

# FEATHER RIVER DEMOCRATIC CLUB

Monthly Newsletter

October, 2016



## General Meeting

Third Thursday of each month, 7-8 PM  
Yuba City High School, Room 322,  
850 B Street, Yuba City, CA

## Inside This Month's Issue

Supreme Court Deals a Blow – Page 1  
NY Times: Hillary for President - Page 6  
The Road to Trump – Page 3  
The Perils of Executive Action – Page 4  
Andy Borowitz – Page 5  
Making America Male Again – Page 6  
Hillary Clinton's Concrete Shoes – Page 8  
Wisdom, Courage, and the Economy – Page 6  
The Veep Debate – Page 9  
Millennial Outreach – Page 10

## Club Officers

Chair: Janet Brown  
Vice-Chair: Candy Sawyer  
Treasurer: Linda Hicks  
Secretary: Joene Tranter  
Parliamentarian: Bob Morrish

## August/September Meetings

E-Board Meeting: October 12  
General Meeting: October 20  
E-Board Meeting: November 9  
General Meeting: November 17

## Special Events

Presidential Debate: October 9, 6pm PDT  
Presidential Debate: October 19, 6pm PDT

## Newsletter Editor

Joene Tranter

## Supreme Court Deals a Blow to DAPA Sara Rathod, *Mother Jones*, October 3, 2016

The Supreme Court dealt a major blow Monday to President Barack Obama's effort to allow some documented immigrants to live and work legally in the United States. The court declined to re-hear a case that halted Obama's executive actions intended to prevent the deportation of these residents.

In 2014, after Congress failed to pass comprehensive immigration reform, Obama took matters into his own hands. He announced the creation of a new program, called the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA), that would have protected undocumented parents of US citizens and green-card holders from deportation and allowed them to apply for work permits, as long as they didn't have a criminal record. Obama also planned to expand an existing program called Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which grants those same protections to immigrants who came to the United States as children.

Together, the creation of DAPA and the expansion of DACA would have delayed the deportation of up to 5 million undocumented immigrants. Instead, the executive orders were challenged by Texas and 25 other states, which argued that they went beyond the scope of the president's constitutional authority. A federal judge in Texas issued a nationwide injunction, blocking the actions from taking effect.

The case made it all the way to the Supreme Court, and in June 2016, following the death of Justice Antonin Scalia, the justices issued a split 4-4 decision. That meant the lower court's injunction, which had been affirmed by a panel of appeals court judges, remained in place, and the programs could not be implemented. The Obama administration's request that the justices take up the case again was a long-shot effort to resurrect the president's actions, since the Supreme Court almost never rehears a case.

Still, the fight to bring back Obama's executive actions is not over. In August, lawyers from three immigrant rights groups filed a federal lawsuit in New York arguing that the Texas judge who blocked the executive actions did not have the authority to issue a nationwide injunction. That case, which aims to revive Obama's immigration programs in certain parts of the county, is ongoing.

**Hillary for President**  
**Editorial Board, *The New York Times*, September 24, 2016**

In any normal election year, we'd compare the two presidential candidates side by side on the issues. But this is not a normal election year. A comparison like that would be an empty exercise in a race where one candidate — our choice, Hillary Clinton — has a record of service and a raft of pragmatic ideas, and the other, Donald Trump, discloses nothing concrete about himself or his plans while promising the moon and offering the stars on layaway. (We will explain in a subsequent editorial why we believe Mr. Trump to be the worst nominee put forward by a major party in modern American history.)

But this endorsement would also be an empty exercise if it merely affirmed the choice of Clinton supporters. We're aiming instead to persuade those of you who are hesitating to vote for Mrs. Clinton — because you are reluctant to vote for a Democrat, or for another Clinton, or for a candidate who might appear, on the surface, not to offer change from an establishment that seems indifferent and a political system that seems broken. Running down the other guy won't suffice to make that argument. The best case for Hillary Clinton cannot be, and is not, that she isn't Donald Trump. The best case is, instead, about the challenges this country faces, and Mrs. Clinton's capacity to rise to them.

The next president will take office with bigoted, tribalist movements and their leaders on the march. In the Middle East and across Asia, in Russia and Eastern Europe, even in Britain and the United States, war, terrorism and the pressures of globalization are eroding democratic values, fraying alliances and challenging the ideals of tolerance and charity.

The 2016 campaign has brought to the surface the despair and rage of poor and middle-class Americans who say their government has done little to ease the burdens that recession, technological change, foreign competition and war have heaped on their families.

Over 40 years in public life, Hillary Clinton has studied these forces and weighed responses to these problems. Our endorsement is rooted in respect for her intellect, experience, toughness and courage over a career of almost continuous public service, often as the first or only woman in the arena.

Mrs. Clinton's work has been defined more by incremental successes than by moments of transformational change. As a candidate, she has struggled to step back from a pointillist collection of policy proposals to reveal the full pattern of her record. That is a weakness of her campaign, and a perplexing one, for the pattern is clear. It shows a determined leader intent on creating opportunity for struggling Americans at a time of economic upheaval and on ensuring that the United States remains a force for good in an often brutal world.

Similarly, Mrs. Clinton's occasional missteps, combined with attacks on her trustworthiness, have distorted perceptions of her character. She is one of the most tenacious politicians of her generation, whose willingness to study and correct course is rare in an age of unyielding partisanship. As first lady, she rebounded from professional setbacks and personal trials with astounding resilience. Over eight years in the Senate and four as secretary of state, she built a reputation for grit and bipartisan collaboration. She displayed a command of policy and diplomatic nuance and an ability to listen to constituents and colleagues that are all too exceptional in Washington.

Mrs. Clinton's record of service to children, women and families has spanned her adult life. One of her boldest acts as first lady was her 1995 speech in Beijing declaring that women's rights are human rights. After a failed attempt to overhaul the nation's health care system, she threw her support behind legislation to establish the Children's Health Insurance Program, which now covers more than eight million lower-income young people. This year, she rallied mothers of gun-violence victims to join her in demanding comprehensive background checks for gun buyers and tighter reins on gun sales.

After opposing driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants during the 2008 campaign, she now vows to push for comprehensive immigration legislation as president and to use executive power to protect law-abiding undocumented people from deportation and cruel detention. Some may dismiss her shift as opportunistic, but we credit her for arriving at the right position.

Mrs. Clinton and her team have produced detailed proposals on crime, policing and race relations, debt-free college and small-business incentives, climate change and affordable broadband. Most of these proposals would benefit from further elaboration on how to pay for them, beyond taxing the wealthiest Americans. They would also depend on passage by Congress. That means that, to enact her agenda, Mrs. Clinton would need to find common ground with a destabilized Republican Party, whose unifying goal in Congress would be to discredit her. Despite her political scars, she has shown an unusual capacity to reach across the aisle.

When Mrs. Clinton was sworn in as a senator from New York in 2001, Republican leaders warned their caucus not to do anything that might make her look good. Yet as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, she earned the respect of Republicans like Senator John McCain with her determination to master intricate military matters. Her most lasting achievements as a senator include a federal fund for long-term health monitoring of 9/11 first responders, an expansion of military benefits to cover reservists and the National Guard, and a law requiring drug companies to improve the safety of their medications for children. Below the radar, she fought for money for farmers, hospitals, small businesses and environmental projects. Her vote in favor of the Iraq war is a black mark, but to her credit, she has explained her thinking rather than trying to rewrite that history.

## HILLARY – From Page 2

As secretary of state, Mrs. Clinton was charged with repairing American credibility after eight years of the Bush administration's unilateralism. She bears a share of the responsibility for the Obama administration's foreign-policy failings, notably in Libya. But her achievements are substantial. She led efforts to strengthen sanctions against Iran, which eventually pushed it to the table for talks over its nuclear program, and in 2012, she helped negotiate a cease-fire between Israel and Hamas.

Mrs. Clinton led efforts to renew diplomatic relations with Myanmar, persuading its junta to adopt political reforms. She helped promote the Trans-Pacific Partnership, an important trade counterweight to China and a key component of the Obama administration's pivot to Asia. Her election-year reversal on that pact has confused some of her supporters, but her underlying commitment to bolstering trade along with workers' rights is not in doubt. Mrs. Clinton's attempt to reset relations with Russia, though far from successful, was a sensible effort to improve interactions with a rivalrous nuclear power.

Mrs. Clinton has shown herself to be a realist who believes America cannot simply withdraw behind oceans and walls, but must engage confidently in the world to protect its interests and be true to its values, which include helping others escape poverty and oppression.

Mrs. Clinton's husband, Bill Clinton, governed during what now looks like an optimistic and even gentle era. The end of the Cold War and the advance of technology and trade appeared to be awakening the world's possibilities rather than its demons. Many in the news media, and in the country, and in that administration, were distracted by the scandal du jour — Mr. Clinton's impeachment — during the very period in which a terrorist threat was growing. We are now living in a world darkened by the realization of that threat and its many consequences.

Mrs. Clinton's service spans both eras, and she has learned hard lessons from the three presidents she has studied up close. She has also made her own share of mistakes. She has evinced a lamentable penchant for secrecy and made a poor decision to rely on a private email server while at the State Department. That decision deserved scrutiny, and it's had it. Now, considered alongside the real challenges that will occupy the next president, that email server, which has consumed so much of this campaign, looks like a matter for the help desk. And, viewed against those challenges, Mr. Trump shrinks to his true small-screen, reality-show proportions, as we'll argue in detail on Monday.

Through war and recession, Americans born since 9/11 have had to grow up fast, and they deserve a grown-up president. A lifetime's commitment to solving problems in the real world qualifies Hillary Clinton for this job, and the country should put her to work.

### **The Road to Donald Trump Wasn't Built in a Day** **Froma Harrop, *The Progressive Populist*, September 1, 2016**

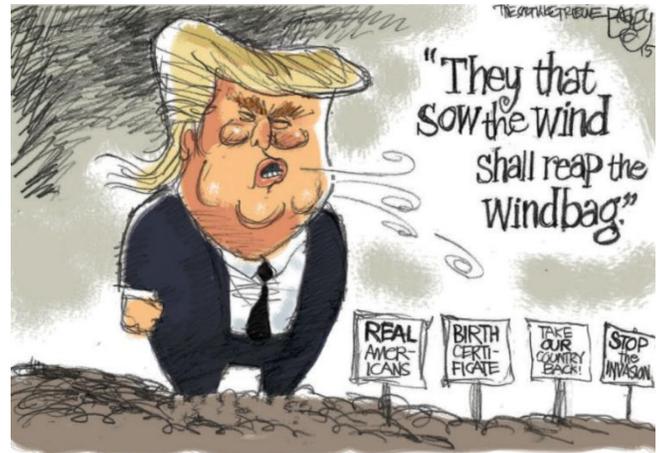
The implosion is so big it's drowning out the "he said this monstrous thing" or "that easily caught lie." Donald Trump has moved from the chaos candidate to the kamikaze candidate to the crazy-as-a-loon candidate. But none of his behavior is new. He's been incoherent and ignorant — vulgar and indecent — since he started his campaign. The list of Republican defectors is now growing, but what took it so long?

In truth, the groundwork for Trump's sort of candidacy was being laid decades ago. Here are five signposts:

**1) The rise of right-wing talk media.** The business model that serves Rush Limbaugh, Bill O'Reilly and Laura Ingraham seemed to serve the Republican Party at first. It riled up listeners with grievance, self-pity and the belief that Democrats are not people they just disagree with but evil. A fevered public became conditioned to regard normal politics as a war for America's soul.

**2) The Bill Clinton impeachment.** In 1998, Republicans doggedly pursued the president over a sexual indiscretion, sending U.S. governance into the deep freeze for months. So grotesque was the overkill that public sympathy swung to Clinton. (He left office with a higher approval rating than did Ronald Reagan.) Most Republicans ignored the lesson there.

**3) In-your-face obstructionism.** Shortly after Barack Obama's election, Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell infamously announced: "The single most important thing we want to achieve is for President Obama to be a one-term president." Putting politics above governing — and at a time of great economic hardship — created an opening for a Trump-like candidate. It hurt government's ability to deal with the sort of problems that have Trump supporters fuming. For example, the Republican House leadership blocked a comprehensive immigration reform bill that would have tightened the borders. That left the problem to fester year after year.



## ROAD, Page 4

**4) The debt ceiling crisis.** Never before had honoring the "full faith and credit of the United States" been used as a political bargaining chip. But in 2011, Republicans initially refused to raise the debt ceiling as had always been done. A last-minute fix stopped a U.S. default from setting off a global economic panic — but not before the stock market plunged, consumer confidence fell through the floor and Standard & Poor's lowered America's credit rating, costing taxpayers billions. The world was stunned, but Republicans who knew better decided to treat the situation as an unfortunate incident rather than as a portent of future trouble for their party. The "falling rock zone" signs were gone.

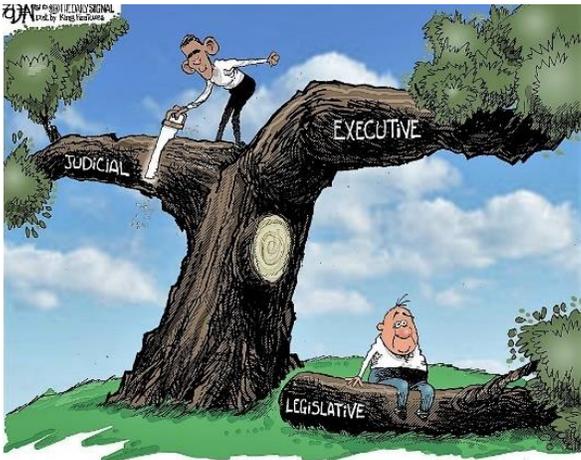
**5) The Republican convention in Cleveland.** It had become increasingly clear that the nominee's racial and ethnic slurs were jeopardizing their own candidacies — that Trump was tearing conservative principles to shreds. So why was Ben Sasse of Nebraska the only one of the Senate Republicans to say that Trump was unacceptable?

It shouldn't be too shocking that Trump would later attack an American Muslim family that lost a son fighting in Iraq. And what kind of naive faith in Trump led House Speaker Paul Ryan to assume that The Donald wouldn't go after him, even after he had compromised himself by endorsing Trump?

Some say Trump's trying to blow it. Some say he's just psycho. Again, all that was said before he became the standard-bearer for the Republican Party. In any case, the downward spiral didn't start with Trump's altercation with the gold star parents. It didn't even start with Trump.

The road to this debacle was being built long ago. Whether it leads to a huge pothole that can eventually be filled or a cliff with no guardrails remains to be seen. These are disquieting times for Republicans and everyone else.

### The Perils of Executive Action James Surowiecki, *The New Yorker*, August 15, 2016



OBAMA'S DIVISION OF POWER

In January of 2014, Barack Obama, speaking to the press before a Cabinet meeting, said something that has come to define his Presidency: "We are not just going to be waiting for legislation. I've got a pen and I've got a phone, and I can use that pen to sign executive orders and take executive actions and administrative actions." In the thirty-one months since, in the face of congressional intransigence, he has used executive power to commit the U.S. to the Paris Agreement on climate change, to institute the Clean Power Plan to reduce emissions, to restrict new energy exploration in the Arctic Ocean and new coal leases on government land, to cap many student-loan payments, and to tighten rules on gun sales. In just the past few months, the Administration has made it harder for corporations to use so-called inversions to lower their taxes, required retirement-investment advisers to eliminate conflicts of interest, and made more than four million workers eligible for overtime pay. While Obama may be a lame-duck President, he's acted like anything but.

Not surprisingly, conservatives have decried Obama's "despotic lawlessness," arguing that his use of executive power is unprecedented. It would be more accurate to see his Administration as the latest stage of a long-term trend—what political scientists call the rise of the "administrative presidency." Historically, Presidents have had more control over foreign and military policy than over domestic policy. But during the past eighty years the executive branch has come to exert far more control than it once did over areas like working conditions, the environment, and the financial sector, responsibility for which Congress has largely delegated to agencies and departments such as the E.P.A. and the Department of Labor.

A President's ability to make policies with the stroke of a pen is a good thing if you support those policies. But it means that a new President can change them overnight. When Obama took office, he immediately restored funding for overseas family-planning clinics that provided abortion services. The funding had been taken away by George W. Bush after it had been restored by Bill Clinton, who was reversing a previous action by Ronald Reagan.

Donald Trump has made it clear that he sees Obama as having "led the way" in using executive action aggressively and that, if elected, he intends to do the same. "I'm going to do a lot of right things," he has said, and he's pledged to reverse many of Obama's executive orders and memorandums "within two minutes" of taking office. Most concretely, he has promised to use his power to restrict entry to the U.S. in order to curb immigration from any country "compromised by terrorism." In Trump's view, that includes Germany and France. He's also likely to step up deportation of undocumented immigrants, resurrect the Keystone XL pipeline, declare China a currency manipulator, and reopen coal leases on federal land.

## PERILS – From Page 4

*Not everything Obama has done with his executive power will be as easy for Trump to overturn. Regulations that have gone through a formal rulemaking process, such as the Clean Power Plan, typically can't just be discarded by a new incumbent. That's why Obama's executive agencies, like those of his predecessors, spent the final year of the Administration hurriedly initiating a host of regulatory proposals—so that the proposals could make it through the rulemaking process before Obama leaves office.*

Still, were Trump to win, many of Obama's accomplishments would be under threat. Even rules that can't be rescinded can be left unenforced. Trump, who says that global warming is "bullshit," has vowed to cancel the Paris Agreement. Technically, he can't, but the deal has no enforcement mechanism, so he'd be free to just ignore the Paris goals and do nothing about greenhouse-gas emissions. And what Trump can't reverse with his pen he can mitigate with executive-branch appointments, as Ronald Reagan did when he named the rabid anti-environmentalist James Watt to head the Department of the Interior.

This is the downside of executive action: policies implemented via executive order are more vulnerable to reversal than ones that Congress writes into law. Some critics have argued that Obama should therefore have worked with Congress more, instead of relying on the power of the pen. But many such attempts failed. Given the obstructionism of congressional Republicans, and the inherent inertia of the legislative process, not using pen and phone would simply have meant fewer achievements. The choice was not between temporary actions and permanent ones but between potentially temporary actions and no action at all.

Executive power isn't unlimited: the courts can often stop it (the Clean Power Plan has been suspended, pending judicial review), and in principle Congress can override most Presidential decisions on domestic policy. But the old idea that Presidents can't do much on their own is outdated: as Obama has shown, they have plenty of unilateral control on domestic issues. As a result, a radical, authoritarian President could do a great deal to remake economic and regulatory policy before ever running into legal opposition (to say nothing of executive control of foreign policy). The power of the President is greater than ever. The choice of a President matters more than ever, too.

### **Trump Threatens to Skip Remaining Debates if Hillary is There** **Andy Borowitz, *The New Yorker*, September 27, 2016**

HEMPSTEAD, N.Y. ([The Borowitz Report](#))—Plunging the future of the 2016 Presidential debates into doubt, Donald J. Trump said on Tuesday morning that he would not participate in the remaining two debates if Hillary Clinton is there.

Trump blasted the format of Monday night's debate by claiming that the presence of Clinton was "specifically designed" to distract him from delivering his message to the American people.

"Every time I said something, she would say something back," he said. "It was rigged."

He also lambasted the "underhanded tactics" his opponent used during the debate. "She kept on bringing up things I said or did," he added. "She is a very nasty person."

Turning to CNN, Trump criticized the network's use of a split screen showing both him and Clinton throughout the telecast. "It should have been just me," he said. "That way people could have seen how really good my temperament is."

The billionaire said that debate organizers had not yet responded to his ultimatum, but he warned that if he does not get assurances in writing that future debates will be "un-rigged, Hillary-wise," he will not participate.

"I have said time and time again that I would only do these debates if I am treated fairly," he added. "The only way I can be guaranteed of being treated fairly is if Hillary Clinton is not there."



**Trying to Make America Male Again**  
**Amanda Marcotte, *Salon*, September 9, 2016**

Donald Trump's slogan, "Make America Great Again," is drenched in layers of nostalgia. The slogan itself has been swiped from the schmaltz-fueled 1980 campaign for Ronald Reagan. The naked racism spewing from Trump suggests that the what he feels will return America to its mythical glory days is to embrace of the white supremacy of the past. His widespread support amongst bona fide white supremacists shores up this reading. But this kind of nostalgia is also about gender, as the America of many decades ago was also one where men controlled the ballot box.

Women may have won the vote in 1920, but men were the majority of voters for the next six decades. That started to change in the early '80s, when women started out-voting men. In 2012, 58.5% of women reported voting, compared to 54.4% of men. While most office holders are still men, women have quietly reshaped the nation's political discourse.

The nomination of Trump — a loudmouthed misogynist who can't seem to name a single talented woman besides his own daughter — can be understood in large part as a reaction to this trend, a temper tantrum thrown by angry men whose idea of making America great again means wresting control of it back from women.

"It is women who decide elections," Kate Black, the vice president of research at Emily's List, said in a phone interview. "It's women who show up."

Women's voting patterns helped reshape the Democratic party, explained Kelly Dittmar, a political scientist at Rutgers who does research for the Center for American Women and Politics. Women "tend to be more vulnerable, still today, in terms of needing access to the social safety net, for their children and families, and for themselves," Dittmar noted. In the past few decades, she noted, the Democrats have adjusted their messaging to be more responsive to women's priorities, shedding the more conservative members of the party and sharpening their appeals to female voters.

"Democrats are really talking about the issues that women care about," Black agreed, noting that these issues tend mostly to be "economic security issues": Equal pay, paid family leave, job security, health care access. "The conversation around women's economic security issues certainly has increased over the past few election cycles," Black added. "You used to see these issues siloed on candidate websites under the 'women's issues' section. Now they're front and center."

All these efforts to tailor their message to female voters paid off for the Democrats. They consistently win the women's vote in presidential elections, which is a major coup, considering that women vote more than men. "Women are the Democratic Party," Marcy Stech, the vice president of communications for Emily's List, said. "We are dominating the conversation."

But the partisan gender gap isn't just the result of women moving to the left, Dittmar argued. "A lot of the shift is men's shift to the right," she explained. As the Democrats became "a more progressive party", male voters, who are more conservative on average than female voters, started moving into the Republican camp. So, just as the Democrats have become both more female-centric and progressive, the Republicans have become more male-centric and conservative. The result can be seen not just in their voting bases, but in their elected officials. While the Democrats have been steadily adding to their female representation, the Republicans are backsliding.

As David Bernstein at Politico reported over the weekend, "Since 2006, the proportion of women in the House GOP caucus has dropped from 11 percent to just 9 percent today. Although there are now 247 Republicans in the House, up from 229 a decade ago, there are fewer women: 22, down from 25."

None of this surprised the women at Emily's List. "If you look at primaries, Republican women can't get through Republican primaries," Black explained. "Typically, that's because Republican primaries skew so far to the right that Republican women, who tend to be more moderate, can't persuade those Republican primary voters to support them."

Looking over the past few decades, one of the dominant political trends — perhaps *the* dominant trend — is that women are flocking to the Democrats, pushing them to the left, and in reaction, the majority of men are running to the Republicans and pushing them to the right.

This election season is the apex of this trend. It's not just that the Democrats have elevated the first female presidential nominee for a major party. Hillary Clinton is also explicitly feminist and her campaign messaging is strongly centered around the economic security concerns that Dittmar and the folks at Emily's List have flagged as the major draw for female voters.

On the flip side, you have Trump, a man who always seems on the verge of telling some woman to make him a sandwich. For men who resent the way women are amassing political power and shaping legislative priorities, supporting Trump sends a strong message: That a woman's place is, to quote Trump directly, "dropping to your knees" instead of pulling the levers of power.

The dramatic contrast exacerbates the already significant partisan gender gap. An NBC News poll released Wednesday shows that Clinton has a whopping 24-point advantage with women over Trump, which is up from 14 points last week. Compare that to 2012, when Obama's advantage over Romney with female voters was 11 points.

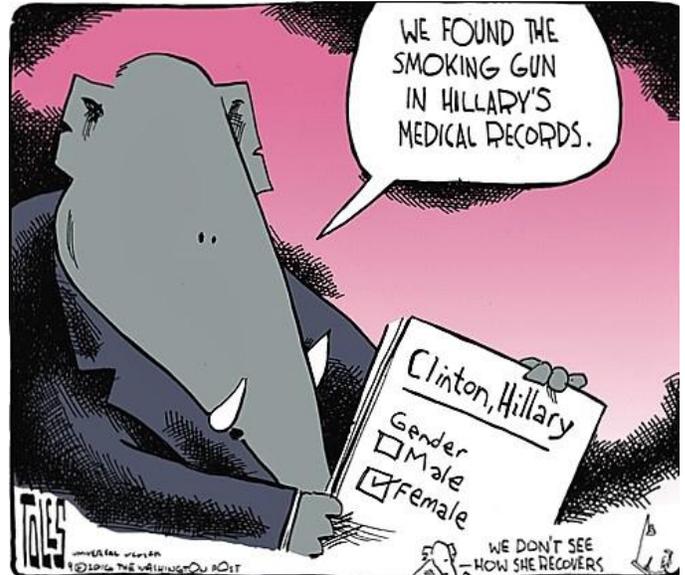
But while this shift is extreme, it's also the logical conclusion of a multi-trend of a block of progressive women gaining political ground while reactionary men flip out about it. Trump/Clinton isn't an outlier of a race, but representative of the political forces that are shaping this country.

**Hillary Clinton's Concrete Shoes**  
**Garrison Keillor, *The Washington Post*, September 14, 2016**

I saw Hillary Clinton once working a rope line for more than an hour, a Secret Service man holding her firmly by the hips as she leaned over the rope and reached into the mass of arms and hands reaching out to her. She had learned the art of encountering the crowd and making it look personal. It was not glamorous work, more like picking fruit, and it took the sort of discipline your mother instills in you: *Those people waited to see you, so by gosh you can treat them right.*

So it's no surprise she pushed herself to the point of collapse the other day. What's odd is the perspective, expressed in several articles, that her determination to keep going reveals a "lack of transparency" — that she should have announced she had pneumonia and gone home and crawled into bed.

I've never gone fishing with her, which is how you really get to know someone, but years ago I did sit next to her at dinner, one of those Washington black-tie occasions that are nobody's idea of a wild good time, the conversation tends to be stilted, everybody's beat, you worry about spilling soup down your shirtfront. She, being first lady, led the way and, she being a Wellesley girl, the way led upward. We talked about my infant daughter and schools and about Justice Harry Blackmun, and I said how inspiring it was to sit and watch the court in session, and she laughed and said, "I don't think it'd be a good idea for me to show up in a courtroom where a member of my family might be a defendant." A succinct and witty retort. And she turned and bestowed her attention on then-House Speaker Dennis Hastert, who was sitting to her right. She focused on him and even made him chuckle a few times. I was impressed by her smarts, even more by her discipline.



I don't have that discipline. Most people don't. Politics didn't appeal to me back in my youth, the rhetoric ("Ask not what your country can do for you") was so wooden compared to "so we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past," so I walked dark rainy streets imagining the great novel I wouldn't write and was still trying to be cool and indifferent well into my 30s, when other people were making a difference in the world.

Clinton didn't have a prolonged adolescence and fiction was not her ambition. She doesn't do dreaminess. What some people see as a relentless quest for power strikes me as the good habits of a serious Methodist. Be steady. Don't give up. It's not about you. Work for the night is coming.

The woman who does not conceal her own intelligence is a fine American tradition, going back to Anne Bradstreet and Harriet Beecher Stowe and my ancestor Prudence Crandall, but none has been subjected to the steady hectoring and jibber-jabber that Clinton has. She is a major-party nominee who is being pictured in prison stripes by the opposition. She is the first Cabinet officer ever to be held personally responsible for her own email server, something ordinarily delegated to I.T. The fact that terrorists attacked a U.S. compound in Libya under cover of darkness has been held against her, as if she personally was in command of the defense of the compound, a walkie-talkie in her hand, calling in reinforcements.

Extremism has poked its head into the mainstream, aided by the Internet. Back in the day, you occasionally saw cranks on a street corner handing out mimeographed handbills arguing that FDR was responsible for Pearl Harbor, but you saw their bad haircuts, the bitterness in their eyes, and you turned away. Now they're in your computer, whispering that the economy is on the verge of collapse and for a few bucks they'll tell you how to protect your savings. But lacking clear evidence, we proceed forward. We don't operate on the basis of lurid conjecture.

Someday, historians will get this right and look back at the steady pitter-pat of scandals that turned out to be nothing, nada, zero and ixnay and will conclude that, almost a century after women's suffrage, almost 45 years after Richard Nixon signed Title IX into law, a woman was required to run for office wearing concrete shoes. Check back 45 years from now and if I'm wrong, go ahead and dance on my grave.

**SEE WHAT OUR CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATORS THINK ABOUT CURRENT ISSUES**  
**Congressman John Garamendi, California 3<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District: [www.garamendi.house.gov](http://www.garamendi.house.gov)**  
**Senator Barbara Boxer: [www.boxer.senate.gov](http://www.boxer.senate.gov)**  
**Senator Dianne Feinstein: [www.feinstein.senate.gov](http://www.feinstein.senate.gov)**

**Wisdom, Courage, and the Economy**  
**Paul Krugman, *The New York Times*, August 15, 2016**

It's fantasy football time in political punditry, as commentators try to dismiss Hillary Clinton's dominance in the polls — yes, Clinton Derangement Syndrome is alive and well — by insisting that she would be losing badly if only the G.O.P. had nominated someone else. We will, of course, never know. But one thing we do know is that none of Donald Trump's actual rivals for the nomination bore any resemblance to their imaginary candidate, a sensible, moderate conservative with good ideas.

Let's not forget, for example, what Marco Rubio was doing in the memorized sentence he famously couldn't stop repeating: namely, insinuating that President Obama is deliberately undermining America. It wasn't all that different from Donald Trump's claim that Mr. Obama founded ISIS. And let's also not forget that Jeb Bush, the ultimate establishment candidate, began his campaign with the ludicrous assertion that his policies would double the American economy's growth rate.

Which brings me to my main subject: Mrs. Clinton's economic vision, which she summarized last week. It's very much a center-left vision: incremental but fairly large increases in high-income tax rates, further tightening of financial regulation, further strengthening of the social safety net. It's also a vision notable for its lack of outlandish assumptions. Unlike just about everyone on the Republican side, she isn't justifying her proposals with claims that they would cause a radical quickening of the U.S. economy. As the nonpartisan Tax Policy Center put it, she's "a politician who would pay for what she promises."

So here's my question: Is the modesty of the Clinton economic agenda too much of a good thing? Should accelerating U.S. economic growth be a bigger priority?

For while the U.S. has done reasonably well at recovering from the 2007-2009 financial crisis, longer-term economic growth is looking very disappointing. Some of this is just demography, as baby boomers retire and growth in the working-age population slows down. But there has also been a somewhat mysterious decline in labor force participation among prime-age adults and a sharp drop in productivity growth. The result, according to the Congressional Budget Office, is that the growth rate of potential G.D.P. — what the economy could produce at full employment — has declined from around 3.5 percent per year in the late 1990s to around 1.5 percent now. And some people I respect believe that trying to get that rate back up should be a big goal of policy.

But as I was trying to think this through, I realized that I had Reinhold Niebuhr's famous Serenity Prayer running through my head: "Grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, courage to change the things I can, and wisdom to know the difference." I know, it's somewhat sacrilegious applied to economic policy, but still.

After all, what do we actually know how to do when it comes to economic policy? We do, in fact, know how to provide essential health care to everyone; most advanced countries do it. We know how to provide basic security in retirement. We know quite a lot about how to raise the incomes of low-paid workers. I'd also argue that we know how to fight financial crises and recessions, although political gridlock and deficit obsession has gotten in the way of using that knowledge.

On the other hand, what do we know about accelerating long-run growth? According to the budget office, potential growth was pretty stable from 1970 to 2000, with nothing either Ronald Reagan or Bill Clinton did making much obvious difference. The subsequent slide began under George W. Bush and continued under Mr. Obama. This history suggests no easy way to change the trend.

Now, I'm not saying that we shouldn't try. I'd argue, in particular, for substantially more infrastructure spending than Mrs. Clinton is currently proposing, and more borrowing to pay for it. This might significantly boost growth. But it would be unwise to count on it.

Meanwhile, I don't think enough people appreciate the courage involved in focusing on things we actually know how to do, as opposed to happy talk about wondrous growth.

When conservatives promise fantastic growth if we give them another chance at Bushonomics, one main reason is that they don't want to admit how much they would have to cut popular programs to pay for their tax cuts. When centrists urge us to look away from questions of distribution and fairness and focus on growth instead, all too often they're basically running away from the real issues that divide us politically.

So it's actually quite brave to say: "Here are the things I want to do, and here is how I'll pay for them. Sorry, some of you will have to pay higher taxes." Wouldn't it be great if that kind of policy honesty became the norm?

If you would like to join our club, please call Janet Brown at 530-674-9227 or attend our October 20 meeting. We meet from 7PM – 8PM at Yuba City High School, Room 322, 850 B Street, Yuba City.

## The Veep Debate Told Us One Important Thing About a Trump Presidency Jonathan Cohn, *The Huffington Post*, October 5, 2016

Tuesday's vice presidential debate didn't have the drama of last week's bout between presidential nominees Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. And it probably won't have the same political impact, either. For 90 minutes, Sen. Tim Kaine (D-Va.) and Gov. Mike Pence (R-Ind.) argued about everything from taxes to Syria, frequently talking over one another and moderator Elaine Quijano from CBS News.

Kaine was the more aggressive debater, frequently interrupting Pence to the point of rudeness. It was not a great look for the normally mild-mannered Democrat. On the other hand, he frequently brought up examples of outrageous behavior by Trump — and Pence, for all of his Midwest pleasantries, was unable to defend or explain that behavior. In a focus group that pollster Frank Luntz convened for CBS, nearly every participant thought Pence won, yet none said it would change his or her vote.

But even though the debate is unlikely to alter the course of the campaign, it did reveal something important about how a Trump presidency might unfold. Except for a handful of high-profile causes, like immigration and trade, Trump is likely to delegate a lot of the governing to his vice president.

Pence, after all, is more important than your typical vice presidential candidate, and not simply because, at 70, Trump would be older than even Ronald Reagan was when he first took office. This summer, when Trump's aides approached Ohio Gov. John Kasich (R) about accepting a place on the ticket, they reportedly promised him that he'd be in charge of both domestic and foreign policy. (According to the report, which appeared in *The New York Times*, the aides said Trump's purview would be "making America great again.") A Trump adviser later disputed that account of the conversation. But given Trump's lack of focus and attention to detail, the story is entirely plausible. Except for a handful of high-profile causes, like immigration and trade, Trump is likely to delegate a lot of the governing to his vice president — and in many cases, simply defer to his vice president's judgment.

That could unleash a torrent of conservative legislation. An election that puts Trump and Pence in the West Wing almost certainly leaves Republicans in charge of Congress. House Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell could work quickly to pass legislation of mutual interest and, in Pence, they'd find a powerful vice president almost entirely in synch with their interests.

Remember, before becoming governor, Pence was a leader in the Republican House, where, as chairman of the Republican Study Committee, he was directly involved in crafting policy proposals for the conservative wing of the caucus. He's got a long record of advocating ultra-conservative policy, on both economic issues (he once championed Social Security privatization) and social issues (he's a strong opponent of abortion rights).

Trump has run as a challenger to the Republican establishment. But in answer to a question about the economy on Tuesday night, Pence reminded everybody that a Trump administration would pursue many of the same policies the Republican establishment favors — particularly early on:

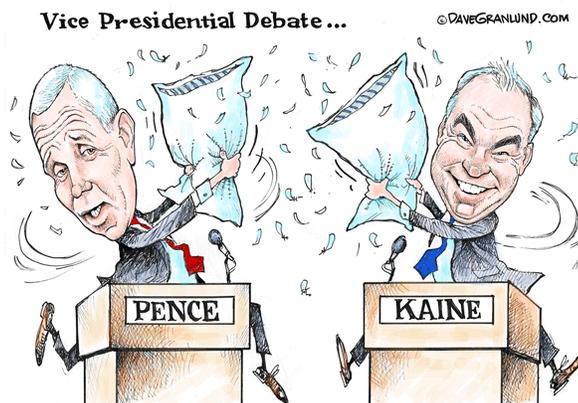
*"We have a plan to get health care working again by lowering taxes across the board for working families, small businesses, and family farms, ending the war on coal that is hurting jobs, repealing Obamacare, lock, stock [and barrel] and repealing all of the executive orders Obama has signed that are stifling economic growth in this country."*

Almost nobody is going to remember that quote, but it describes what would likely become the Trump administration agenda.

"Lowering taxes" is a reference to the Trump tax plan, which would indeed reduce rates — something, undoubtedly, many people would appreciate. But it would do so in a way that would give windfalls to the wealthy and far less help to everybody else. It would also add something like \$5 trillion in debt over the next 10 years, almost certainly undermining key programs that are crucial for both poor and middle-class Americans.

"Ending the war on coal" would mean undoing President Barack Obama's new regulations on emissions, which probably wouldn't revive the coal industry — since its biggest threat right now is cheap natural gas. But it might undermine future efforts at fighting climate change at a time when rising sea levels are already causing flooding up and down the East Coast — and when the international community is finally making headway on collective action.

"Repealing Obamacare" would mean getting rid of the law that conservatives hate and that, even its advocates admit, has problems. But it'd also mean yanking insurance away from many millions of people, taking away new consumer protections like limits on out-of-pocket spending, and allowing insurance companies to start denying coverage for pre-existing conditions again.



The big focus on the campaign to date has been on character. That's how it should be, given how wildly unfit Trump is person in the White House to temper Trump's worst instincts from time to time. But policy substance matters too, because Trump would end up signing legislation if he becomes president — and some of that legislation could have profound, far-reaching effects.

Trump likes to present himself as an anti-politician, but he's done exactly what most politicians do when they campaign: promise things, like tax cuts that magically reduce the deficit, that are quite simply incompatible with one another. As president, Trump would have to face up to those contradictions. And on issues where he hasn't taken a strong position or in which his base of supporters lacks a direct stake, Pence is likely to have an outsized influence over what Trump decides to do.

No, Trump hasn't always been clear or consistent when it comes to public policy. He's unpredictable and at the mercy of his own ego. But in what's arguably his most consequential decision to date — the choice of a running mate — he picked a deeply conservative Republican with strong ties to the party's leadership in Congress. That says a lot about how Trump would actually govern, and it's why the substance of Pence's comments on Tuesday night are every bit as newsworthy as his opponent's demeanor on stage.

### **Pro-Clinton Environmental Group Steps Up Its Millennial Outreach on College Campuses** **John Wagner, *The Washington Post*, October 5, 2016**

As enthusiasm for Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton remains lukewarm among millennials, a key ally is stepping up its efforts on college campuses and targeting young voters considering a third-party alternative.

NextGen Climate, the advocacy group funded by billionaire environmentalist Tom Steyer, is expanding its presence to 300 college campuses in a dozen presidential battleground states, representatives from the organization said. That's up from a goal of 200 when the group launched a \$25 million effort in May to help educate millennials about what it sees as crucial but sometimes overlooked differences between Clinton and Republican nominee Donald Trump on climate change. "I think we're going to be on more campuses than even the Clinton campaign," Steyer said in an interview.

The group has added four states — Michigan, Virginia, Florida and Wisconsin — to the eight it originally targeted. Those were New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, Iowa, Illinois, Colorado and Nevada. The group is also doing persuasion work related to U.S. Senate races and other contests.

Steyer said his organization — whose staffers set up informational tables and come armed with clipboards to highly trafficked areas of campuses — can claim some progress, based on its polling in states where it's active. In July, 36 percent of likely millennial voters in those states said they saw no real difference between Clinton and Trump on the issues they care about. That figure dropped to 29 percent in an August poll.

The numbers are still concerning, Steyer said, particularly on issues such as climate change, where he said the differences between Clinton and Trump are stark. Yet a large bloc of millennials "thought they were essentially the same candidate," he said. "The difference doesn't only exist," Steyer said. "It's gigantic."

Climate change and energy-related issues rank higher among the concerns of millennials compared with voters in older generations. Clinton has released plans to boost use of renewable energy, cut waste and reduce oil consumption. Trump, his adversaries frequently point out, once called climate change a hoax perpetrated by the Chinese.

Although Clinton is far more popular among millennials than Trump, enthusiasm for her candidacy lags that of President Obama, and an unusually large number of young voters have told pollsters this cycle that they are inclined to vote for Libertarian Gary Johnson or Green Party candidate Jill Stein. In recent Washington Post-ABC polls, about a quarter of young voters have said they prefer one of the third-party candidates.

In an effort to peel votes away from Johnson, NextGen Climate launched a digital ad last month that includes clips of Johnson, a former New Mexico governor, waffling when asked whether climate change is man-made. "I'm not smart enough to say whether global warming is man-made," he says in one of the interviews featured in the ad, which frequently runs between YouTube videos and on Instagram.

Steyer said that although Johnson "is somebody who has polled pretty darn well," on climate change, "he's every bit as bad as Donald Trump." In an interview late last month, Johnson said he was almost happy to be attacked in this way. "Honestly, it shows that we're on the radar screen," he said. "We're a threat." Asked about his climate change views, Johnson insisted that he, too, thought that humans warmed the planet by putting carbon in the air.

The digital ad is part of a broader strategy by NextGen Climate to engage millennials on and off campuses through the media sources they use, including Snapchat and direct texting. Since Clinton emerged as the Democratic nominee, Steyer said, the group has hired "a bunch" of former staffers to Sen. Bernie Sanders of Vermont, the runner-up in the Democratic primaries. Sanders, who consistently outpolled Clinton among younger voters, is now campaigning on her behalf.