire in the belly.



's 'eaves a rally at the Atlanta Civic Center on Nov. 2. (Melina Mara/The Washington Post)

#### **K.Harris: DEFECTS**

11. The Democratic Party no longer held its old FDR coalition of working-class minorities. Beginning with Reagan & Schwarzenegger-Reagan there was a seismic shift of working-class groups to Republicans -- cultivated by Republicans via US cultural icons.







12. Worse, MS. Harris haemorrhaged support among minorities & poorer classes. She lost

20% in heavily Hispanic areas (spec among Hispanic men) compared to 2016 election. Lost ground in cities, places with high inequality, rising housing costs, & large foreign- born populations.



## 13. Her loss was the Party's loss. A Gymnasium student asked: "What will the Democrats do

### now? Who will they go for?"

#1 They probably won't field a woman again for a while as candidate.

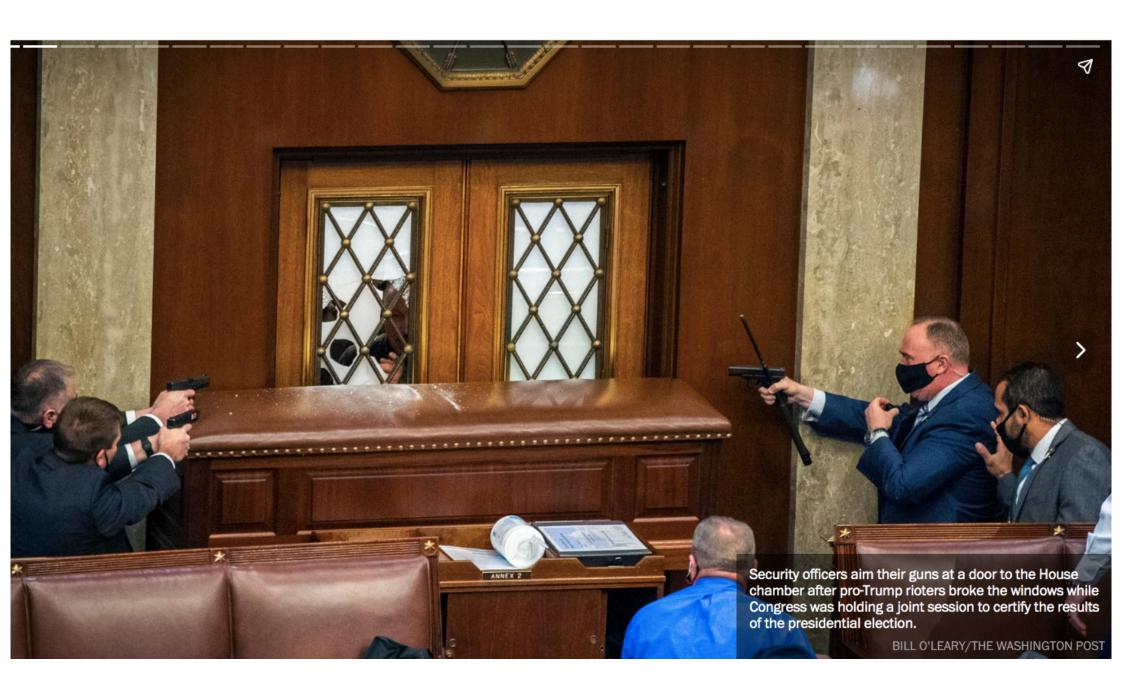
#2 They won't rely on celebrity endorsement. "Celebrity stuff is for fun? Politics is serious"

#3 They lost their working class credentials. Dems seen as elite. Many Americans uncomfortable with Harris (Howard University), Obama (Harvard University), Hillary Clinton (Yale).

For the moment the Democratic Party is a ship without a captain & a pilot, and they have a mutinous crew.

- 14. Negative partisanship\* worked against (& for) her -- as it did for Trump.
- Means to favor\* one political party or opinion in opposition to another. Thus one's beliefs are formed not in and of themselves or via scientific reasoning but because they are not what the opposition believes.





- Republicans did not spurn Mr. Trump because of his conduct on January 6, 2021 -- when he encouraged his mob of supporters to attack the US Capitol in order to annul his defeat in the recent presidential election; (aka: "The Insurgency"). In which 5 people died, many injured, including 175 police officers.
- His supporters negative partisanship -contempt for the other side -- made them
  overlook the crime. Made them vote against any
  Democrat.

With the next & last one she stepped on the rake

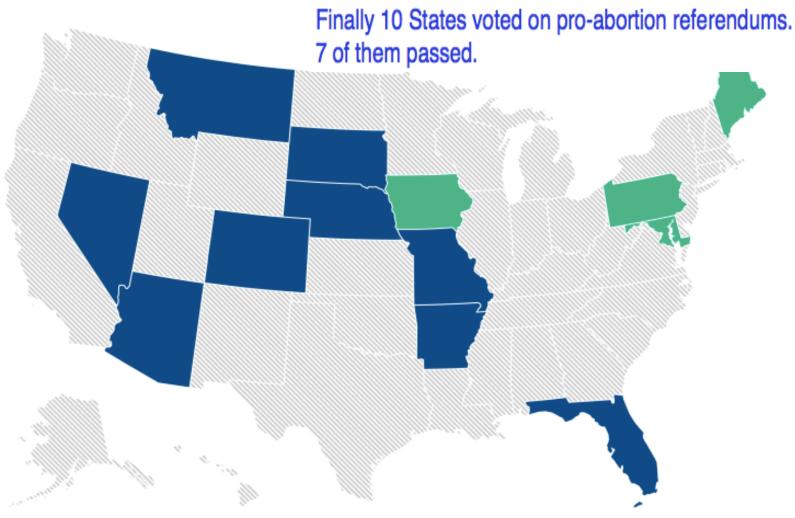


### 15. K. Harris assumed most women's support.

- US women's right-to-choose issue did not work in her favor.
- Various US States took care of this by referendum rather than by a vote favoring national authorization.
- Abortion access (pro and con): addressed through State Ballot Initiatives.
- NB: "All politics are local." Social norm of community independence. Anti-state nation.

#### 13 States May Have Abortion on the 2024 Ballot

- Citizen-initiated abortion constitutional ballot measure may be on the ballot (9 states)
- Legislatively-referred abortion constitutional ballot measure may be on the ballot (4 states)

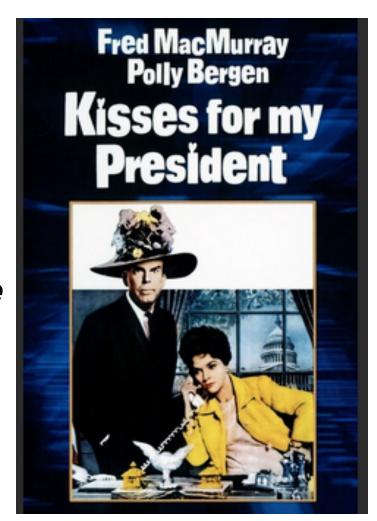


For US women the glass ceiling remains at the US Presidential level.

Biden's switch to Harris as candidate: strong gesture. And Democrat's idea of country over party. But ideas alone don't win the presidency in America.

- -- She did not even win as many women as Joe Biden did in 2020. *The female vote for her declined!*
- -- Trump won a quarter of the women who said they were pro-choice.

(Right: 1964 US comedy film on subject of a female US President)





Republican presidential candidate and former President Donald Trump speaks at a Get Out the Vo

2. Gymnasium student Question: "To what extent is Trump's image staged? What class does Donald Trump belong to?"

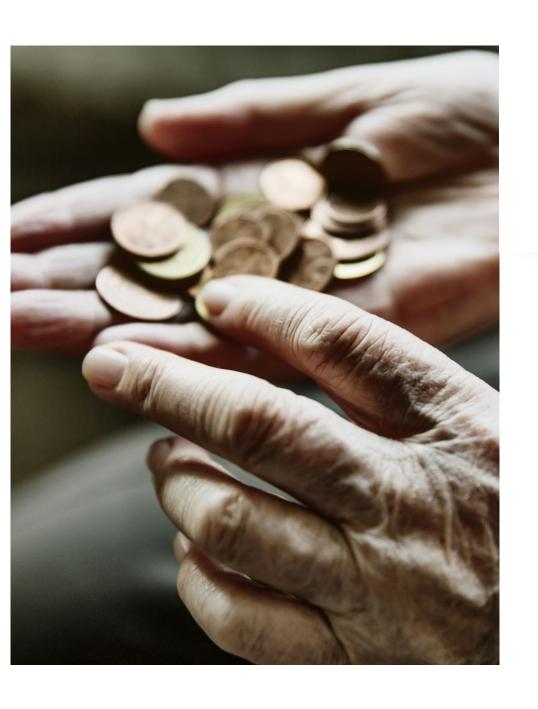
### **Answer:**

Of course it's staged. Isn't that part of his attraction?

2. Successfully mass-mediated charisma



NBC Network competition series: 8 seasons, 90 episodes, ran from 1 to 2 hours, 1 2008-2015, Producers Mark <u>Burnett, Donald</u> Trump, Arnold Schwarzenegger. Theme song: 1 "For the Love of Money". Reduced — or amplified — American values to Money & Power.



•And he's the poor man's idea of a rich man. And more...

# 3. Democrats inadvertently intensified Trump's charisma

The Republican party now has the lower classes in its corral & Trump celebrates insulted workers...That is:

 Biden awkwardly attempted to address the racist comment delivered at a Trump rally made by comedian Tony Hinchcliffe, who referred to the US island territory of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans as a "floating island of garbage".



• In response, Biden then soon created an uproar — just days before Election Day with his remarks given on a video call with the nonprofit Voto Latino foundation— when Biden said about Trump (quote): "The only garbage I see floating out there is his supporters."



# Trump: domestic & international phenomenon

- You don't widen your domestic voter base or gain international popularity by insulting common voters.
- •This was an "October surprise" of the worst sort.
- •The Democrats via Joe Biden shot themselves in the foot.

- After Biden's remark,
   Trump the charismatic
   entertainer, the P. T.
   Barnum of today's US
   politics, the Trickster literally put on a garbage
   man's outfit in Greenbay,
   Wisconsin, & went out in
   a garbage truck.
- He rode shotgun with the working class people whom Biden & Co. belittled.



Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump speaks to members of the media as he sits in a garbage truck in Green Bay, Wisconsin, on October 30 [Brendan McDermid/Reuters]

- 4. Heroism. How is his charisma possible?
- •One needs to consider the nature of heroism in American culture.
- •If someone can embody a hero in the nation's pantheon on the national stage then that someone stands a good chance of success.

## Trump: captured 4 key characteristics of the American heroic pantheon (see chark!)

- The Salesman....}. How much of this is fact?
- The Reformer....}. Keeps his audience guessing!
- The Pathfinder...} Keeps getting re-elected!

•

And what's the alternative?....

In contrast, Biden & Harris had one: The Politician

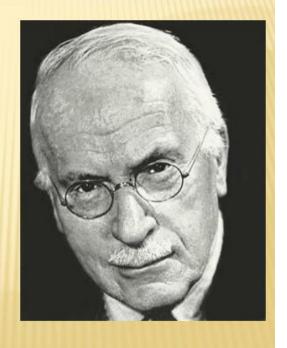
## In terms of Jungian archetypes Trump also embodies the Trickster figure.

• US literature, folklore, cinema, TV and popular entertainment at all levels is rife with the trickster figure. He or she is usually an all-American business man or woman, who may sell the latest technological wonder fresh from the oven or sell the flesh and be a horse trader of wily means.



#### THE TRICKSTER ARCHETYPE

\* "A curious combination of typical trickster motifs...[include] his fondness for sly jokes and malicious pranks, his powers as a shape-shifter, his dual nature, half animal, half divine, his exposure to all kinds of tortures, and – last but not least – his approximation to the figure of a saviour" (Jung 255).

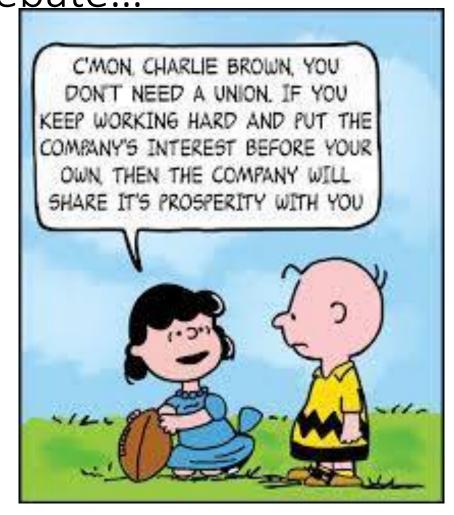


 According to Jung's "On the Psychology of the Trickster-Figure," a figure is preeminently adaptable, ambivalent, unstable and future-oriented, who subverts the authority of the past; is capable of "orgies of destruction", it remains ever playful, but not ludic, not aimless, if for nothing more than pursuing the pleasures of power.

5. He embodies faith in American business &

businessman. Old American debate...

- Free markets, free
   enterprise are the
   solution to creating a just
   society.
- Diminished government regulation.
- Trickle down.
- The Invisible Hand.

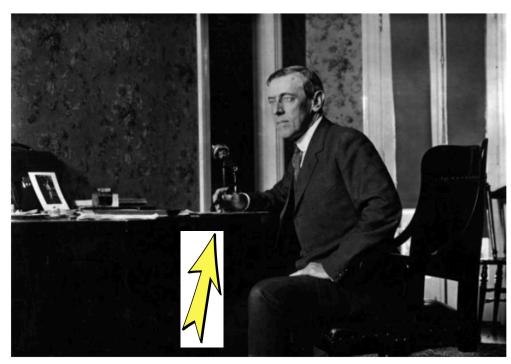


"Ten men in our country could buy the World, and ten million can't buy enough to eat." - Will Rogers, 16 August 1931



## 6. Trump's success: context of the media state

- How the modern nation-state maintains control & order, communicates & organizes primarily in machine-to-person fashion not in person-to-person fashion.
- "Now this is nothing short of a new social age, a new era of human relationship, a new stage setting for the drama of life."
- -- Woodrow Wilson, *The New*Freedom (1918) [W. Wilson right, 1916; note his radio equipment]



circa 1916: Woodrow Wilson (1856 - 1924) the 28th President of the United States of America. (Photo by Topical Press Agency/Getty Images)



## Trump's success: context of the media state

- Media State force: become more intrusive & formative beginning wih the diffusion of radio in the 1920s.
- TV: added pervasive visual. Internet and social media added heightened omnipresent saturation (7'.38" day) & a degree of private targeting -- "micro targeting" -- never before achieved.
- Products, governments & leaders become brands.
- Media used to legitimize claim to authority\*(\*High schools: Turkey anecdote)
- By time of Trump presidency: media management can blatanly contradict the visible -- The Big Lie. As with Trump administration's claim about his first inaugural audience......



- Kellyanne Conway, Trump media consultant, in January 2017 to a CNN reporter live on TV — while the two argued about her information concerning the Trump inauguration turnout versus his information — that CNN offered "alternative facts".
- Shocked, the CNN corresponded went ballistic. He responded: "Alternative facts aren't facts! They're falsehoods!"
- "Alternative facts, " Kellyanne unpolitely insisted.



- Seeing is believing?
- Seeing is no longer believeing.
- In a powerful media state: you're told what to believe when you see.



#### Assets

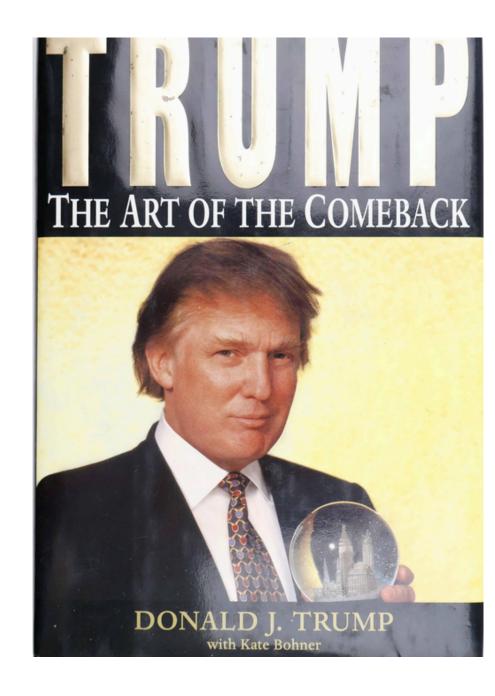
- 7. Incumbent US President
- 8. Language: informal, direct, recurrent, &...
- \* Anecdote: Woman at 2024 Georgia Trump rally
  - -- Reporter asked her: "What do Jesus and Trump have in common?"
  - -- She replied: "He speaks clearly."

- 9. Language & culture: right man, right place, right time -- USA new level & form of accepted vulgarity in daily communications.
- "Have we become so coarse that we would choose as our head of state a man whose climactic campaign rally at Madison Square Garden was a grotesque collection of four-letter words, vulgar sexual references and explicitly racist attacks against Black people, Latinos, Jews and Palestinians?
- Have we become so disoriented by disinformation that, even though the economy is booming, inflation and illegal border crossings are sharply down, and crime is below where it was when Trump left office, we accept as reality Trump's preposterous inventions about America being 'destroyed' and an 'occupied country' under the control of immigrant criminals?"
- Dana Milbank "Who are we, America? If we choose Trump this time, no one can claim to have been fooled or unaware" Washington Post, Nov. 1, 2024, Op-Ed article.

## 10. Language & thought: his communication relies on emotional reasoning

- Trump evokes emotional reason in in his audience.
- When feelings decipher what's right or wrong.
- Emotional reaction defines reality.
- America being 'destroyed' and an 'occupied country' under the control of immigrant criminals
  - -- E.G., "I feel anxious & therefore I'm in danger and need to be protected."

- 11. Hanging tough. He's the come-back kid. Exemplifies resilience & success in spite of failure.
  - His business and political careers have repeatedly become a narrative of return.
  - There's no keeping him down.



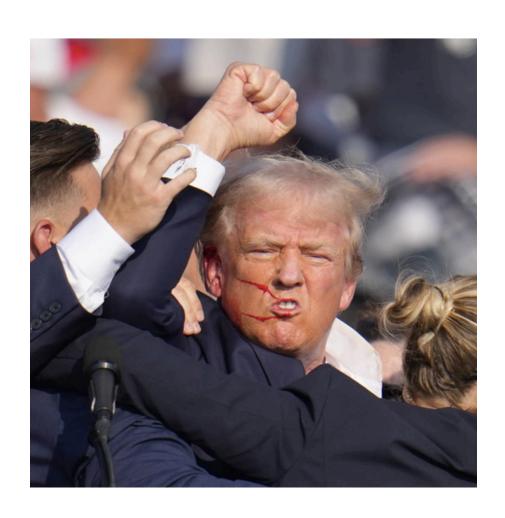


#### Assets

12. Trump: in terms of strategy, he has played the long game in come-back thinking about the present & near future -- but planning and doing things that helped him to be succeed far into the future.



## 13. Trump's near-miss assassination attempt

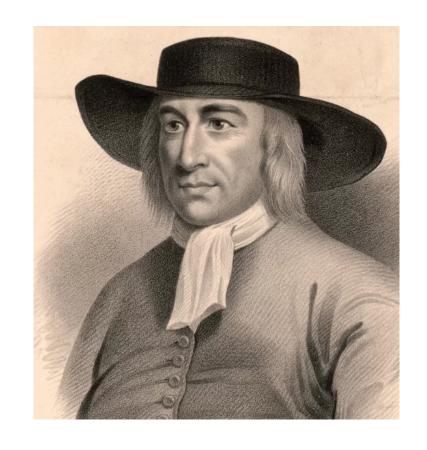




In popular thinking, evokes the martyr trope (word, phrase or action interpolated as an embellishment)

. "'Tis not the Suff'ring but the cause that doth a Martyr make."

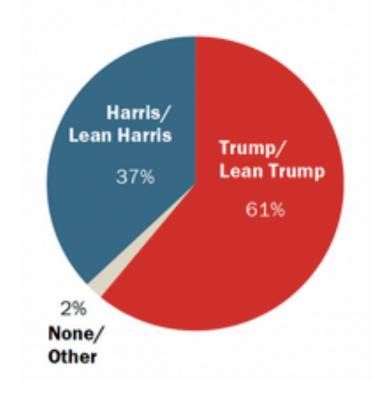
 Michael Wigglesworth (1631-1705), "The Day of Doom".



14. Under Trump's watch America did not loose any wars, nor withdraw in failure.

#### Veterans widely support Trump for president

% of veteran registered voters who say that if the 2024 presidential election were held today, they would vote for ...



## Trump's International Policy: America First

- " " 'America First' as practiced was the appropriate response to America's shrinking margin for geopolitical error: open an exit from Afghanistan; avoid squandering resources and attention on new conflicts of the periphery; punish free-riding allies; focus on competition with China; and seek deals with America's traditional adversaries. Donald Trump was the first president since Jimmy Carter not to ensnare the US in a new overseas conflict."
- -- National Interest, published by DC Center for the National Interest (lean right bias) said on Oct. 31, 2024 -- defending Trump's "America First" position:

### How will this affect Euro-American relations?

- Precisely when Europe & the free world needs a strong United States, they are unlikely to find a Trump administration receptive to calls for increased involvement on issues like the war in Ukraine, or NATO cooperation.
- Most important consequence of Trump's return likely will be the end of America's support for Ukraine in its war of self-defense against Russia.
- European days of outsourcing their defense to the U.S. are coming to an end and they'll have to ramped up spending -- meaning domestic cuts.

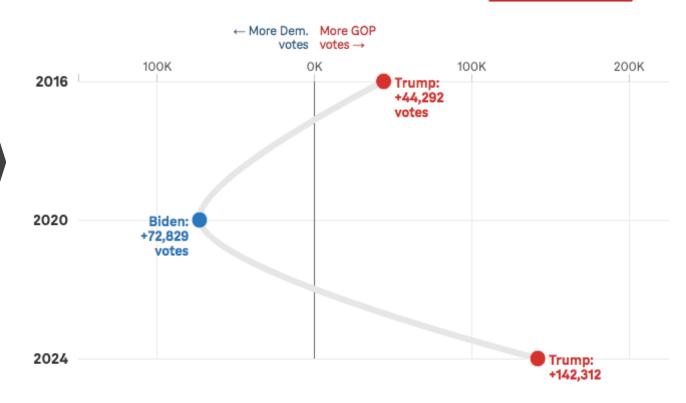
- Significant downgrade in America's relationship with the EU & NATO: undermine the world's most effective alliance & empower common enemies.
- In Europe, this risks further Russian aggression, potentially even an attack on a NATO country, testing Trump's commitment to NATO's Article 5.
- European countries wake up to a world without a total American security blanket? No way to know with any precision whether Trump's foreign policy will make the world safer-- as Europe provides for itself -- or considerably more dangerous.

# 15. Re-election Political communications brilliantly played within the rules this time

- His team brilliant played the US bureaucratic electioneering game this time inside the boundaries of traditional rules. There was great fear of a Gore-Bush Election 2000 hanging-chads debacle. But that did not happen.
- <u>Swing States</u>: held onto his margin in rural counties, a shift to the right in nearly every county in each state, including more liberal urban areas and competitive suburbs.
- Boomerang voting change spec. in Georgia, Pennsylvania & Wisconsin

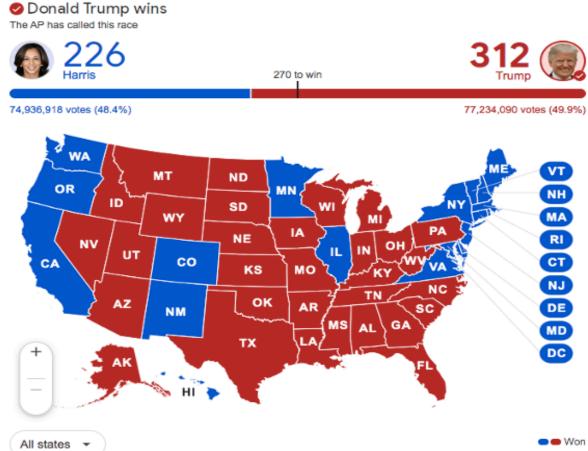
#### Trump won in Pennsylvania by: 142,312 votes

Boomerang voting change 2024, e.g. Penn.



# Trump's Defects? Mainly a "Coastal Effect"

# Presidential results From The Associated Press (AP) · Learn more



# Coasts: are rich in old, entrenched liberal traditions

Highly educated areas -- voted against him.

### His cultivation of ignorance persists

"I love the poorly educated." — D. Trump.

• See @:

https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2016/02/24/donald-trump-nevada-poorly-educated/80860078/

## Education -- key example

- President-elect Trump pledged to eliminate the US Department of Education; origins date back to 1867. Eliminated? Who will suffer the most?
- Nominated EDUCATION SECRETARY: Linda McMahon, a billionaire professional wrestling mogul. Expressed support for charter schools and school choice.
- -- Otherwise boost merit pay for teachers and abolish tenure; install more rigid constant assessment process.

## Back to the US Coasts

- Areas most outspoken in favor of Civil Rights for minorities of all kinds (e.g. Massachusetts)
- Certain areas have a civil culture that's favored the demagogue -- like the US South (Hughey Long), Civil War leaders, Michigan (Father Coughlin) -- his "defects" not likely.
- Coasts: populations are generally are far more cosmopolitan, less rural

## Also note how Trump lost state by state

- E.g., Michigan's high percentage of Muslim vote in & around Detroit; against Biden & Harris as his shadow
- Colorado, Oregon, Washington & Coloradso have had a huge influx, internal US mgration, from liberal California culture in the last fifty years.
- Trump's defects this time around in 2024: much more state-based; he's a known quanity for better or worse.

## Conclusion

- 1. On the national level, the Trump administration will encourage greater States' Rights
- 2. Local differences will intensfy in the United States
- 3. The US Democratic Party will have to fall back and rebuild. But.....

Who are the likely new leaders -- who are genuinely new & not the same old same old?

#### Conclusion -- PP #1

- 4. We're likely to see a certain degee of internal migration among the middle & upper classes that reflects a choice of lifestyles & culture
- 5. Note how American elections have been going in extreme waves: Obama, Trump, Biden, Trump. Why? What does this mean?

6. Negative partisanship persists.



### Appendix 1: Charisma, Charismatic Leadership

- . The faith of the followers makes the charismatic leader qualified. Charisma cannot exist in a vacuum.
- . It is a form of patriarchal or matriarchal leadership. They are taken to be a "natural" leader who pilot by inspiration rather than by acquired management skills.
- . A charismatic leader flourishes in times of distress -- psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, or political. Thus they are often associated with populism, the common people, or the multitude.
- . The charismatic leader seems to parachute into first position. They exist for a higher purpose. They usually do not begin as an incumbent in a certain occupation from which they acquired their exceptional expertise. They are God given.
- . The charismatic leader holds certain gifts of the body and spirit -- believed supernatural and not accessible to everyone.
- . Charisma in itself is value neutral.

### Appendix: Charisma, Charismatic Leadership

- Most of this list of charismatic attributes comes from Max Weber's arguments in his brilliant: "The Sociology of Charismatic Authority" (1921-22)
- Bibliog: Max Weber, "The Sociology of Charismatic Authority", from Max Weber, Essays in Sociology; translated, edited and with an intriduction by H. H. Gaerth & C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 245-252. Originally: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (abgekürzt oft WuG) ist ein soziologisches Werk Max Webers und wurde 1921 und 1922 in vier Lieferungen postum von seiner Frau.



Republican presidential candidate and former President Donald Trump speaks at a Get Out the Vote rally at Coastal Carolina University in Conway, S.C., Feb. 10, 2024. (AP Photo/Manuel Balce Ceneta)

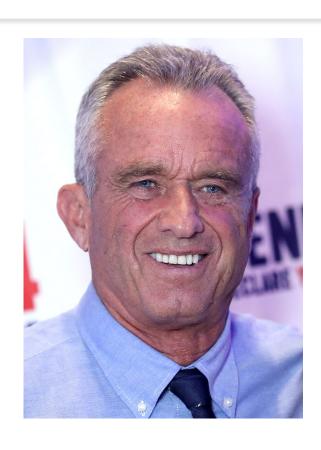
#### Appendix 2:

The on-going Problems with Trump's Cabinet appointments

- Spec. noticeable in domestic issue of Robert F. Kennedy Jr. (& other cabinet appointees)
- American politician, environmental lawyer, antivaccine activist and conspiracy theorist.
- Nominated by Trump to serve as United States US Secretary of Health & Human Services.

### RFK Jr. Kennedy Today

# Kennedy with Uncle in Oval Office, 1961





## Defects -- less visible in 2024

- Characterized by his Cabinet Choices, impending domestic issues & their ability or viewpoints on foreign affairs
- Trump's cabinet choice: by virtue of 100% loyalty, people with unusual ideas that will "shake up the establishment", and occasional professional ability.
- Trump's defects are "a work in progress" -overshadowd now by his election success and his
  abundance of true believers.

### Appendix 3: The 2024 Abortion Referendum

by States: Outcome. (Source: see Bbliography herein)

2024 Ballot Measures Supporting Abortion Rights Passed in 7 States	
Passed	Did Not Pass
Arizona	Florida
Colorado	Nebraska (abortion rights measure)
Maryland	South Dakota
Missouri	
Montana	
Nebraska (anti-abortion measure)	
Nevada	
New York	

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