

CONTENTS

- Acknowledgments ix
- 1** Trying to Save the Soul of America 1
Julian E. Zelizer
- 2** The Red and the Blue Endure 15
Julian E. Zelizer
- 3** Antagonists and Enablers: The Tragic Dance of Biden and the Supremes 29
John Fabian Witt
- 4** Between the Nightmare and the Noble Dream: The Ideal of Department of Justice Independence in a Time of Hyperpartisanship 52
Noah A. Rosenblum
- 5** Checked Ambition: The Biden Economic Agenda 70
Sean H. Vanatta
- 6** Unrequited Labor: The Biden Administration's Failure to Win Over Working-Class America 92
Michael Kazin
- 7** Energy, Climate, and the Environment 104
Paul Sabin
- 8** After the Fall of *Roe*: The Biden Presidency and Reproductive Policy 123
Mary Ziegler

viii CONTENTS

- 9** Biden, Congressional Impasse, and the “Broken”
U.S. Immigration System 142
Maria Cristina Garcia
- 10** Trans Rights and the Emerging Politics of Gender 159
Timothy Stewart-Winter
- 11** The Biden Presidency and the Education Wars 173
Natalia Mehlman Petrzela
- 12** The Equity President: Biden’s Reckoning with Race
and the Nation 188
Khalil Gibran Muhammad
- 13** Invest, Align, Compete: Biden on China 208
Joyce Mao
- 14** Biden, Russia, and Ukraine 223
Ekaterina Pravilova
- 15** Biden and the Middle East: Legacy at a Crossroads 242
Daniel C. Kurtzer
- 16** How Biden Failed to Understand the Modern
Media Presidency 264
Kathryn Cramer Brownell
- 17** The Historic, and Consequential, Harris Vice Presidency 281
Joel K. Goldstein
- 18** The Withdrawal 301
Timothy Naftali
- Notes 333
- Contributors 413
- Index 419

1

Trying to Save the Soul of America

Julian E. Zelizer

When day comes we ask ourselves, where can we find light
in this never-ending shade?

—AMANDA GORMAN, PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL POEM, 2021

As I watched President Joe Biden struggle to articulate his thoughts on June 27, 2024, during his only debate against Donald Trump and noted him sometimes staring into space with a confused look as the camera showed a split screen of the two men, the reality started to sink in, as it did for many Americans: The odds of a second term for President Biden were rapidly fading. The performance was so politically damaging, as the president's mental and physical deterioration were on full display, that the chorus of Democrats calling for him to step down grew louder within hours. On July 2, Representative Lloyd Doggett of Texas became the first House Democrat to publicly tell the press that Biden should exit the race. That evening, one of the contributors to this book sent me an email with the subject line, "Time to reserve a space for that conference/volume on the Biden presidency?" This person read

2 CHAPTER 1

my mind. My email to the rest of the group was ready. Soon after, the message went out to the listserv of my contributors. I wrote, “Hello, everyone, and hope you are well. Given the direction of the news, I want to tentatively start mapping out the plans for our book. Obviously, this still may be four years away, but I think the time has come to get a tentative plan together.”

The swift collapse of Biden’s candidacy in the subsequent weeks was one of the most shocking developments in recent politics. Just weeks before the Democratic National Convention, and after Trump’s response following an assassination attempt against him in Pennsylvania (standing up amid his Secret Service agents with blood dripping down his ear, pumping his fist in the air and yelling to the crowd, “Fight! Fight! Fight!”) conveyed the ultimate image of physical strength, the potential costs for Biden to continue seemed too great. In isolation, under intense pressure from congressional leaders and Democratic donors, and as he recovered from COVID, Biden decided that it was time to stop his candidacy. He told his inner circle of advisers as well as his family. On July 21, one of our daughters ran into the kitchen, with her face pressed close to the screen of her iPhone to make sure the news was right, to say that the president had posted a letter on social media stating that he was bowing out of the race. Within seconds, I had received an email informing me of the announcement, but I didn’t believe it was true. Within minutes, online newspapers confirmed the story. Shortly after releasing the letter, Biden endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris as the Democratic candidate, effectively quashing proposals to hold a shortened primary. With this announcement, Biden entered the small club of commanders in chief, including Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson, who made similar decisions that rocked American politics.

Biden’s withdrawal closed a presidency that some had once compared to the transformative administrations of Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930s and Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. The immensity of the legislative agenda that Biden had moved through Congress during his first two years in office, as well as the fact that Senate Democrats had *increased* their majority in the 2022 midterms, had given rise to a level of optimism about politics that Democrats had not felt since the exuberance surrounding Barack Obama’s election in 2008. What a

difference one televised debate had made. All of the feelings of possibility about Biden's legacy came crashing down within hours. Even before the debate, his approval ratings had hit rock bottom, and top party operatives were terrified that legislators were at risk due to his terrible standing. Polling also consistently showed that the public thought he was too old for a second term. "Again and again," wrote *New York Times* columnist Michelle Goldberg in a retrospective piece, "voters told pollsters that the president was too old to run for re-election."¹

His closest and most trusted advisers had been doing whatever they could to limit exposure of his declining mental acuity to the public. They restricted press access to the president and scheduled events during times of the day when he tended to be more cogent. At the same time, reporters who raised warnings about the effects of his aging were often shunted aside. Supporters dismissed videos of him appearing impaired as politically manipulated (to be sure, some were, as the conservative media ecosystem had a field day with this material).²

But the debate between Biden and Trump rendered all of their efforts irrelevant and ineffective. The political floodgates burst wide open. His support within the Democratic Party plummeted.

Rather than attempting to conduct a short primary to select the next candidate, the Democratic Party observed as Vice President Harris coalesced support around her candidacy before there could even be discussions about creating some kind of competition. Her swift success caused private consternation among several top Democrats, including Obama and former Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who were doubtful that she could defeat Trump.³ Not only would she be bogged down by the record of the administration, as was the case with almost every vice president who ran, but there were several other factors that would make her campaign difficult, including her personal weaknesses as a national candidate as well as the racial and gender biases in the electorate. She was also contending with an international atmosphere where antiestablishment, conservative populists were beating institutionally oriented leaders. The Biden team was extremely heavy-handed, maintaining intense pressure on Harris to avoid breaking with the president's record in any substantive way.⁴

On election night, Democrats' worst fears came true. Trump defeated Harris: Trump 2.0 would be happening. Over the next few

4 CHAPTER 1

months, many Americans, including dispirited Democrats, saw Trump's victory as evidence that the electorate supported his style of politics and agenda. Democrats' fear leading up to November, of an election process that was subverted by the same forces that caused January 6 to happen, were replaced by the nightmarish realization that a sizable portion of the public endorsed Trumpism.

These perceptions outweighed the underlying reality that the 2024 election reflected a highly polarized and calcified electorate. Trump only won a plurality of the vote (despite early claims that he won a majority), and Electoral College totals were 312 to 226. Republicans won control of the House and Senate, though the margin in the lower chamber was paper-thin, the weakest since the early 1930s: 220 to 215. The election was much more like those of 2020, 2016, and 2012 than it resembled anything like the landslides of 1936, 1972, and 1984.

Regardless, once the Democrats had lost the White House to Trump, the critics turned their gaze toward Biden and his team, who, they felt, had not been honest about his condition, who had insisted on his running, and who had prevented Democrats from holding the kind of primary process that would produce the best candidate possible. Biden's presidency, some were coming to believe, would not be remembered by historians as an era of bold government intervention and the reinvigoration of a liberal political coalition in response to the first Trump presidency but instead as four years that opened the door to the return to the Resolute Desk of a person whom most Democrats deemed a fundamental threat to American democracy.

Biden's Path to Presidential Power

The story that culminated with the election results on November 5, 2024, began on April 25, 2019, when Joseph Robinette Biden Jr., a former vice president and U.S. senator, announced his candidacy to become president of the United States. Amid the turmoil and turbulence that President Donald J. Trump had brought to the nation, Biden warned Americans, "If we give Donald Trump eight years in the White House, he will forever and fundamentally alter the character of this nation, who we are, and I cannot stand by and watch that happen." Remembering the neo-Nazis who marched through Charlottesville in

2017 chanting, “The Jews will not replace us,” Biden argued, “The core values of this nation, our standing in the world, our very democracy, everything that has made America, America, is at stake.”⁵

Although Biden faced a crowded primary, he ultimately rose to the top of the pack. Terrified of paving a path for President Trump to win reelection, Democratic voters turned away from more exciting voices within the party in favor of the safer bet: former Vice President Biden, perceived as the most electable choice. Choosing an older white male with extensive experience in politics, with a long history of veering toward the center—instead of a media-savvy married gay man who had been mayor of South Bend, Indiana, or a female Massachusetts senator who had galvanized support among progressives clamoring for economic justice—felt to voters like the antidote to Trumpism. He also seemed to offer the best bet to stave off Senator Bernie Sanders’s candidacy, which many Democrats feared would push their party too far to the left. Biden boasted of his time as senator and Obama’s vice president, which generated respect among many party leaders.

Despite his flawed history as a presidential candidate in 1987 and 2008, Biden, in the words of campaign chroniclers Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, was “lucky.” The circumstances of 2019 and 2020 worked in his favor. He was the right man at the right time in the right place. In certain respects, he was the perfect person to take on Trump.⁶ Congressman James Clyburn’s endorsement, which carried great weight with South Carolina’s Black community, helped to deliver a pivotal primary victory in that state.

In the following campaign, the urgency of Biden’s warnings grew stronger. Saving the soul of America was only part of the challenge; saving America from a devastating pandemic became the most immediate concern. As hundreds of thousands of citizens were dying from the COVID virus that left people struggling on hospital ventilators and tore families apart in social isolation, the enormous costs of President Trump’s destabilizing approach to leadership were painfully apparent. The economic shutdown in much of the country and the closure of schools left citizens feeling desperate. Rome was burning as the president trafficked in disinformation and spread conspiracy theories. At the same time, the medical community desperately tried to respond to a public health crisis of a magnitude the nation had not

6 CHAPTER 1

experienced since 1918. Chaos up top meant there was no stable or reliable leadership from the White House. This contributed to a dysfunctional atmosphere in which scientists, physicians, as well as local and state policymakers had to navigate in real time, a flood of sometimes conflicting recommendations.⁷

Enough of the electorate seemed to agree with the judgment regarding Biden's suitability in the general election. Though Trump was able to grow his support in the final tally, a greater number of Americans decided that Biden was a better person to guide the country out of the quagmire than the incumbent. Even the optimism in December about the news that a COVID vaccine was close to FDA approval was overwhelmed by the shock and awe produced by the president and his allies in their attempts to overturn the results of the election, culminating in a violent mob assault on Congress on January 6, 2021, while Trump stood by for hours, taking no action to protect the Capitol Building or those inside, including his own vice president, Mike Pence.

Standing in front of a sparse, masked, and dispersed crowd at his inauguration, Biden announced, "Today, we celebrate the triumph not of a candidate, but of a cause, the cause of democracy."⁸ Most presidents are measured by how they relate to their predecessors and how they build on or reject previous agendas, but the intertwining of Biden's and Trump's fates was particularly acute. Trump, after not cooperating during the transition period, refused to attend.

Biden was an unlikely person to be put in charge of carrying out the grandiose mission of saving the nation's soul. Over the course of his life in politics, he had been anything but an ideological figure. As an elected official, he rarely deployed the kind of high oratory associated with these sorts of battles. Instead, since entering the Senate in 1973, Biden had gained a reputation for being a politician's politician—someone who loved the art of making deals on Capitol Hill and was energized by the messiness of the legislative process. His strongest skill on the campaign trail was connecting with voters by speaking in plain language and empathizing with their pain. "Scranton Joe," who commuted between Delaware and Washington every day on an Amtrak train rather than in a limousine, had mastered the long political tradition of delivering goods to his supporters and fighting for the common man and woman.

Born in 1942 during World War II, Biden was a native of Scranton, Pennsylvania. His parents, Catherine Eugenia Finnegan Biden and Joseph Robinette Biden Sr., were working-class Irish. The family did relatively well financially during the war because the father prospered in a manufacturing job involving merchant marine ships. The good times didn't last long, however. After the war ended, Joe Sr. took various jobs to support his wife, daughter (Valerie), and three sons, Joe, James, and Frank. Joe struggled socially due to a childhood stutter but exhibited an unyielding determination to succeed. He fought bullies who mocked him while privately working every night to improve his elocution. As a skilled football player at the Archmere Academy, a private Catholic school in the suburb where the family had moved after accepting a job selling cars, he became a young man well liked among his classmates.

When attending the University of Delaware in 1961, Biden developed a strong interest in pursuing a career in public service. Though he did not involve himself in the civil rights protests that were taking place across college campuses, he did start to gain a better sense of the issues that were at stake, including when he worked as a lifeguard each summer at a public swimming pool where many of the swimmers were Black residents of the nearby housing project. He graduated from college in 1965, one year after meeting a Syracuse student named Neillia Hunter, whom he married in 1966; the couple would have two sons, Beau and Hunter, and a daughter named Amy. After graduating from Syracuse University Law School in 1968, Biden accepted a job at a corporate law firm. He didn't find the work fulfilling and soon returned to his plan of moving into government. In 1970, Biden won election to the New Castle County Council. Not long afterward, the 29-year-old Biden pulled off a highly improbable upset: He defeated Delaware's two-term senator, Republican J. Caleb Boggs, by just 3,000 votes during President Richard Nixon's landslide victory in which he won the state with almost 60 percent of the vote. Not even old enough to take office when voters elected him, Biden headed to Washington.

Biden suffered the worst of tragedies when his wife and their infant daughter were killed in a car accident on December 18, 1972, just days before he was to be sworn into office. Beau and Hunter suffered serious injuries. Biden considered stepping down from the position, but advisers and family dissuaded him from doing so. The young senator

8 CHAPTER 1

proceeded to launch a six-term career in the upper chamber in the turmoil of the Watergate scandal and its aftermath. On a personal level, he slowly rebuilt his life by remarrying in 1977. His new bride was a University of Delaware student, Jill Jacobs, who wanted to be a teacher; the couple had a daughter, Ashley, in 1981.

During his tenure in the Senate, Biden emerged as a formidable voice for the post-Great Society Democratic Party. He was part of a generational cohort of Democrats who sought to push their party toward the center in response to the rising power of conservatism, focusing on market-based government interventions, middle-of-the-road solutions on questions of race and gender, and a more interventionist agenda overseas that concentrated in particular on humanitarian operations. Sensitive to the criticism that had raged against Democrats in response to Vietnam and the limits of Lyndon Johnson's generation of leaders, Biden still wanted to work within the policy framework he inherited. Through his service on the Judiciary Committee, Biden chaired several high-profile confirmation hearings for nominees by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush. Under his stewardship, in 1987, Senate Democrats rejected Judge Robert Bork for the Supreme Court on the grounds that he was too much of a conservative ideologue. The defeat of the nomination caused a fierce backlash among Republicans, who felt that Reagan's choice had been unfairly treated. In 1991, as the chair of the Judiciary Committee, Biden allowed the nomination of Justice Clarence Thomas to move to confirmation despite credible allegations of sexual harassment. Biden received extensive criticism for failing to take the issue seriously. In terms of public policy, one of Biden's signature achievements was his work on landmark anti-crime legislation in 1994 that imposed more stringent federal sentences and poured federal funding into constructing prisons.

In the realm of foreign policy, as the highest-ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Biden championed a vision of internationalism for the post-Vietnam age. He supported humanitarian interventions and nation-building efforts in Eastern Europe as ethnic conflict wracked the region after the Soviet Union collapsed. Biden firmly backed the continuation of post-World War II international alliances, meeting frequently with global leaders and defending U.S. funding for institutions such as NATO. In 2002, in the aftermath

of 9/11, he joined New York Senator Hillary Clinton and Massachusetts Senator John Kerry in taking a controversial vote to support the use of military force in Iraq. Years later, Biden acknowledged that his position had been a mistake and proceeded to argue against increasing troops in Iraq in 2007 and in Afghanistan in 2009.

Biden's larger ambition to win the White House had never come to fruition despite his being viewed by many as a politician with great potential, someone who could bridge the different factions in the party. In his first run for the presidency, in 1987, his campaign crashed and burned when the press revealed that Biden had plagiarized sections of his stump speech from Neil Kinnock, the leader of the Labour Party in England.

His ascent to the executive branch finally came when Illinois Senator Barack Obama, the Democratic nominee in 2008, picked Biden to be his vice-presidential running mate. Obama hoped that Biden could help him secure the support of white Democrats who might still be uncomfortable with a Black candidate. He also thought that Biden's extensive work in the Senate could counteract criticism that the young presidential candidate did not have sufficient experience to qualify for the job, in contrast to his opponent, Senator John McCain. Obama integrated Biden into the White House, assigning him substantial roles, such as working on economic policies for the middle class.

As vice president, Biden was instrumental in moving Obama's ambitious legislation through the Senate, including the Economic Recovery Act of 2009 and the Affordable Care Act of 2010. His time as vice president elevated his national stature. However, after the tragic death of his son Beau in 2015, Biden was not sure he would run for the presidency. He was personally shattered when Obama and his team threw their support behind Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in the 2016 race. On October 21, he announced that he would not run.

Governing After Trump

Biden came into office at an extraordinarily fraught moment in American history. Like Jimmy Carter in 1977, he faced a nation that was deeply distrustful of politics, when the health of the democracy was under strain, and where there were immense policy challenges that did

10 CHAPTER 1

not have easy answers. Biden inherited a government that had been put to the test when Trump exercised executive power in an aggressive fashion and a Republican Party that had gone to extremes, weaponizing routine processes and governing norms. A pandemic was still ravaging Americans, who were trying to figure out whether a path back to social, economic, and cultural normalcy was even possible. Indeed, Biden fulfilled his long dream of becoming president in the shadow of a violent effort that took place, with his predecessor at the center, to overturn the election results.

During Biden's four years in the Oval Office between 2021 and 2025, as the contributors to this book show, the president demonstrated considerable political prowess when handling the difficult task of governing in a polarized era, one that unfolded after a global pandemic had unsettled the United States, leaving its institutions and social fabric badly damaged. The administration established an effective process to distribute the vaccines and reopen the country after the pandemic closure. Biden defied cynics as he pushed through a massive legislative agenda during his first two years, which included the American Rescue Plan, the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), and the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA). He used executive orders to advance other climate change measures and to ease restrictions on immigration that Trump had put in place. He introduced some of the boldest measures that the nation had seen from any White House to deal with racial and other forms of social injustice. Some analysts started to compare Biden to Franklin D. Roosevelt or Lyndon Johnson, among the most successful and highest-impact presidents.

However, legislative success did not translate into political strength. What happened?

At some level, his problems should not come as a complete surprise. Historically, presidents who have thrived on Capitol Hill are not always in good standing by the end of their term, either because of the political opposition that policy success can generate or because of mistakes that they make as they bulldoze their ideas through the political system (e.g., President Lyndon Johnson).

But there was more going on. President Biden's progress on infrastructure, climate change, and the pandemic recovery did not sufficiently address, and in some respects aggravated, two issues that voters cared

a great deal about, which Republicans were able to capitalize on: inflation and immigration. As previous presidents have learned, accomplishments in certain areas, no matter how dramatic they might be, can quickly be bogged down by other problematic issue areas where voters perceive an administration as having failed.

As prices started to rise in 2022, the administration downplayed concerns that federal spending was to blame or that conditions were very bad, instead insisting that the temporary price increases were due to supply problems born out of COVID. The president pushed back against taking significant steps to fight the problem early, leaving policy decisions to Federal Reserve Chair Jerome Powell. The other concern had to do with a surge in undocumented people coming over the border. Biden eased restrictions that President Trump had put in place to limit immigration and then failed to act quickly to reduce the resulting flood of undocumented immigrants.

In addition, the chaotic withdrawal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan in 2021, which brought back memories of and comparisons with the fall of Saigon in 1975, undermined public confidence in his leadership. The images belied the promise that Biden could govern more effectively than his predecessor.

Initially, electoral unease about all of these issues, which was manifesting itself in a number of other countries as populists brought down establishment leaders, was masked by the Democrats' performance in the midterm elections of 2022, when the party focused on the threats to democracy and reproductive rights. While Republicans retook control of the House with 222 seats, Democrats increased their numbers in the Senate. Democrats praised Biden for having been integral to defying predictions of a red wave and bolstering Democratic strength in the upper chamber. Many of the Republican candidates who suffered defeat had been endorsed by Trump, which Democrats and pundits read as evidence that he was spent as a political force.

The midterms also led Democrats to ignore another significant problem, which was not about policy but about the president himself: age. Though many believed that Biden would serve for only one term, the midterm results left party operatives thinking that Trump had been weakened, and that Biden was exceptionally strong. Biden himself started to map out a reelection campaign even as, privately, Democrats

12 CHAPTER 1

continued to have concerns about his age. To protect Biden's image, his advisers limited press appearances and claimed that Republicans, allied with the conservative media, were putting out manipulated and false information to weaken him. As a result, some of the decline that was apparent to his inner circle was not known publicly, even to top Democrats, at a moment when the party still had sufficient time to undertake a primary process.

Age was one problem; political communication was another. This predicament undercut the administration's ability to capitalize on what he had done well and effectively respond to the attacks on the issues he was struggling with. Biden governed in a period when the communication environment was rapidly changing, fragmenting, and becoming tougher to navigate than ever before, as any sense of a public commons collapsed. While Biden had always had difficulty with his public speech, as president, the imperative of efficacious messaging vastly intensified. Mounting victories on Capitol Hill could not obviate the necessity for his ability to sell himself, his vision, and his record to the electorate. Moreover, Democrats faced a Republican Party with a titular leader who had developed a strong command of how to fight partisan battles in this realm. Trump thrived in a world of fragmented and siloed information that enabled him to weaken the connection between electoral outcomes and the way that voters perceived the reality of their world. In an era when attention was one of the greatest forms of political capital, Trump knew how to keep the eyes and ears of the media trained toward him.⁹ He was also extraordinarily comfortable in new forms of journalism, such as podcasts and social media, in ways that senior Democratic elected officials—including President Biden—could not even fathom.

Trump roared back to life in 2023. From the start, Democrats underestimated Trump's ongoing political strength and Biden's own personal struggles. Though Biden's election in 2020 generated immense excitement, that excitement sometimes papered over the fact that Trump's support had *increased* from four years earlier despite the destabilizing way he had governed. That support remained in place even after the January 6 insurrection. Although there had been some chatter from Republicans about finding an alternative candidate, support for him remained strong.

When the federal and state investigations into the former president accelerated, Trump weaponized them to rally his supporters and present himself as pitted against the establishment. At the same time that he delayed and obstructed the cases, with the exception of the hush money trial in New York, he injected himself back into the center of Republican politics. Meanwhile, President Biden struggled with increasingly contentious policy decisions, including the war in the Middle East, that undercut some of his standing with younger constituencies and made him appear as an establishment figure, but not in the best sense of the term, as was the case in 2020. For some Democrats, he was committed to institutions and a system that were broken. There were ongoing concerns about the president's age. While his advisers continued to dismiss them as the product of conservatives manipulating images and sound, Democrats still worried that he was not up for a campaign. When Trump was able to turn an attempted assassination against him in Butler, Pennsylvania, into an iconic image of strength, some believed that he had won the contest.

This culminated in the disastrous debate, Biden's decision to withdraw from the race, and Trump's triumph over Harris.

In the short time span available to her, Vice President Harris could not put together a winning campaign or separate herself from the unpopular parts of the administration's record (which the president's inner circle would not allow). Trump was also laser-focused on the president's two most significant policy weaknesses, inflation and immigration. In his speeches and interviews, every topic was somehow connected to these two issues. Despite being notoriously undisciplined and unscripted politicians, Trump and his supporters were determined to keep the national narrative on these areas. Even in some of the most controversial moments, such as the debate with Harris when Trump brought false claims about Haitian immigrants eating pets in an Ohio city, the controversy centered media attention on the issues that worked in his favor.

When Trump emerged as the victor, having increased his margins in blue states, won all seven battleground states, and done better with Black and Latino male voters than he had in 2020, any notion that the new MAGA-Republican coalition had been vanquished went right out the window. One could debate how defining the results were, yet the outcome was nonetheless jarring to Trump's opponents.

The soul of America, if Trump were the measure, had not been saved. Biden had failed to fulfill his fundamental promise. In the final weeks of his presidency, Biden himself came under heavy criticism from fellow Democrats for stretching institutional norms with his liberal use of the presidential pardon power, including to his son Hunter from further prosecution, and comments he made claiming that he could have won the campaign. “Go back to your Rehoboth condo,” Democratic operative James Carville said during an interview, referring to Biden’s vacation home on the Delaware shore.¹⁰

Given his withdrawal from the campaign, Biden now joins the pantheon of one-term presidents, such as Jimmy Carter and George H. W. Bush, who were able to achieve significant legislation and move essential issues onto the agenda but who watched the coalition on which they rode into power crumble, sometimes by their own doing, as they opened the door to political forces determined to move politics in a different direction. The 2024 election suggested that Biden fit into the category of presidents whom the political scientist Stephen Skowronek characterized as “disjunctive,” serving as the last gasp of a regime whose time was coming to an end.¹¹

In the following chapters, some of the finest historians of the United States examine how the Biden presidency unfolded and seek to better understand why his mission to dismantle his predecessor’s legacy failed.

INDEX

Note: Page numbers in *italics* indicate figures.

- Abbas, Mahmoud, 247
- Abbott, Greg, 19, 154–155
- Abkhazia, Georgia, 230–231
- abortion and reproductive rights:
- Biden history on, and policy, 43–44, 123–128, 129–130, 132–141; cases, 19, 29, 42–44, 124–125, 126–132, 135, 136–137, 138–139, 140, 141, 167, 289–290, 291; as political and campaign issues, 42–44, 47, 123–125, 126–140, 141, 307–308
- Abraham Accords (2020), 244–245, 255–256, 257
- Abruzzo, Jennifer, 97, 98
- academia. *See* colleges and universities
- academic and curriculum standards, 183–184, 185, 291
- academic performance testing and trends, 175–176, 182
- Adams, Eric, 65
- advertising: Biden political ads, 274–275; congressional political ads, 109, 121; Harris political ads, 121; Trump political ads, 25
- affective partisanship, 25
- affirmative action, 45–47, 192, 339n62
- Affordable Care Act (2010), 72–73, 160–161, 170, 272
- Afghanistan conflict (2001–2021): Biden on troop levels, 9; refugee and immigrant relief, 151–152; U.S. air routes to and from, 231; U.S. and NATO withdrawal from, 11, 19, 151, 238, 243–244
- Africa visits, by Biden and Harris, 213–214, 293
- African immigrants, 155, 156
- age issues. *See* health and age issues
- agencies, executive. *See* executive agencies
- Ailes, Roger, 272
- air and water pollution, 105, 109, 114, 118
- Alabama, 138–139
- Al-Aqsa Mosque, 247
- Alien Enemies Act (1798), 158
- Alito, Samuel: confirmation of, 33, 34; written opinions of, 42–43, 131–132
- Allen, Jonathan, 5
- Alliance Defending Freedom, 136–137, 161, 162, 167, 168
- Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine, and 2024 case, 136–137, 139
- al-Sharaa, Ahmed, 254
- Alzheimer’s disease, 312–313
- Amazon, 88, 89, 96, 98
- American Arab voters, 243, 257, 259
- American Clean Energy and Security Act, 109, 110
- American Families Plan, 77, 82–83
- American Jews, voting by, 257
- American Jobs Plan, 77, 82–83
- American Reinvestment and Recovery Act (2009), 71, 72

420 INDEX

- American Rescue Plan Act (2021): Biden economic policy and goals, 10, 17–18, 19, 76–78, 182, 200, 203–204; public school funding and operations, 174, 175, 182, 186, 187; vote on, 298
- Andreessen, Marc, 89
- Angola, 213–214
- antiabortion movement, 47, 125–126, 128–129, 133, 136–138
- anti-Asian racism, 221
- anti-China sentiment, 209
- anticommunist attitudes and actions: in academia, 183; in American foreign policy, 209, 210, 211, 214, 215; of American McCarthyism, 210; of Reagan era, 21
- antitrust issues: Biden administration focus on, 87–89; of DOJ under Biden, 54, 58–59, 66, 67–68, 88
- Apple, 88
- Apprentice, The* (television program), 273
- Aqil, Ibrahim, 253
- Arab American interests and voting, 243, 257, 259
- Arab-Israeli conflict history and continuation, 244–245, 246, 247–248, 252–256, 257, 259, 261–263
- Arizona, 139–140
- Arkansas, 168, 180
- arms control agreements, 223–226, 226–227, 231, 238
- artificial intelligence: effects on labor, 102; industry growth, 85, 90; summits on, 293–294
- Asia policy, 210–211, 215–218, 246, 293. *See also* China policy
- Asian immigrants, 150, 156
- Assad, Bashar al-, 244, 254–255, 262
- assassination attempts, 2, 13, 26, 304, 326
- attention economy, 12, 25, 273
- attorneys general. *See* Garland, Merrick; state attorneys general; U.S. Department of Justice
- Austin, Lloyd, 253
- Australia, 217
- automotive market: electric vehicles in, 111–112, 115–116, 117, 121; manufacturing logistics challenges in, 79, 81
- Axelrod, David, 304, 306–307
- Baker, Peter, 307, 313
- Banga, Ajay, 288
- Banks, Jim, 171
- Barrett, Amy Coney, 35–36, 129
- Bash, Dana, 283
- bathroom policies and bills, 161, 167–168, 184
- battleground states, 13, 297, 323, 326
- Bauer, Robert, 36
- Bell, Griffin, 55–56, 57
- Belt and Road Initiative (BRI; China), 213–214
- Ben Gvir, Itamar, 247, 248
- Bernal, Anthony, 327, 328
- Bernstein, Jared, 71–72, 73, 74, 77
- Bezos, Jeff, 89, 98
- Biden, Ashley, 8
- Biden, Beau, 7, 9, 163, 302, 314–315
- Biden, Hunter, 7; family relations, 315–316, 328; investigations of, 22–23, 53, 60, 65, 233, 308, 315–316; pardon of, 14, 316, 332
- Biden, Jill, 8, 175, 315, 328
- Biden, Joe: administration public opinion and legacy of, 4, 10–11, 13–14, 18–19, 20, 27, 41–42, 89–91, 92, 101–102, 105–106, 112, 119, 120–122, 175, 200, 206, 242–243, 244, 257, 258, 259–263, 296, 317, 322–323, 330, 332; biography and family of, 7–8, 9, 105, 125, 302, 304, 314–315, 328, 332; cabinet officials and policies of, 115, 145, 165, 166, 170, 186, 191; Department of Justice under, 53–54, 58–69, 88, 145, 170, 301–303; Harris vice presidency with, 145, 199, 281–295, 298–300, 329, 331; investigations of, 65, 301–303, 311; judicial nominations of, 44–45, 137–138, 199, 205; judiciary relations of, 29–31, 35–51; legislative accomplishments of, 2, 10, 17–18, 19, 50, 76–78, 101, 105–107, 108–113, 120–122, 167, 174, 200–201, 205, 219, 277; Senate career of, 6, 7–9, 15, 31–33, 35, 43, 56, 71, 82, 124, 126–127, 162–164, 167, 173–174, 182, 192–195, 196, 197–198, 223–226, 227–228, 229, 246, 266, 267–268, 268–269, 357n4;

- unity aims of, 4–5, 15–16, 18, 25, 27–28, 57, 58, 274–275; as vice president, 5, 9, 33–34, 71–73, 161, 162–163, 189, 194, 196, 230–233, 272, 281, 284, 285, 287, 296, 314–315, 318, 405n88. *See also* abortion and reproductive rights; communication and messaging; Democratic Party; economic policy; education policy; election campaigns; elections; environmental and energy policy; foreign relations and policy; immigration policy; LGBTQ+ rights
- Biden, Naomi, 7, 125
- Biden, Neilia, 7, 125
- Biden v. Texas* (2022), 146
- Bipartisan Infrastructure Law (2021), 10, 18, 82–83, 86, 93, 101, 109–112, 120–122, 200, 290
- bipartisanship: in election law and peaceful transfer of power, 275, 299, 331; in foreign policy, 214, 237; for gay rights, 167; immigration legislation attempts, 23, 144, 145, 153–154, 157; of January 6 congressional commission, 21, 62–63, 64; legal reform efforts and debates, 36–38, 53, 56, 57, 58, 69; of media and communications policies, 270–271, 275; U.S. history and changes, 16–17, 108, 126; vs. party unity and obstruction to enact policy, 15–16, 18, 20–21, 23, 153. *See also* Bipartisan Infrastructure Law (2021)
- birthright citizenship, 158
- Black Lives Matter movement, 66–67; Biden speeches on and during, 190, 194, 196–197, 198–199, 207; BLM at School, 184, 185; work and messaging against, 67, 202–203
- Blinken, Anthony: on administration Middle East policy, 256–257; Afghanistan War and, 243, 389n3; on China policy, 211, 212, 220; and immigration policy, 149; Israel-Hamas War and, 242, 249
- Boehner, John, 21
- Booker, Cory, 194, 305
- border issues. *See* immigration policy
- Bork, Robert, 8, 31–33, 34, 43, 126, 128, 269
- Bosnia, 227–228, 229
- Bosnian War (1992–1995), 227–228, 229
- Bostock v. Clayton County* (2020), 159–160, 161, 165–166
- Brazille, Donna, 289
- Breckinridge, John, 299
- Breyer, Stephen, 33, 39, 44
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 223, 225, 385n7
- broadcast television, 266–267
- Brooke, Edward, 193
- Brown, Sherrod, 102–103
- Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), 45–46, 180
- Buchanan, Pat, 306
- Budapest Memorandum (1994), 229
- budget, federal, 108, 109–110, 182, 192, 201–202
- Build Back Better agenda and goals, 41, 72–78, 82–86, 111, 212–213
- Burisma Holdings Limited, 233–234
- Burns, Bill, 242, 250
- Bush, George H. W., 8, 14, 104, 118, 126, 182, 281, 284, 296, 297, 306, 405n88
- Bush, George W., 56, 298
- busing. *See* desegregation and busing
- Buttigieg, Pete, 5, 35, 115, 118–119, 165
- cable television and news, 267–268, 269, 270–271
- Calhoun, John C., 298
- California: curriculum issues in, 184, 185; emissions standards, 106
- Cambridge Analytica, 274
- campaign finance issues. *See* money in politics
- campaigns. *See* election campaigns
- Cannon, Aileen, 64
- Cantwell, Maria, 215
- cap-and-trade plans, 109, 358n8
- Capito, Shelley Moore, 115–116
- Capitol attack, 2021. *See* January 6, 2021, U.S. Capitol attack
- carbon emissions: in American energy and infrastructure policy, 85–86, 108–109, 110–111, 114, 115, 116, 121,

422 INDEX

- carbon emissions (*continued*)
358n8; goals for, 114, 115, 116, 220–221;
regulatory costs calculation, 116, 121;
standards for, 106
- Cardona, Miguel, 186
- CARES Act (2020), 38–39, 40, 73–74, 76
- Carlson, Tucker, 276
- Carroll, E. Jean, 57
- Carter, Jimmy, 9, 14, 56, 82, 104, 125, 223,
225, 282, 306
- Castro, Julian, 35
- Catholic Americans, 123, 125, 144, 183,
322
- Centers for Disease Control and Preven-
tion (CDC): COVID-era legislation
and policy, 38–39, 41–42, 146–147;
immigration policy use of, 146–147
- Central High School desegregation
(1957), 180
- Charlottesville, Virginia, “Unite the
Right” rally (2017), 4–5, 188–189
- Cheney, Dick, 281, 284
- Cheney, Liz, 21, 26, 62–63, 297
- Chevron U.S.A., Inc. v. Natural Resources
Defense Council, Inc.* (1984), 47, 88
- China, history, 210–211, 213, 219, 220
- China policy: American history of, 208,
209, 210–211, 215, 220; of Biden, for-
eign relations, 208–211, 215–222, 293;
of Biden, trade, 83–85, 117, 212–215; of
Trump, trade, 212, 215–216
- CHIPS and Science Act. *See* Creating
Helpful Incentives to Produce Semi-
conductors (CHIPS) and Science
Act (2022)
- Chopra, Rohit, 87
- Civil Rights Act (1866), 204
- Civil Rights Act (1964): history of, 188,
191–192; sexual orientation and gen-
der identity protections, 159–160,
165–166, 175, 186; Title IX rules, 160,
170–171, 175, 186; Title VII protections
and cases, 159–160, 165–166
- Civiletti, Benjamin, 56, 57
- Clarke, Kristin, 59
- classified documents: at Biden residence,
65, 301–303, 311; at Trump residence,
21, 22, 63, 64, 310–311
- Clean Air Act (1963), 108, 109, 115
- Clean Water Act (1972), 108
- climate change: Biden administration
policy and attention to, 10, 75, 85,
104–115, 117, 118, 120–122, 201, 290,
291, 294, 312, 357n4; climate refugee
displacement, 149–150; Clinton and
Obama attention to, 106, 108–109, 113
- Clinton, Bill: abortion rights policy of,
127; administration era and partisan-
ship, 17, 165, 269; environmental and
climate policy of, 108–109, 117; foreign
policy of, 227; personality of and cam-
paigning by, 269, 278, 306; scandals
and coverage of, 269, 271; telecommu-
nications policy of, 270–271
- Clinton, Hillary, 9, 87, 128, 231, 286, 297,
318–319, 321
- Clooney, George, 315, 316, 320, 409n56
- Clyburn, James, 5, 44–45, 199
- Cohen, Michael, 22
- colleges and universities: federal funding
and supports for, 175, 177, 181, 182,
183, 187, 202; Harris Fight for Our
Freedom tour, 291; political activism
at, and outcomes, 176, 243; race-based
admissions and cases, 45–47, 204
- Comer, James, 308
- commodities trade, 212, 219
- communication and messaging: Biden
style, strengths, and liabilities, 12,
32–33, 34, 100–101, 107, 163, 166, 189,
197, 267–268, 272, 276–279, 302,
303–304, 307, 314, 317–318; Biden tone
and content, 4–5, 20, 27–28, 29–30,
60, 200, 206, 209–210, 240, 267–268,
274–275, 276, 279–280, 283, 313–314,
331–332; Democrats’ failures to com-
municate accomplishments, 12, 101,
140, 166, 171, 174–175, 186–187, 206,
277, 278; Democrats’ traditional and
fact-based, 273, 278, 279; DOJ–White
House norms of, 55–56, 58, 59–60,
69; by Harris, in office and campaign,
287–288, 289–291, 292, 294, 297;
within LGBTQ+ politics, 162; societal
changes in, 12, 16, 24–25, 171, 184–185,
265–266, 268, 269–270; Trump

- methodology of, 140, 171, 264–265, 266, 273, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 331. *See also* disinformation and misinformation; media outlets and coverage
- Communications Decency Act (1996), 270–271, 274
- commutations of sentences, 205–206
- Comstock Act (1873), 137, 138, 139, 140–141
- confederate monuments, 188–189
- Congress. *See* U.S. Congress
- Congressional Black Caucus, 44, 199
- Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), 87
- Consumer Price Index, 80
- containment strategy, 215, 217
- contraception: Biden administration policy, 124; rights opposition, 126, 132
- conventions. *See* Democratic National Convention (2024)
- cost of living data, 79, 81, 90
- Council of Economic Advisers, 77–78, 86
- COVID pandemic: Biden administration economic policy, 70–71, 73–86, 200–201; Biden administration health policy, 39, 40–41, 41–42, 76, 94, 175; Biden infections, 326, 327; CARES Act (2020), 38–39, 40, 73–74, 76; economic and social outcomes, 5–6, 10, 11, 15, 17–18, 19, 42, 66, 70–71, 73, 74, 76, 78, 79–81, 89, 90, 93, 94, 108, 166, 174, 175, 185, 187, 197, 221, 274–275; immigration policy applications during, 146–147; legal challenges to related policies, 39–42; school closings and openings during, 76, 175, 176, 187; Trump administration policy, 5–6, 38–39, 73–74, 76, 78, 94, 146–147, 221, 276
- Creating Helpful Incentives to Produce Semiconductors (CHIPS) and Science Act (2022), 84–85, 101, 111, 219
- crime policy. *See* law enforcement policy
- Crimea, annexation of, 2014, 232, 234
- critical race theory, 183, 203, 206
- Croatia, 227–228
- Cronkite, Walter, 271
- C-SPAN, 267–268, 270
- culture wars and social wedge issues: abortion, 47; America's inflammation, 16, 184, 185, 190; in education and schools, 168, 174–177, 179, 182–185, 186–187, 203; immigration, 143–144; LGBTQ rights, 165–166, 167–170, 171; race: affirmative action, 45–47; race: and diversity, equity and inclusion, 190, 202–203, 206, 290; women's sports, 168. *See also* media outlets and coverage; race issues
- curriculum standards and design, 183–184, 185, 291
- cyberwarfare, 219, 233
- Danforth, John C., 198
- Daniels, Stormy, 22
- debates: 2020 Democratic primary, 193–194, 199, 283; 2024 campaign, 1, 2–3, 13, 49, 264–265, 266, 295, 314, 315, 316–317, 319–321, 322; presidential campaigns history, 320
- Defense of Marriage Act (1996), 167
- Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, 144–145, 150–151, 157
- Deferred Enforced Departure system, 150–151, 153
- Deif, Mohamed, 251
- Dellinger, Walter, 36
- Democratic National Convention (2020), 189
- Democratic National Convention (2024), 2, 324
- Democratic Party: Biden and administration alignments within, 16, 17, 20, 37–38, 49, 75, 87, 123–124, 130, 160, 173–174, 187, 243, 257; Biden campaign opinions and machinations, 1, 3, 4, 5, 11–13, 26, 28; electoral outcomes and congressional makeup, 2, 4, 11, 16–17, 20–21, 35, 37, 71, 106, 108, 109, 307; primary processes of, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 34, 44–45, 48, 75, 105, 193–194, 199, 283, 305–306, 317–320, 322, 323–324, 327–328, 330–331; voting blocs and coalitions of, 45, 47, 92–93, 95, 99, 257, 322. *See also* U.S. Congress; *specific figures*

424 INDEX

- democratic values: American ideals and Harris's service, 282, 283, 284–285; government transparency for, via media, 266–268, 271; legislation and policy protecting, 191–192; peaceful transfer of power, 299, 331; from a shared American reality vs. conflicting information sources, 184–185, 272–273, 274–276, 279–280; tested, in Israel, 248; as theme in Biden campaigns, 4–5, 15, 274–275, 313–314
- demonstrations and protests: around abortion clinics, 127, 140; for Black Lives Matter, 66–67; at colleges and universities, 176; for Israel pro-democracy, 248; for Israel-Hamas War, 176, 243, 259; legislation against, 203; right-wing rallies, 4–5, 57–58, 61, 188–189; in Ukraine, 230
- deportation, removals, and returns (immigration): under Biden, 148–149, 153, 156–157; under Obama, 144; under Trump, 145–146, 147, 157–158. *See also* immigration policy
- deregulation, telecommunications and media, 266, 267, 270–271
- DeSantis, Ron, 19, 23, 154–155, 168
- desegregation and busing: Biden history and opinions on, 192–194, 283; in education, and federal intervention, 45–46, 180, 183, 186, 192–194
- détente, 223, 225
- Dillon, Jennifer O'Malley, 314, 324–325
- diplomacy. *See* foreign relations and policy
- disinformation and misinformation: COVID and public health, 166, 221; growing political partisanship, 272–273, 275; new and right-wing media ecosystems, 12, 24–25, 166, 168–169, 265, 272–273, 279–280; social media firms' civic responsibility, 273–274, 275, 279–280; transgender topics, 165–166, 168–170; Trump messaging of, 13, 22, 140, 264–265, 266, 273, 274, 275, 276, 279
- diversity, equity, and inclusion issues: affirmative action considered, 45–46, 192; as American ideals, and Harris's service, 282, 283, 284–285, 290, 291; Biden administration focus on "equity," 28, 46, 74, 107, 186, 188–192, 200–207; educational environment values of, 45–46, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180–181, 183–184, 186, 187; environmental justice, 46, 107, 117–120, 192, 201; Trump and administration policy, 120, 202–203, 205, 206
- division, political. *See* political partisanship and polarization
- Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* (2022), 19, 130–132, 141; Biden responses to, 29–30, 124, 131, 132–136; effects on Biden's and Democrats' campaigns, 42–44, 47, 123–124, 135–136, 137, 139–140, 141, 307–308; effects on Biden's future legislative efforts, 167; Harris responses to, 289–290
- Doggett, Lloyd, 1
- domestic and white nationalist extremism: Biden reactions and policy, 4–5, 15–16, 188–189, 190, 196, 198–199, 205, 206–207; Charlottesville, Virginia (2017), 4–5, 188–189; January 6, 2021, U.S. Capitol attack, 4, 6, 10, 21, 57–58, 61–62, 190, 206–207, 275, 299; Mother Emanuel Church shooting (2015), 190; Trump campaign messaging, 13, 26–27, 189; Tulsa race massacre (1921), 205. *See also* political partisanship and polarization
- domestic policy. *See* American Rescue Plan Act (2021); Build Back Better agenda and goals; economic policy; environmental and energy policy; executive agencies; health care policy; immigration policy; law enforcement policy; LGBTQ+ rights; public health policy; technology policy
- Dominion Voting Systems, 275–276
- Donetsk province (Ukraine), 232
- Donilon, Mike, 303, 309, 314, 322, 323, 324–325, 326–327, 328–330, 406n4
- Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act (2010), 167

- Dorsey, Jack, 275
Doyle, Mike, 275
Ducklo, T. J., 313
Duckworth, Tammy, 138
due process violations, 158
Duffy, Sean, 120
Dukakis, Michael, 32, 268, 318
Dunn, Anita, 314
Duterte, Rodrigo, 216–217
- Eagleton, Thomas, 319–320
early childhood education, 182
East Jerusalem, 247, 261
Eastland, James, 193
economic inequality. *See* income and wealth inequality
economic policy: antitrust focus of Biden administration and DOJ, 54, 58–59, 66, 67–68, 87–89; Biden agenda and accomplishments, 10–11, 13, 17–18, 19, 38, 70–91, 92–101, 104, 109–113, 114–117, 120–122, 200–202, 212–214, 222, 290, 332; Biden and China relations, 211–215; legal influences, 31, 37; Obama, 15–16, 17, 21; political polarization and, 15–16, 17–18, 21; public opinion, 10–11, 19, 21–22, 296; Republicans’ and Trump’s agenda and accomplishments, 92, 93. *See also* environmental and energy policy
economic records, 89–91, 92–94
Economic Recovery Act (2009), 9
economic sanctions: on China, 212, 218; on Iran, 246; on Israeli settlers, 261; on Russia, 232, 236–237, 239; on Uganda, 156
education policy: and academic performance, 175–176, 183; access to and support of education, 77, 82–83, 174, 175, 180–182, 187; American history of, 178–179, 179–182, 183, 187; Biden goals for, and opposition to, 173–177, 179, 182, 183–184, 186–187; civil rights protections in, 45–46, 160, 175, 180, 183, 291; college debt relief, 48–49, 86, 181, 340n72; COVID school closings and openings, 76, 174, 175, 176; curriculum standards and design, 183–184, 185, 291; partisan divides in, 173, 174–177, 179, 182–185, 186–187; in states, sexual orientation and gender identity, 168, 170; of Trump, 177, 187
educational attainment: academic performance score trends, 175–176, 182; political and voting divides by education, 176, 187
Edwards, Mickey, 312
Egypt, 248, 250–251, 256
Eisenhower, Dwight, 180, 213, 279, 282, 291–292, 297
election campaigns: Biden 1988 and 2008, 5, 9, 31, 32–33, 71, 268, 318, 325–326; Biden 2016, 1, 9, 196, 318–319, 329; Biden 2020, 4–5, 34–36, 44, 48, 56, 66, 74–75, 94, 100, 105, 113–114, 117, 129, 188–189, 190, 193–194, 195–196, 196–197, 198–199, 200, 233, 274–275, 283–285, 302–303, 305; Biden 2024 and exit, 1–3, 11–13, 25–26, 28, 29, 49–50, 89, 92, 101–102, 107, 119, 123, 139, 140, 144, 157, 171, 190, 243, 257, 260, 264–265, 266, 277–278, 283, 294–295, 296–297, 301–332; Clinton 1992, 269; Clinton 2016, 9, 128, 196, 297, 318–319, 321; congressional Democrats 2024, 323, 324; Harris 2020, 193–194, 283; Harris 2024, 2, 3, 13, 25–27, 89, 92, 119, 121, 123, 139, 140, 157, 171, 257, 283, 294–297, 299, 329–330; Obama 2008, 9, 271–272, 318; Reagan 1980, 126; Sanders 2016 and 2020, 75, 196; Trump 2016, 22, 143–144, 273; Trump 2020, 233, 274, 275; Trump 2024, 1, 2–3, 5, 11–13, 22, 23–27, 28, 62, 64, 88–89, 140, 144, 153, 154, 171, 259, 264–265, 266, 295, 296, 297, 304, 308–309, 310, 313–314, 316–317
election denialism, 21
election law and traditions: concession, 275, 331; crimes and investigations, 6, 21, 22, 63–64, 233, 273–274; vote count and certification, 298, 299

426 INDEX

- elections: 2000 presidential, 192, 274–275, 297, 299; 2008 presidential, 2, 198–199; 2010 midterms, 73, 109; 2016 presidential, 27, 233, 297, 321; 2020 presidential, 6, 13, 21, 22, 27, 35, 57, 61, 63–64, 76, 200, 206, 207, 259, 264, 274–276, 299; 2022 midterms, 2, 11–12, 20, 42, 44, 89, 121, 135–136, 170, 307–308; 2024 presidential, 3–4, 13–14, 27–28, 92–93, 139, 140, 257, 283, 297, 298, 299, 331; denial and overturning attempts, 4, 6, 10, 16, 21, 64, 275; international, 230, 232, 244, 247, 248; popular and electoral vote histories in, 4, 192, 200, 297; Supreme Court nomination norms, 34–35, 57. *See also* election campaigns; state legislation and government
- Electoral College: 1936 vote totals, 37; 2020 vote totals, 35; 2024 vote totals, 4, 297
- electoral districts, drawing, 16
- electric vehicles, 111–112, 115–116, 117, 121, 290
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), 180–181, 183
- Elliott, Sam, 274–275
- Emergency Medical Treatment and Labor Act (1986), 133–134
- emissions standards, 106, 220–221
- emissions trading, 108, 109, 358n8
- employment and unemployment: American industry and opportunity, 102; rates, 72, 73, 74, 74, 82, 89, 93
- employment law: and civil rights: sex and gender, 159–160, 162, 163, 164, 165–166, 167, 197; and national labor protections, 95, 97–98; and public health, 40–42
- environmental and energy policy: Biden goals, investments, and legislation, 10, 74–75, 77, 85–86, 93, 101, 104–122, 290, 291, 357n4; conservative legal action on, 41; energy production, 85–86, 105, 106, 109–110, 111, 117; environmental justice and, 46, 107, 117–120, 192, 201; historical laws and plans, 108–109, 112, 113–114, 115, 357n4; international accords, 106, 114, 121, 220–221; natural gas production and trade, 117, 312; progressive aims, 105–106, 107, 112, 113, 117, 119; and refugee policy, 149–150; Trump policy, 106, 113, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121–122, 220–221
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 41, 106, 107, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 119
- Epps, Daniel, 35, 38
- Equality Act, 165–166
- equity goals and related policy. *See* diversity, equity, and inclusion issues
- executive agencies: administrative state and agency power, 38–39, 40–42, 47–48, 88, 113–117, 118–120, 178–179; Biden domestic agenda and, 87–89, 113–117, 121–122, 161, 165, 191, 192, 201–202, 203–204; discrimination claims for, 46, 204; diversity, equity, and inclusion in, 191, 192, 201–202, 203–204; federal discount rate, 116, 121; New Deal history, 37, 38; Trump domestic agenda and, 28, 106, 113, 203
- executive orders: by Biden, 67, 68, 76, 87, 114, 121, 144–145, 149, 153, 161, 165, 191, 201, 202, 294; by Johnson, 192; by Trump, 68–69, 144–145, 158, 177, 203, 207
- Facebook, 274, 275, 279
- Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), 95, 98
- Fairness Doctrine, 270
- Fairy, Shepard, 26
- Faubus, Orval, 180
- federal agencies. *See* executive agencies
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 55, 63
- federal discount rate, 116, 121
- federal government workers: affirmative action policy for, 192; COVID vaccination for, 76; firings by Trump administration, 28, 203, 208; LGBTQ+ rights of, 165, 166
- federal prosecutors. *See* U.S. Department of Justice
- Federal Reserve, 11, 74, 78, 79, 82, 89

- Federal Trade Commission (FTC): anti-trust focus of DOJ, 67–68, 88; court cases at, 98; staffers at, 38, 50, 67, 87, 88
- federal voting rights legislation, 287, 289
- Federal-Aid Highway Act (1956), 213
- Federalist Society, 128–129
- Fetterman, John, 27
- filibuster rules, 108, 109, 111, 131, 287, 289, 298
- financial crisis of 2008, economic policy after, 70, 71, 73, 74–75, 77
- Finland, 237
- Florida: abortion ballot measures in, 140; anti-LGBTQ messaging and policies, 162, 168; history curricula in, 291; immigration policy of, 154–155
- Floyd, George, 66–67, 190, 197, 198, 284
- Food and Drug Administration (FDA): mifepristone policy, 127, 130, 134, 136–137, 140, 141; vaccine authorization by, 76
- Food and Drug Administration v. Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine* (2024), 136–137, 139
- Ford, Christine Blasey, 129, 198
- Ford, Gerald, 82, 306, 396n3, 404n84, 405n88
- foreign relations and policy: Biden/Harris administration, 13, 26, 114, 208–222, 234–241, 242–244, 245–263, 287, 291–293, 331; on China, history, 208, 209, 210–211, 215, 220; on Europe, history, 227–230, 234–235, 236–237; on Middle East, 242–263; on Russia/USSR, history, 224–227, 228–241; twenty-first-century history and shifts, 8–9, 208, 211, 214, 215–218, 245–246; Trump administration, 243, 244–245, 247, 255, 259, 261, 292. *See also* military policy
- fossil fuels industries, 105, 106, 115–116, 117, 121, 239
- Fourteenth Amendment, 46, 132, 180, 204
- Fox News, 169, 265, 272–273, 275–276
- France, 232, 253
- Frankfurter, Felix, 38
- Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA), 175, 187
- free speech issues: deportation targeting on, 158; in educational instruction and settings, 176, 183, 184; fact-checking of social media lies, 274, 275, 279; of protest activism, 176, 203
- Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (1994), 140
- G-7 and meetings, 249–250, 315, 316
- Garland, Merrick: attorney general nomination of, 53, 57, 58–59; DOJ tenure and actions of, 21, 53–54, 56, 57, 59–69, 301–302; Supreme Court nomination of, 34–35, 57
- Garner, John Nance, 404n84
- gas prices, 81
- gay rights. *See* LGBTQ+ rights
- Gaza and West Bank: destruction and casualties in, 251, 261–263; Israel-Hamas War, and humanitarian aid, 152–153, 250, 262; Israel-Hamas War, and politics of, 26, 249, 250–252, 256; Israel-Hamas War, and U.S. politics, 242–243, 244, 252, 257, 258, 301
- gender dysphoria, 169
- gender issues: candidate consideration and biases, 3, 5, 26, 165, 166, 281–282, 283–286, 296; related politics, and transgender rights, 159–172, 175, 184, 186, 369n16; specific to Harris vice presidency, 285–286, 288–289, 289–290, 299; Supreme Court nominations and, 44
- gender-affirming care: health care coverage for, 160–161, 168, 170; research on, 169; state ban attempts, 162, 168, 169
- Gensler, Gary, 87
- Georgia (country), 230–231, 234, 235
- Georgia (state), and 2020 election interference attempts, 22, 63
- Germany, 232, 236
- gerrymandering, 16
- Gingrich, Newt, 17, 268, 270
- Ginsburg, Ruth Bader, 33, 34, 35
- Global Climate Protection Act, 357n4
- Gluesenkamp Perez, Marie, 93

428 INDEX

- Godunov, Alexander, 223, 225
Goldberg, Michelle, 3
Gonzalez, Alberto, 56
Google, 88, 89, 274, 275
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 226
Gore, Al, 192, 281, 296, 297, 299, 405n88
Gorman, Amanda, 1
Gorsuch, Neil, 129, 131, 159–160
Granholt, Jennifer, 115
Grassley, Chuck, 58
Great Recession, economic policy following, 70, 71, 73, 74–75, 77
Great Society: American history and conservative rejection, 28; education policy aspects of, 178, 180–181, 183; as social policy influence, 75, 180–181, 213
Greene, Marjorie Taylor, 166
grievance issues: within education topics, 175–176, 177; Republican Party, communications trends of, 270, 272, 273; Trump investigations victimhood, 13, 22, 24, 25, 53–54, 68, 275, 331
Griswold v. Connecticut (1965), 43
gun violence: Biden administration prevention policy, 205, 290–291; DOJ policies on, 66; mass shootings, 66, 182, 190, 290–291
Gun-Free School Zones Act (1990), 182
Gupta, Vanita, 59

Haaland, Deb, 115, 205
Haitian immigrants, 155, 156
Haley, Nikki, 23, 26
Hamas: elections and organization of, 247, 251; and Israel, and balance of power, 244, 262; Israel-Hamas War, 242, 248–252; October 7, 2023, attack, massacre, and hostages, 242, 248–249, 250, 251–252, 261, 301; “unity Intifada,” 247–248
Hamilton, Alexander, 305
Haniyeh, Ismail, 251, 253
Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount), 247
Harris, Kamala: 2020 primary, 193–194, 283; 2024 election loss, 3–4, 13, 27, 283, 297, 299, 300; 2024 presidential campaign, 2, 3, 13, 25–27, 89, 92, 119, 121, 123, 139, 140, 157, 171, 257, 283, 294–297, 299, 300, 329–330; immigration diplomacy by, 145, 154, 287–288; political experience of, 286–287, 289; as vice president, 108, 110, 145, 199, 205, 281–295, 298–300, 329, 331
hate crimes, 163, 221
Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, 254–255
health and age issues: before 2024 campaign, 11–12, 286, 301–304, 305–306, 309; during 2024 campaign, 1, 2–3, 4, 13, 139, 264–265, 277, 279, 294–295, 301–305, 306–332; Trump’s mental health, 264
health care policy: on abortion, 125–126, 289–290; on gender-affirming care, 160–161, 168, 170; legislation, 72–73, 160–161, 170; Medicaid coverage, 125–126, 288–289; national health focus and language, 187, 201. *See also* public health policy
Helms, Jesse, 193
Heritage Foundation, 158, 206
Hezbollah: attacks on Israel, 249, 251, 252–253; and Israel, and balance of power, 244, 249, 253, 254–255, 261, 262
Higher Education Act (1965), 181
Hill, Anita, 33, 34, 197–198, 199–200, 269
Hinchliffe, Tony, 27
Hirono, Mazie, 221
history education, 183, 184, 185, 291
Hitler, Adolf, 240
Hochstein, Amos, 253
Holder, Eric, 59, 286
Hollande, François, 232
Holt, Lester, 287–288
hostages, Israel-Hamas War, 242, 248, 250, 251–252, 261, 262
House of Representatives. *See* U.S. Congress
housing costs, 90
Houthis, 245, 246, 252, 253, 255
Hughes, Siobhan, 312
Human Rights Campaign, 164
human rights issues: in China, 85, 214, 216–217; of immigrant rights in United States, 147–148, 154–155; LGBTQ+ protections, 156, 164; in Russia, 231–232,

- 234, 235; in Saudi Arabia, 245, 246; in USSR, 224–225, 231–232, 235
- humanitarian aid and programs: for immigrant settlement services, 154; via immigration options, 149, 150–151, 152, 153, 155–156, 158; for war-affected areas, 149, 151–153, 237, 245, 246, 249, 250, 255, 257, 262
- Humphrey, Hubert H., 296, 297, 330–331, 405n88
- Hur, Robert, 65, 301–303, 311–312, 313, 314, 317
- Hutchinson, Asa, 168
- Hyde Amendment, 125–126, 128, 129
- hyperpartisanship. *See* political partisanship and polarization
- Idaho, 139
- identity documents, 166
- Immigration and Nationality Act (1952), 147
- immigration policy: American immigration laws, 147, 149, 158; asylum seekers within, 143, 145–146, 147–149, 152, 154, 155, 158; of Biden/Harris administration, 10–11, 13, 19, 23, 48, 98–99, 143–158, 287–288; “border crisis” issues, 143–144, 145–146, 147–149, 153–155, 156–158; education for undocumented migrants, 175, 183; global migration trends, 99, 142–143, 147, 149–150, 151–152; legislative reform action and bills, 23, 144, 145, 153–154, 157; media messaging and disinformation, 24, 143–144; of Obama, 144, 287; public opinion on, 10–11, 19, 24, 98–99, 143–144, 147, 154, 157; refugee admissions within, 143, 148, 149–153, 236–237; Supreme Court cases on, 48; of Trump, 10, 11, 13, 26–27, 143–145, 145–148, 150, 153, 157–158
- impeachment: of Clinton, 269, 271; promise of, for Nixon, 325; of Trump, 2019, 22, 233; of Trump, 2021, 57–58, 61
- impeachment attempts: of Biden, 22–23; of Mayorkas, 154
- in vitro fertilization (IVF), 124, 136, 138–139, 140
- inaugurations, presidential: 2021, 6, 15, 190, 191, 201, 302; 2025, 89, 332
- incarceration policies, 195, 205–206
- income and wealth inequality: and American opportunity gaps, 102, 191–192, 202, 205; Biden administration policy on, 71–72, 201–202, 205; data on, 72, 90; reproductive health care access effects, 125–126, 133–134; Sanders values and policy on, 75
- incumbent presidents’ campaigns, 305–307
- inflation: conditions of and reactions to, 71, 78–83, 89; public opinion, 10–11, 19, 82, 90, 296; rates, 79, 80, 82; reduction legislation for, 10, 85–86, 101, 109, 110–112, 120–121, 201, 298; spending programs’ effects on, 108; wages’ outpacing of, 93–94
- Inflation Reduction Act (2022), 10, 19, 85–86, 101, 109, 110–112, 120–121, 201, 290, 298
- infrastructure development: American and Chinese investments in, 213–214; Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (2021), 10, 18, 82–83, 86, 93, 101, 109–112, 120–122, 200, 290; transportation investments, 110, 112, 118–119, 213
- “Infrastructure Week,” 18
- Instagram, 279
- Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (1988), 226
- international relations: and immigration conditions and conventions, 147, 151–152; twenty-first century, 8–9, 208–209, 215–218, 232–233, 234–235, 236, 292, 293; twentieth-century Europe, 227–231, 234–235, 239, 240
- international-level sports competition, 168
- investigations, political figures: Biden, classified documents, 65, 301–303; Trump, and presidential immunity, 29, 49, 64; Trump, classified documents, 21, 22, 63, 64, 310–311; Trump, election fraud, 63–64, 233; Trump, grievance and weaponization of, 13, 22, 24, 25, 53–54, 332; Trump, hush money, 13, 22; Trump, January 6 attack

430 INDEX

- investigations, political figures (*continued*)
culpability, 21, 57–58, 61–63, 64, 69,
275; Trump, Trump Organization, 63.
See also U.S. Department of Justice
- Iran: “Axis of Resistance” sponsorship,
244, 252–254, 255, 256; and Israel,
and balance of power, 244, 253–254,
261, 262; nuclear ambitions and agree-
ments, 245, 246
- Iraq War (2003–2011), 9
- Iraqi Shi’a militias, 252, 253
- Islamic State and ISIS, 254
- Israel: Biden administration relations
with, 26, 242–243, 246–247, 248,
249–252, 254–255, 257, 259, 260,
261–263, 301, 304; in East Mediter-
ranean Gas Forum, 256–257; elections
and political parties in, 248; Hezbollah
attacks on, 249, 251, 252–253; and
Saudi normalization, 255–256, 262;
settlements in occupied territories,
245, 247, 261, 392n41
- Israel–Hamas War (2023–), 248–252;
balance-of-power issues in, 244, 249,
261, 262; Biden administration and,
242–243, 249–252, 257, 258, 259,
261–263, 294, 301, 304; ceasefire goals
in, 242, 250–251, 257, 261, 262; dem-
onstrations and protests on, 176, 243,
259; destruction and casualties in, 251,
261–263; as election campaign issue,
26, 243, 257, 259, 260; humanitarian
aid for, 153, 249; leadup to, 247–248,
261, 390n13
- Jackson, Ketanji Brown, 19–20, 44–45,
137, 199–200, 205, 288
- Jackson, Robert H., 52–53
- January 6, 2021, U.S. Capitol attack, 6,
57–58, 61; Biden reactions to, 10, 58,
190, 206–207; bipartisan commis-
sion following, 21, 62–63, 64; DOJ
investigations following, 53, 54, 58,
61–63, 64, 69, 344n52; Trump actions
and indictment, 6, 22, 59, 61, 62–63,
68–69, 275, 299; Trump pardons fol-
lowing, 207
- Japan, 216
- Jean-Pierre, Karine, 165, 310
- Jefferson, Thomas, 178, 305
- Jeffries, Hakeem, 329
- Jenckes, Thomas, 54–55
- Jerusalem, American consulate in,
245, 259
- Jewish Americans, voting by, 257
- job creation, 89–90, 200
- Johnson, Andrew, 178, 204
- Johnson, Lyndon B.: Biden policy com-
parisons to, 10, 28, 75, 178, 180–181,
191–192; decision not to run for reelec-
tion, 2, 317, 323, 328; foreign and
military policy of, 210, 297, 330; path
to the presidency, 188, 405n88
- Johnson, Mike, 21–22, 312
- Johnson–Reed Act (1924), 158
- Joint Committee on Congressional
Operations, 266
- Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
(JCPOA), 245, 246
- Jordan, 254
- Jordan, Jim, 308
- judicial independence, 52–53, 54–57, 58,
59–60, 69
- judicial reform ideas, 29, 35–38, 49–50
- judicial-executive relations: with Biden,
29–31, 32–33, 35–51, 88, 169, 205;
history of, 30–31, 40, 47–48; in Israel,
248; with Obama, 34–35; power shifts
within, and outcomes, 29, 40, 47–48,
49, 50–51, 64, 88, 158; with Roose-
velt, 29, 37, 50; with Trump, 29, 49,
64, 158. *See also* U.S. Department of
Justice
- Kacsmayk, Matthew, 136–137
- Kagan, Elena, 34, 39, 46
- Kansas, 44, 135
- Kanter, Jonathan, 59, 67–68
- Kavanaugh, Brett, 34, 39, 129, 159, 198
- Keller, Suzanne, 286
- Kennan, George, 215
- Kennedy, Anthony, 33
- Kennedy, John F., 55, 188, 210, 310, 320
- Kennedy, Robert F., 55
- Kennedy, Robert F., Jr., 140
- Kennedy, Ted, 306

- Kentucky, 135, 180
Kerry, John, 114
Khan, Lina, 50, 67–68, 87, 88
Khashoggi, Jamal, 246
Khodorkovsky, Mikhail, 230
Kinnock, Neil, 9, 268, 318
Klain, Ron, 288, 314, 326, 328
Klein, Ezra, 311
Kleindienst, Richard, 55
Klobuchar, Amy, 284
Korea, 217–218, 219, 382n37
Kosovo, 229
Kosygin, Alexei, 224, 385n7
Kravchuk, Leonid, 386n13
Krugman, Paul, 79
Kurds, 254
Kyiv, Ukraine, 236
- labor, dignity of, 102–103; worker empowerment, 290
labor law: court cases, 97–98; proposed bills, 96–97; U.S. history, 37, 95, 97
labor unions: American membership, unionization, and benefits, 95–96, 97, 98, 99–100, 102–103; and Biden’s labor support, 92, 93, 95–98, 114, 355n7; of educators, 175, 183, 186; history of Democratic voting and issues, 45, 47, 92–93, 95, 96–97, 99, 102–103
Lai Ching-te, 222
Laken Riley Act, 154
Lankford, James, 23, 153
Lavrov, Sergei, 231
law enforcement policy: American history of, 194–196; under Biden administration, and DOJ, 53, 54, 58–59, 60, 61–63, 65–67, 68, 145, 205–206; and Biden Senate career, 194–196; crime rates and, 53, 66; within immigration bills, 145, 154; on January 6 Capitol attack, 61–63; policing reforms, 67, 68, 196, 197, 205
Lawrence v. Texas (2003), 43
Lebanon: in East Mediterranean Gas Forum, 256–257; elections, 244; Hezbollah violence in, 249, 251, 252–253; and Israel, and balance of power, 244, 261, 262
Lee, Frances, 16
legislation: Biden agenda and accomplishments, 2, 10, 17–18, 19, 50, 76–78, 93, 101, 105–107, 108–113, 120–122, 167, 174, 200–201, 205–206, 214–215, 219, 277, 290, 298; Biden agenda and opposition, 23, 37–38, 82–83, 109, 111–112, 115–116, 145, 153–154, 156–157, 203–204, 287
Lenderking, Tim, 255
LePage v. Center for Reproductive Medicine (2024), 138
Levi, Edward, 55, 56, 57, 69
Levine, Rachel, 165, 166
Lewinsky, Monica, 271
LGBTQ+ rights: in American history, 162–164, 165, 169; Biden career history on, 162–164, 165, 166–167, 169, 170–171, 172; gender politics and trans rights, 159–172, 184; international, 156, 166; marriage, 43, 159, 160, 161, 162–163, 164, 166, 167
Limbaugh, Rush, 270, 272
Lincoln, Abraham, 188, 207
Linskey, Annie, 312
literacy and literacy instruction, 175–176
local control, 178–179, 185
Loper Bright Enterprises v. Raimondo (2024), 47–48, 50, 88
Los Angeles Declaration on Migration and Protection, 145
“Lost Cause,” 190
Lott, Trent, 312–313
Lugar, Richard, 225
Luhansk province (Ukraine), 232
- Madison Square Garden, 26
MAGA movement: 2024 entrenchment, 12–13, 17, 22, 26–27, 28; anti-immigration attitudes of, 143–144, 153–154, 157; intimidation on the rule of law, 54, 57–58, 61; LGBTQ+ attitudes of, 162; Trump influence and antidemocratic values, 4–5, 10, 16, 20, 21, 23–25. *See also* January 6, 2021, U.S. Capitol attack; Republican Party “major questions doctrine,” 40, 41, 42, 48, 50

432 INDEX

- Malone, John, 271
- Manchin, Joe, 18, 37, 71, 78, 83, 106, 109, 111, 131, 287
- Mankiw, Gregory, 78
- Mann, Horace, 178
- manufacturing: American employment futures, 102, 114, 117; automobiles, 79, 81, 96; legislation supporting, 84–85, 101, 111, 112, 120; semiconductors, 84–85
- Mar-a-Lago, 21, 22, 63
- Marcos, Ferdinand, Jr., 217
- maritime shipping security and disputes, 253, 255
- Martin, Trayvon, 195–196
- mass incarceration, 195
- mass shootings, 66, 182, 190, 290–291
- Massachusetts, 180
- Mayorkas, Alejandro, 145, 146, 148–149, 154
- McBride, Sarah, 163, 172
- McCain, John, 9, 302
- McCarthy, Gina, 114
- McCarthy, Joseph, 210
- McCarthy, Kevin, 18, 312
- McConnell, Mitch, 18, 23, 34–35
- McGovern, George, 319–320
- Mckesson, DeRay, 203
- Me Too movement, 129, 198
- media outlets and coverage: on Biden administration and legacy, 18, 30, 66, 114, 120–122, 154, 166, 200; on Biden campaigns and communication, 3, 12, 171, 194, 197, 264–265, 266, 274–275, 276–279; Biden interviews and remarks, 29–30, 36, 162–163, 189, 190, 198–199, 220, 277–278, 279–280; on border and immigration, 143–144, 154; changing media climate and channels, 12, 17, 24–25, 171, 184–185, 268, 269–280; focus on Biden’s age and health, 12, 264–265, 279, 302, 303–304, 306–307, 308–313, 320, 321, 323, 324, 327; Harris interviews and remarks, 287–288, 289, 290–291; history of media and industry norms, 265–266, 267–268, 269–271, 274–275, 278; offering shared facts and reality vs. media bubbles, 184–185, 272–273, 274–276, 279–280; political affairs television broadcasting, 266–268, 269; and right-wing media ecosystem, 24–25, 143–144, 157, 166, 168–169, 171, 265, 266, 272–274, 275, 279; on Supreme Court, 47–48, 268–269; on Trump campaigns and communication, 264–265, 266, 273, 274, 275. *See also* television broadcasting
- Medvedev, Dmitry, 231
- Meir, Golda, 246
- Menendez, Robert, 65, 214
- Meng, Grace, 221
- mental health. *See* health and age issues; health care policy
- Merkel, Angela, 232
- messaging. *See* communication and messaging
- Meta, 88, 89
- Metzenbaum, Howard, 197–198
- Mexico: Biden administration foreign and immigration policy with, 142–143, 146–149, 152, 155, 157, 287–288; Trump administration immigration policy with, 145–146
- Michigan, 180, 259
- microchips and related products, 79, 81
- Microsoft, 88
- middle- and working-class Americans: Biden economic policy focus, 71–73, 74–75, 76–78, 82–86, 90–91, 92–103; candidate relatability, 93, 100, 101–102, 103; college education attainment by, 181; cost-of-living struggles, 79, 81, 90; Democratic voting changes, 45, 92–93; Sanders policy and values, 75, 93, 94
- Middle East Air Defense (MEAD) alliance, 254
- Middle East relations and policy: Arab-Israeli conflict history and continuation, 244–245, 246, 247–248, 252–256, 257, 259, 261–263; Biden administration, 13, 242–244, 245–263, 260; economic and trade relations, 256–257; and regional political change, 244, 246, 256; Trump

- administration, 243, 244–245, 247, 255, 259, 261
- midterm elections. *See under* elections
- mifepristone and misoprostol, 127, 130, 132, 133, 134, 136–137, 140, 141
- Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP), 145–146
- migration, global, 99, 142–143, 147, 149–150, 151–152. *See also* immigration policy
- Migration Policy Institute, 143, 144
- military policy: American troop commitments for, 238; Biden administration, 11, 26, 151, 215–216, 217–220, 222, 234, 235–241, 243–244, 245–246, 249, 250, 254, 257, 258, 261, 262, 304; considering, and China-U.S. relations, 210, 211, 215–216, 217–220, 222; considering, and Middle East-U.S. relations, 245–246, 249, 250, 257, 261, 262; considering, and Russia-U.S. relations, 231, 232–233, 234, 235–241; gay and trans rights, 161, 162, 164; Trump administration, 151, 243, 255. *See also* foreign relations and policy
- Milošević, Slobodan, 227–228, 229
- misinformation. *See* disinformation and misinformation
- Missouri, 139–140
- Mitchell, John, 55
- Modi, Narendra, 285
- Monaco, Lisa, 59
- Mondale, Walter, 281, 282, 284, 292, 320, 405n88
- money in politics: political and electoral structures, and polarization, 16; technology industry donations, 24, 88–89, 279; Trump fundraising vehicles, 22, 25; working-class candidate identities, 93, 100
- monopolies. *See* antitrust issues
- Morocco, 245
- Moyle v. United States* (2024), 139
- MTV, 269, 278
- Mueller, Robert, 64
- Murphy, Chris, 153
- Murray, Patty, 328
- Musk, Elon, 24, 89, 98, 279
- Muslim Americans, 243, 259
- Nasrallah, Hassan, 253
- National Archives and Records Administration, 63
- National Archives materials, 21, 22, 63, 64
- National Economic Council, 38, 87
- National Environmental Policy Act (1970), 112
- National Federation of Independent Business v. Department of Labor, OSHA* (2022), 40–41, 41–42
- National Guard activations, 155, 180
- National Labor Relations Act (1935), 37, 95, 97
- National Labor Relations Board (NLRB): Biden administration, appointments, and cases, 93, 97–98; creation, 37, 95; related legislation, 96–97
- natural gas, 117, 256–257, 312
- Navalny, Alexei, 240
- net neutrality, 50
- Netanyahu, Benjamin: Biden administration relations with, 26, 242–243, 246, 248, 249–252, 262, 301; elections and political parties, 248; Israel-Hamas War, 26, 242–243, 247–252, 261, 262, 390n13
- New Deal: agencies and administration power, 38–39; American history and conservative rejection, 28, 39, 41, 70; American labor history, 37, 95, 96, 99; Biden policy echoes to, 74–75, 213, 277; Democratic voting patterns following, 45; era and legislation, 37
- new media: Biden interactions with, 277–279; changing communications landscapes, 12, 17, 24–25, 265–266, 268, 269–270, 275, 277–278; right-wing media ecosystem, 24–25, 166, 266, 272–274, 275, 279
- New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (2010), 231, 238
- New York City, 154
- New York State, 63
- New York Times, The*, 309–310, 311–312, 313. *See also* media outlets and coverage

434 INDEX

- Nixon, Richard: communication of, 309, 320; foreign policy of, 246; Philadelphia Plan (affirmative action policy), 45, 47; as vice president, and presidential election campaign, 281, 282, 291–292, 296, 299, 405n88; Watergate scandal and era aftermath, 53, 54–55, 56, 266–267, 325
- No Child Left Behind Act (2001), 182
- nonbinary persons, 160–161, 162, 166
- nondelegation doctrine, 40
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): Afghanistan conflict withdrawal, 151; American commitments to, 236, 292–293; European peacekeeping obligations, 229–230, 232–233, 235, 236–238, 293; expansion of, 229–230, 235, 237; summit meetings, 208
- North Carolina: bathroom ordinance amendment, 168; busing, 180; race-based college admissions cases, 45–46, 204
- North Korea, 217–218, 219
- nuclear powers and weapons: arms limitation talks and treaties, 223–226, 226–227, 231, 238; Cold War fears, 225–226, 238–239; Iran aims, 245, 246; North Korean aims, 217–218; Russian threats, 238; Saudi aims, 255–256; Ukraine history of, 227, 228, 229, 386n13; U.S. strategic plans, 218
- Obama, Barack: 2008 campaign, 9, 271–272, 284, 318; 2012 campaign, 320, 327–328; 2016 endorsement of Hillary Clinton, 9, 318–319, 321; Biden/Harris campaign concerns of, 3, 318–319, 320–321; DOJ policies under, 59, 65–66; domestic and economic policy of, 9, 17, 71–73, 160–161; environmental and climate policy of, 108, 109, 110, 113, 118; foreign policy of, 230–233; LGBTQ+ rights policy, 163, 167; media appearances by, 271–272, 277–278; policy approaches and political style of, 15–16, 18, 189, 190, 197, 205; political polarization under, 15–16, 17, 21, 27–28, 34–35, 109, 272; race issues and relations during administration, 189–190, 197, 198–199, 205, 285, 286; Supreme Court nominations, 34–35, 57
- Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015), 43, 159, 160, 164, 167
- Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria, 49, 105, 134, 171
- Occupational Safety and Health Administration, 40–41, 41–42
- O'Connor, Sandra Day, 33, 44, 45
- Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, 38
- Office of Management and Budget (OMB), 107, 116
- Ohio, 102–103, 134, 137
- one-term presidency plans, 305, 317, 323
- online schooling, 175
- Operation Allies Refuge (2021), 151
- Operation Warp Speed, 74
- “opportunity gaps” in America, 102, 191–192, 202, 205. *See also* income and wealth inequality
- Orange Revolution (Ukraine, 2004), 230
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 232–233
- originalism, legal, 46
- Page, Susan, 331
- Palestine: American humanitarian aid to, 152–153, 245, 246, 257, 262; in Israel– Hamas War (2023–), 242, 249–252, 257, 259, 261–263; Israeli settlements in occupied territories, 245, 247, 261, 392n41; Israel–Palestine history, and Biden policy, 246–247, 259, 260, 261–263; Israel–Palestine history, and Trump policy, 245, 259, 261; related demonstrations and protests, 176, 243, 259; Saudi positions on, 256
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 245, 246–247, 259
- Palestinian Authority, 246, 249
- pardons: by Biden, 14, 68, 316, 332; by Trump, 62, 68, 207
- Paris Agreement (2016), 106, 114, 121, 220–221

- Parnes, Amie, 5
patronage positions, 55
peaceful transfer of power, 275, 299, 331
Pelosi, Nancy: Biden/Harris campaign concerns of, 3, 308, 314, 319, 320, 321, 324; China policy of, 219; domestic policy legislation under, 76, 82–83
Pence, Mike, 6, 57, 61, 206, 299
Pennsylvania, 13, 95, 101, 117
pension plans, 102
Philippines, 216–217
Philips, Dean, 303
physical health. *See* health and age issues
Pichai, Sundar, 89, 275
Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey (1992), 127
podcasts: Biden appearances on, 277–279; right-wing media ecosystem, 24, 171
Poland, 236, 240
police brutality, murders, and reform, 66–67, 195–196, 197, 205–205, 284
political ads. *See* advertising
political partisanship and polarization: Biden addressing, and government under, 10, 15–26, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59–60, 69, 173, 214, 277, 279–280, 288, 298; causes, conspiracies, and media influence, 5–6, 10, 23, 24–25, 162, 165–166, 168–169, 175, 183, 185, 264–265, 268, 269–273, 275–276, 279–280; vs. DOJ independence, 52–53, 55–57, 58, 59–60, 69; DOJ issues amid, 52–69; educational attainment divides, 176, 187; effects on executive-judicial relations, 51; effects on judicial confirmations, 19–20, 33, 34–35, 57; effects on military policy, 237, 243–244; recognition and reckoning, 2024, 4, 13–14, 25–28; Republican Party splintering, 62–63; U.S. history and ramp-up events, 15–17, 20–21, 53, 61, 62–63, 126, 128, 184–185, 271, 272–273, 275
political patronage, 55
Polk, James, 305
Pompeo, Mike, 259, 261
Powell, Jerome, 11, 79, 89
Powell, Lewis, 31
preemptive pardons, 68
Presidential Commission on the Supreme Court, 35–38
presidential elections. *See* election campaigns; elections
presidential immunity, 29, 49, 64
press conferences, 276, 304, 309–310
press freedom issues, 60
Prigozhin, Evgeny, 240
primaries. *See under* Democratic Party; Republican Party
prison populations, 195, 205–206
private school enrollment, 177
Project 2025: federal worker firings, 28, 203, 207; policy goals, 28, 158; on race and equity, 206
pro-life movement, 47, 125–126, 128–129, 133, 136–138
pronoun issues, 162
Protecting to Right to Organize (PRO) Act, 96–97
Psaki, Jen, 276
public health policy: Biden administration and outcomes, 39, 40–41, 41–42, 76, 129–130, 132–135, 288–289; conservative legal action, 39–42; reproductive rights and procedures within, 126–128, 129–130, 132–133; Trump administration and outcomes, 5–6, 10, 38–39, 94, 140–141, 146–147. *See also* health care policy
Public Health Service Act (1944), 39
public opinion: on abortion rights, 47, 125, 127, 129, 132–133, 137–138, 139–140; on Biden, early 2024 campaign, 5, 6, 309–310, 314; on Biden, late 2024 campaign, 3, 4, 25, 101–102, 317, 321–323, 326, 327; Biden administration and legacy, 4, 10–11, 13–14, 18–19, 20, 41–42, 89–91, 92, 101–102, 112, 119, 120–121, 175, 200, 206, 242–243, 244, 257, 258, 259–263, 296, 317, 322–323, 330, 332; on Harris, 3, 296, 330–331; on immigration policy, 10–11, 19, 24, 98–99, 143–144, 147, 154, 157; on inflation and economic strife, 10–11, 19, 82, 90, 296; on January 6 Capitol attack, 61, 62, 275; on LGBTQ+ issues and

436 INDEX

- public opinion (*continued*)
rights, 161–162, 171; political cynicism and distrust, 9–10, 24, 25, 29–30, 61, 94, 101–102, 103, 184–185, 273–274, 276; on public and higher education, 176, 177; on Supreme Court, 29–30, 32, 49–50; Trump polls, 25–26, 296, 314, 320, 321, 322, 323, 326; Trumpism and effects, 4–5, 12–13, 20, 24–25, 26–27, 61. *See also* political partisanship and polarization
- public relations. *See* communication and messaging; election campaigns
- public schools. *See* education policy
- Putin, Vladimir: Biden meeting with, and attitudes on, 231–232, 235–236, 240; national invasions and wars of, 230–231, 232, 234–240; presidency of, and antidemocratic government methods, 230, 231–232, 235, 239, 240–241
- QAnon, 165–166
- Qatar, 251
- race issues: anti-Asian sentiment, 221; Biden focus on racial justice, 4–5, 66–67, 188–192, 200–207, 221; Biden history and evolution on, 192–202, 205; Black and Latino voting patterns, 13, 27, 45, 47, 92–93, 199; Black and Latino wage data, 93–94; Black voter mobilization, 44, 119, 199; candidate consideration and voter biases, 3, 5, 26, 92–93, 281–282, 283, 284–285, 296; civil rights/racial justice focus of DOJ, 53, 54, 58–59, 66–67; civil rights/racial justice in education, 45–46, 173, 180, 183–184; coalitions within Democratic Party, 44–45, 189–190, 283; economic justice, 46, 186, 191–192, 200–203; education and curriculum policy, 183, 184, 185, 203, 291; education desegregation and busing, 45–46, 173, 180, 183, 186, 192–194, 283; environmental justice, 46, 107, 117–120, 192; exploitation of, as voting wedge issues, 45–47, 203; racial bias in immigration policy, 155–156; racial bias in law enforcement, 67, 68, 194–196, 197, 205–206; specific to Harris vice presidency, 285, 288, 290, 291, 298, 299; Supreme Court nominations and, 44–45, 197–198, 199–200, 205; Trump focus and messaging, 13, 24, 26–27, 188–189. *See also* affirmative action; Black Lives Matter movement; diversity, equity, and inclusion issues; domestic and white nationalist extremism
- Raimondo, Gina, 115
- Raskin, Jamie, 323
- Reagan, Nancy, 320
- Reagan, Ronald: administration's economic conditions, 82; age and health issues of, 304, 305, 309, 312–313; antiabortion movement and, 126; communication of, 276, 277, 304, 309, 320; education policy of, 177, 181; foreign policy of, 226; in Republican primary, 1976, 306; Supreme Court nominations of, 8, 31, 44, 45, 126, 197–198, 267–268, 268–269; telecommunications policy of, 270; transfer of presidential power, 298
- reality television, 273
- Reconstruction, 190
- Red Sea, 253, 255
- Refugee Act (1980), 149
- refugees: American immigration policy on, 143, 148, 149–152; from wars, 151–152, 155
- refuseniks, 224–225, 226
- Regan, Michael, 115
- Rehnquist, William, 33
- Remain in Mexico program, 145–146
- renewable energy, 41, 93, 104–105, 110–111, 112, 117, 121
- representatives. *See* U.S. Congress
- reproductive rights. *See* abortion and reproductive rights
- Republican Party: changes under Trump, 10, 12–13, 16, 17, 20, 21–22, 23–24, 62–63; electoral outcomes and congressional makeup, 2, 4, 11, 16–17, 20–21, 35, 73, 89, 106, 108, 109, 121, 307; foreign policy history and

- rhetoric of, 209–210, 237; immigration policy and history, 99, 143–144, 153–154, 154–155; media channel alignments with, 272–273; political relations, Biden administration, 15–16, 17–28, 165–166; primary processes, 23–24, 306; public policy goals, 28, 46–47, 50–51, 126, 128, 143–144, 158, 162, 206; voting blocs and coalitions of, 47, 95, 128, 164. *See also* U.S. Congress; *specific figures*
- Respect for Marriage Act (2022), 167
- Restaurant Revitalization Fund (American Rescue Plan policy), 202–203
- Ricchetti, Steve, 303, 309, 314–315, 316, 322, 324–325, 327–330, 406n4
- Rice, Condoleezza, 240, 388n50
- Rice, Susan, 202
- Richmond, Cedric, 288
- Right to IVF Act, 138
- right to peaceful assembly, 203
- right to privacy, 32, 43, 124, 132, 167
- right-to-work laws, 96–97
- right-wing extremism. *See* domestic and white nationalist extremism
- Risch, Jim, 214
- Rivers and Harbors Appropriations Act (1899), 155
- Roberts, John: *Dobbs* vote, 131; nomination votes, 33; Supreme Court era and legacy, 29–30, 35–36, 38–51, 128–129, 140–141; written opinions of, 41, 45–46, 159
- Rockefeller, Nelson, 404n84
- Rodríguez, Cristina, 36
- Roe v. Wade* (1973), 124–125; “essential holding,” and *Casey* (1992), 127; reversed, via *Dobbs*, 19, 43, 124, 130–132, 135, 136, 140, 167, 289–290, 307–308; work to reverse, 47, 125–129. *See also* *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization* (2022)
- Rogan, Joe, 279
- Romney, Mitt, 320
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano: domestic policy influence and legacy, 28, 37, 75, 95, 99, 277; legislation and legislative relations, 37, 95; oratory by, 100, 240, 277; Supreme Court plans of, 29, 37, 50; vice presidents of, 404n84
- Rush, Benjamin, 178
- Russia: annexation of Crimea (2014), 232, 234; Chinese relations, 218; economy of, 239, 312; election interference by, 233, 273–274; invasion of Georgia (2008), 230–231, 234; invasion of Ukraine (2022), and war, 151–152, 209, 218–219, 226, 231, 232–234, 235–241, 292, 293, 312; political systems described, 230, 234, 235, 240–241; Russo-Ukrainian relations, 227, 228–230, 232–233, 235. *See also* Soviet Union
- Saakashvili, Mikhail, 230
- Salman, Mohammed bin, 245, 246, 255
- SALT II. *See* Strategic Arms Limitation Talks II (SALT II)
- Sanders, Bernie, 5, 38, 49, 75, 93, 94, 113, 196, 283
- Saudi Arabia, 245, 246, 255–256, 262
- Scalia, Antonin, 33, 34, 40
- school shootings, 66, 182, 291
- Schumer, Chuck, 111, 324–325, 329
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), 87
- semiconductor manufacturing and trade, 84–85, 214–215, 219
- senators. *See* U.S. Congress
- sentencing policies, 66
- Serbia and Montenegro, 227–228, 229
- service economies, 102, 103
- sexual harassment and sex crimes: abortion laws and, 125, 133, 134–135; accusations of Supreme Court justices, 33, 34, 129, 197–198, 199–200, 269; Me Too movement against, 129, 198; prevalence and normalization in society, 198; Trump investigations and cases, 57
- sexual orientation: candidate consideration and biases, 5; civil rights for, 159–160, 162, 165–166; discussion policies, in schools, 168
- “shadow docket” (Supreme Court), 39–40, 41

438 INDEX

- shared reality, vs. media and political fragmentation, 184–185, 272–273, 274–276, 279–280
- Sharpton, Al, 196
- Shear, Michael, 18
- shield laws, 137
- Shokin, Viktor, 233
- Sinclair Broadcast Group, 24
- Sinema, Kyrsten, 37, 71, 78, 83, 153, 287
- Sinwar, Yahya, 251
- Sitaraman, Ganesh, 35, 38
- Slotkin, Elissa, 121
- Smith, Jack, 21, 22, 54, 64–65, 68
- Smotrich, Bezalel, 247
- social media: anti-immigration sentiment on, 157; anti-LGBTQ sentiment on, 165–166, 168; effects on communication and information transmission, 185, 264–266, 271, 272, 273–274, 275, 276, 278, 279; election campaigns' use, 271–272, 273–274, 275, 277–278, 279; fact-checking policies and bans, 274, 275, 279–280; platform bans, 215, 222; related court cases, 50; user privacy issues of, 274; X platform and content, 24, 279
- Social Security Act (1935), 37
- Sotomayor, Sonia, 34, 39, 46
- Souter, David, 33
- South Korea, 217–218, 219, 382n37
- South Ossetia (Georgia), 230–231
- Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, 215
- Soviet Union: Afghanistan invasion (1979), 225, 226; breakup and aftermath of, 227, 228, 229, 235, 238–239; U.S.-Soviet relations, 223–227, 231–232, 385n3. *See also* Russia
- Soviet-Afghan War (1979–1989), 225, 226
- SpaceX, 89, 98
- Starbucks, 96, 98
- state attorneys general, 63, 115, 147, 170
- state emissions standards, 106
- state legislation and government: abortion rights and bans, 126, 128, 130–131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139–140; anti-LGBTQ rights and related care, 162, 163, 167–168, 169, 170; ballot measures in, 44, 135, 137, 139–140; California, emissions standards, 106; education policy control by, 178–179, 182, 184, 185
- State of the Union addresses, 101, 240, 313–314
- Stefanik, Elise, 176
- Stein, Jill, 259
- Stephanopoulos, George, 321
- Stevens, John Paul, 33
- stock markets, 90
- Stop Asian Hate, 221
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks II (SALT II; 1979), 223–226
- Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (1991), 226–227
- Strategic Competition Act, 214
- student loan affordability, 181, 182
- student loan forgiveness: Biden administration policy, 86, 175, 340n72; public opinion on, 48–49, 175; Supreme Court cases on, 48, 49
- Students for Fair Admissions (SFFA) v. Harvard / University of North Carolina* (2023), 45–47, 204, 339n62
- substantive due process, 32, 43
- Sullivan, Andrew, 255
- Sullivan, Jake, 242, 250
- Summers, Lawrence, 78, 89
- Supreme Court. *See* U.S. Supreme Court
- Supreme Court of Israel, 248
- Sweden, 237
- Syria: and Israel, and balance of power, 244, 252, 253, 262; politics and civil war in, 244, 254–255
- Taiwan, 211, 217, 219–220, 222
- Taliban, 151, 243–244, 389n3
- Tapper, Jake, 314
- tax policy: child tax credits in, 78; credits for families, 93; cuts by Trump, 92, 111–112, 121; energy-related, 85, 108–109, 110–111, 121; legislative aims and debates, 82–83
- Tea Party movement, 15–16, 17, 21, 143
- technology industry: leaders' political alignments and donations, 24, 88–89, 279; stock market performance of, 90; and U.S.-China trade, 84–85, 214;

- warnings of power accumulation by, 279–280. *See also* social media
- technology policy: antitrust focus and regulation, 88–89; manufacturing, 84–85, 219
- Telecommunications Act (1996), 270–271
- television broadcasting: industry deregulation of, 266, 267, 270–271; of political ads, 274–275; of political affairs content, 266–268, 269; of political debates, history, 320; reality television, 273
- Temporary Protected Status (TPS), 150–151, 152, 156
- Tennessee, 169
- terrorism, domestic. *See* domestic and white nationalist extremism
- Tester, Jon, 23, 303
- Texas: abortion issues in, 130, 136–137; bathroom ordinances and antitrans messaging, 167; courts, cases, and judges in, 50, 98, 136–137, 146, 155; immigration policy in, 19, 143, 146, 154–155, 157
- Theil, Peter, 89
- Thomas, Clarence: nomination hearing and sexual harassment accusations of, 8, 33, 34, 197–198, 199–200, 269; on privacy rights, 132; written opinions of, 43, 167
- Thompson, Alex, 314
- Thompson, Bennie, 21
- TikTok, 215, 222
- Title 42, 146–148, 155
- trade policy: of Biden administration, and natural gas, 312; of Biden administration, on China, 83–85, 117, 212–215; of Trump administration, on China, 212, 215–216
- transgender rights, 159–172, 184
- transgender youth, 162, 164, 168–170, 170–171, 184
- Trans-Pacific Partnership, 215–216
- transphobic messaging and policies, 164, 165–166, 167–170, 171–172
- transportation policy: environmental priorities' overlap with, 107, 110, 112, 113, 118–119; infrastructure investments and, 110, 112, 118–119, 213
- Transportation Security Administration, 166
- treaty ratification, 223, 224, 225, 226–227
- tribal communities, 202
- Truman, Harry, 2, 318, 323
- Trump, Donald: 2017–2020 administration, policy outcomes, and reversals, 4–6, 9–10, 11, 18, 53, 54, 56–58, 61, 69, 106, 113, 114, 115, 116, 129–130, 144–145, 145–148, 149, 151, 161, 177, 212, 215–216, 220–221, 243, 244–245, 255, 259, 261, 276, 292; 2025 administration, and outcomes, 120, 121–122, 140–141, 157–158, 172, 177, 187, 202, 206, 207, 244, 331; assassination attempt, 2, 13, 26, 326; cabinet officials of, 115, 140, 261; communication and governance methods, 10, 12–13, 20, 25, 26–27, 54, 140, 153, 171, 189, 273, 331; COVID policy of, 5–6, 38–39, 73–74, 76, 78, 94, 146–147, 221, 276; criminal investigations and convictions, 12–13, 21, 22, 25, 53–54, 57, 63–65, 68, 310–311, 332; DOJ and abortion rights issues, 140, 141; DOJ partisanship and weaponization under, 21, 22, 53, 54, 56–57, 58, 59, 68–69; economic conditions inherited by, 73; exercise of executive power, 10, 158; foreign policy of, 236, 242, 243, 244–245, 247, 255, 259, 261, 292, 331; political and cultural lead-up to, 17; Supreme Court and federal judicial nominations, 29–30, 34–35, 38, 128–129, 140–141; trade policy of, 212, 215–216. *See also* election campaigns; elections; MAGA movement; Republican Party
- Trump Organization, 63
- Trump v. United States* (2024), 29, 49, 64
- Tulsa, Oklahoma, race massacre (1921), 205
- Twenty-Fifth Amendment, 298
- Twitter/X (social media), 24, 89, 274, 275, 279

440 INDEX

- Uganda, 156
- Ukraine: American immigration programs for, 152, 155; European security relations, 227, 228–229, 232–233, 234–235, 236–237, 239–240, 292–293, 386n13; Russian invasions in, and displacement, 151–152, 209, 218–219, 226, 231, 232–234, 235–241, 292, 312; Trump’s pressure attempts, and electoral politics, 233–234
- UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), 153
- “uncommitted” voter movement, 259
- undocumented immigrants: entry into United States, 11, 19, 23, 98–99, 157; immigration bills addressing, 23, 144, 145, 153–154, 157; public education for, 175, 184. *See also* deportation, removals, and returns (immigration); immigration policy
- unemployment: insurance, 78; rates, 72, 73, 74, 74, 82, 89, 93
- United Auto Workers (UAW), 96
- United Kingdom, 147, 217, 229
- United Nations: and European conflicts, 228, 229; and Middle Eastern conflicts, 250–251, 255, 261
- United States Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP), 149–150
- United States v. Skrametti* (2025), 169
- University of California v. Bakke* (1978), 45
- unvaccinated Americans, 94
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 153
- U.S. Citizenship Act (2021), 23, 144, 145, 153–154, 157
- U.S. Congress: Biden 2024 campaign concerns of, 1, 308, 314, 320, 321, 322–323, 324–325, 326, 327, 328, 329; Biden administration legislative agenda, 2, 10, 17–18, 19, 70–86, 93, 101, 105–107, 108–113, 120–122, 153–154, 174, 214–215, 219; Biden Senate career, 6, 7–9, 15, 31–33, 35, 43, 56, 71, 82, 124, 126–127, 162–164, 167, 173–174, 182, 192–195, 196, 197–198, 223–226, 227–228, 229, 246, 266, 267–268, 268–269, 357n4; bipartisanship and partisanship, 16–17, 18, 19–21, 21–23, 33, 34–35, 83, 108, 153–154, 173, 214; elections and member makeup, 2, 4, 11, 16–17, 20, 35, 37–38, 71, 106, 108, 109, 121, 298, 307; electoral structures, and polarization, 16; executive agencies and, 40–42, 165, 180–181; impeachment processes, 22–23, 61, 154, 233, 325; NATO and Ukraine support by, 236, 237; Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 8–9, 214, 223–226, 227–228, 229; Senate Judiciary Committee, 8, 30, 31–35, 58, 126–127, 194–195, 197–198, 266, 267–268, 268–269; Senate tiebreaking votes, 108, 110, 298, 406n103; television broadcast communications of, 266–268, 269; Trump administration legislation, 73–74, 76. *See also* January 6, 2021, U.S. Capitol attack; *specific members*
- U.S. Customs and Border Protection, 146
- U.S. Department of Agriculture, 115, 204
- U.S. Department of Commerce, 115, 212, 214, 220
- U.S. Department of Defense: Operation Prosperity Guardian (Red Sea), 253; Ukraine funding via, 237–238. *See also* military policy
- U.S. Department of Education: Biden administration funding support, 182; Biden administration rule making at, 170–171; history of, 178–179, 180–181; Trump destruction desire for, 177
- U.S. Department of Energy, 106, 107, 111, 115, 121
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 140, 170
- U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 145, 148–149, 153–154, 156
- U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ): abortion issues under Trump, 140, 141; under Biden, 53–54, 56–69, 88, 145, 170, 301–303; Civil Rights Division, 57; COVID case responses, 42; immigration prisons under, 145; independence norms and history, 52–53, 54–57, 58, 59–60, 69; investigations of Hunter Biden, 22–23, 65;

- investigations of Trump, 21, 22, 63–65, 68–69, 310–311; Trump politicization and weaponization, 21, 22, 53, 54, 56–57, 58, 59, 68–69
- U.S. Department of Labor, 96, 98
- U.S. Department of State: Afghanistan War, 243, 389n3; China policy, 211, 212, 220; identity documents policy, 166; Middle East policy of Biden administration, 242, 249–252, 256–257, 261; Middle East policy of Trump administration, 245, 254, 259, 261; refugees and immigration policy, 149–150, 155–156
- U.S. Department of the Interior, 106, 107, 115, 205
- U.S. Department of Transportation: under Biden, 107, 118–119, 165; under Trump, 120
- U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, 134–135
- U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), 153
- U.S. Small Business Administration, 204
- U.S. Supreme Court: Biden approaches and relations, 29–31, 35–51, 136, 137, 160, 199; cases and rulings by, 19, 29, 40–44, 45–48, 50, 64, 88, 124–125, 126–132, 135, 136–137, 139, 147–148, 159–160, 165–166, 167, 169, 180, 192, 204, 289–290; ethics codes and term limits for, 29, 35, 49–50; norms, norm-breaking, and politicization, 29–30, 34–36, 37, 39–40, 51, 57, 64; originalism values of and veering from, 46; presidential immunity from criminal prosecution, 29, 49, 64; Roberts era and legacy, 29–30, 35–36, 38–51, 128–129, 140–141; Senate judicial nominations and confirmations, 8, 19–20, 31–35, 43, 126, 197–198, 199–200, 268–269
- vaccines: COVID deaths of unvaccinated, 94; development and distribution, 6, 10, 74, 76, 147; regulation and promotion, 40–41, 41–42, 76
- Vance, JD, 279
- vice presidential history: broken tickets, 295, 319–320; Harris tenure, and firsts, 199, 205, 281–282, 284–286, 298–299; primaries and campaigns, 13, 283, 295–297, 319–320, 330–331, 404n84; role of the vice president, 291–292, 298, 299, 300; ways and paths to presidency, 192, 295, 296, 396n3, 405n88. *See also* Biden, Joe; Harris, Kamala
- Vietnam War, 181, 183, 297, 330
- Vilsack, Tom, 115
- Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (1994), 195, 196
- Vladeck, Stephen, 39–40
- Volcker, Paul, 82
- voting machines, 275–276
- Voting Rights Act (1965), 192
- voting rights legislation, federal, 192, 287, 289
- Wagner Act (1935), 37
- Walker, Robert, 268
- Wall Street Journal, The*, 310, 312. *See also* media outlets and coverage
- Wallace, Henry, 404n84
- Walsh, Marty, 96
- Walz, Tim, 283, 296
- Warren, Earl, 180
- Warren, Elizabeth, 5, 35, 87, 134
- Washington, George, 305
- Washington Post, The*, 310, 312. *See also* media outlets and coverage
- water and air pollution, 105, 109, 114, 118
- Watergate scandal and era: DOJ ideals and ethics safeguards following, 53, 54–56, 57, 58, 69; Nixon's resignation, 325; select hearings, 266–267
- wealth inequality. *See* income and wealth inequality
- Weber, Isabella, 79
- Weiss, David, 65
- Welch, Peter, 324
- West Virginia v. EPA* (2022), 41
- White House Environmental Justice Advisory Council, 118
- white supremacist extremism. *See* domestic and white nationalist extremism

442 INDEX

- Women's Health Protection Act, 131, 132
- working-class Americans. *See* middle- and working-class Americans
- World War II, 240
- Wu, Tim, 50, 67, 68, 87
- Xi Jinping, 209–210, 218, 219, 221–222
- Yanukovich, Viktor, 230, 232
- Yeltsin, Boris, 227, 228, 230
- Yemen, 245, 246, 252, 253, 255
- Yoon Suk Yeol, 217–218, 382n37
- Yoshihide, Suga, 216
- youth sports, gender issues, 162, 168, 170–171
- youth vote, 259, 260, 269, 271–272, 278–279
- Yugoslavia, 227–228, 238
- Zagladin, Vadim, 225
- Zelensky, Volodymyr, 233, 236, 237, 238, 293
- Zhou Enlai, 213
- Zients, Jeffrey D., 329
- Zionism, 246
- Zuckerberg, Mark, 89, 274, 279
- Zwonitzer, Mark, 311