

Happy Medium Magazine

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Editor in Chief
Arwen O'Brien

Managing Editor
Amanda Escotto

Marketing Editor
Joseph Brugellis

Political Director
Trevor Fornara

Copy Editor
Malcolm Schultz

Featured Writers
Rachael Ali
Jonathan Maestre
Ashley Pickus

Designed by
Trevor Fornara
and Arwen O'Brien

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 Happy Medium



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happy medium — a satisfying compromise; an impossible standard.

Happy Medium is Binghamton University's student-run, nonpartisan, political publishing group. Happy Medium Magazine is our flagship publication.

Happy Medium's mission is to create a space for all Binghamton students to respectfully and productively discuss the politics of our nation and world.

Dear Reader,

We are thrilled to introduce you to the first edition of Happy Medium Magazine of the new school year! In this edition, my first as editor in chief, we will be exploring the recent chaos in American politics and law. It is our mission to provide insight and understanding in a world where a question mark hangs over the future of our society.

All summer our team has been committed to answering this question. Our dedicated writers have written in-depth features, incisive analysis, and engaging narratives that shed light on a variety of issues and current events. This magazine would also not be possible without the editors, who have worked hard to put together an edition we are all proud to present to the Binghamton community.

Thank you for trusting us to be your source of insight, your window into the chaos, and your guide on this unpredictable journey. I hope you enjoy our first edition of the school year and keep your eyes peeled for the many more editions to come.

Sincerely,



Arwen O'Brien
Editor in Chief, 2023-24

EDITING TEAM



Arwen O'Brien
Editor in Chief

Arwen O'Brien, Editor in Chief, is a senior in politics, philosophy, and law taking a minor in Spanish who was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina and now living in Westchester, New York. After growing up in both England and Chile, Arwen is interested in pursuing a career in international politics or non-profit work. Arwen is a founding member of the Happy Medium Executive Editing Team, serving as its first marketing editor and now as its editor in chief. In her free time, Arwen does tour guiding for the university, works with the American Red Cross for its National Headquarters, and skis with Binghamton's Ski and Snowboard Club.



Amanda Escotto
Managing Editor

Amanda Escotto, Managing Editor, is a candidate for a Master of Public Administration through the university's 4+1 program. She is from Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, and loves to listen to music and paint in her free time. With a background as a copy editor for Happy Medium and previous involvement in two congressional campaigns, Amanda has honed her skills in political communication. She spent the past summer in Washington, D.C., assisting a researcher at the Library of Congress. Amanda is especially passionate about congressional politics, elections, and civic engagement. She plans to dedicate her career to the public sector.



Joseph Brugellis
Marketing Editor

Joseph Brugellis, Marketing Editor, is a sophomore from New Hyde Park, NY, double-majoring in history and philosophy, politics, and law. After graduation, Joseph plans to go onto law school and hopes to one day be appointed as a federal judge. Joseph is passionate about the American judicial branch and is deeply interested in how different interpretative philosophies held by judges shape constitutional law. During this past summer, Joseph worked as an intern in the office of United States Senator Kirsten Gillibrand. In his free time, Joseph enjoys reading, listening to music, and exploring nature.



Malcolm Schultz
Copy Editor

Malcolm Schultz, Copy Editor, is a philosophy, politics, and law and German double major from Buffalo, NY. Malcolm plans to attend law school after graduating from Binghamton University, and has previously interned with the Buffalo Common Council and the Coppola Firm, a Buffalo-based law firm specializing in personal injury and employment law. His interests include travel, linguistics, and writing and has spent his Spring 2023 semester abroad in Graz, Austria. He edits for the Happy Medium Magazine and writes for Dynasty Football Factory.

FEATURED WRITERS



Rachael Ali
Distinguished Writer

Rachael Ali is a senior originally from the Bronx and majoring in political science with a double minor in Spanish and French. Rachael is a distinguished writer at Happy Medium Magazine, formerly serving as the publication's head writer for foreign affairs. Rachael's goal is to attend law school and become an international lawyer. Topics that Rachael is passionate about include immigration, reproductive rights, indigenous communities, gun laws, and environmental justice.



Jonathan Maestre

Jonathan Maestre is a senior from Queens, New York. He is currently studying political science and plans to pursue a master's degree in public administration through the university's 4+1 program. Last fall, Jonathan interned on State Senator Lea Webb's election campaign. Currently, he is involved in multiple on-campus political organizations, such as Binghamton's chapter of the New York Public Interest Research Group and the College Democrats. He is passionate about elections, international relations, and environmental justice. Outside of politics, Jonathan enjoys movies and creative writing.



Ashley Pickus
National Politics Reporter

Ashley Pickus, National Politics Reporter, is a senior from Plainview, New York. She is double-majoring in political science and English rhetoric and minoring in writing studies. Ashley spends most of her free time following the current pop culture trends, watching television shows, or listening to music. If asked, she can explain the meaning of any Taylor Swift song and its significance. After graduation, Ashley hopes to find a job in the media industry.



Trevor Fornara
Political Director

Trevor Fornara, Political Director, is a recent Binghamton graduate with a bachelor's degree in philosophy, politics, and law. Trevor co-founded Happy Medium with Arwen O'Brien, Briana Lopez-Patino, and Bryan Goodman in December 2021, serving as president until May 2023. In his current role, Trevor advises the Executive Editing Team in matters related to organizational policy and political quality. Trevor now works as the Civic Education Coordinator at the university's Center for Civic Engagement.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM • UNIVERSAL HEALTHCARE • CLIMATE CHANGE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES • IMMIGRATION REFORM AND BORDER SECURITY • TAXATION AND ECONOMIC POLICIES • GUN CONTROL AND SECOND AMENDMENT RIGHTS • FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS • NATIONAL DEBT AND BUDGET DEFICIT • **WITH SO MUCH TO WRITE ABOUT...** • INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE • CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM • VOTING RIGHTS AND ELECTION INTEGRITY • INTERNATIONAL TRADE AGREEMENTS AND TARIFFS • AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY • WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS AND ABORTION LAWS • CYBERSECURITY AND DIGITAL PRIVACY • POLICE REFORM AND COMMUNITY POLICING • LGBTQ+ RIGHTS AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES • PUBLIC EDUCATION FUNDING AND REFORM • WELFARE PROGRAMS AND SOCIAL SAFETY NETS • LEGALIZATION OF RECREATIONAL DRUGS • HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT • LABOR RIGHTS AND MINIMUM WAGE DISCUSSIONS • TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY • FOREIGN AID AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT • NATIVE RIGHTS AND INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTY • NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND NON-PROLIFERATION • INTERNET NEUTRALITY AND DIGITAL COMMUNICATION POLICIES • MILITARY BUDGET AND DEFENSE POLICIES • PRISON PRIVATIZATION AND THE PRISON-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX • RENEWABLE ENERGY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT • FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND MEDIA REGULATIONS • INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES • FEDERAL VERSUS STATE RIGHTS • LOBBYING AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE • ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND ETHICS IN TECHNOLOGY • LAND USE, ZONING, AND URBAN PLANNING • BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH GROWING WORLD POWERS • CHILD CARE AND FAMILY SUPPORT POLICIES • VETERANS' CARE AND MILITARY BENEFITS • INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAWS AND INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS • FOOD SECURITY AND AGRICULTURAL POLICIES • **...HOW CAN YOU CHOOSE?** • DISASTER RELIEF AND EMERGENCY RESPONSE POLICIES • INCOME INEQUALITY AND WEALTH DISTRIBUTION • CULTURAL HERITAGE AND MONUMENT PRESERVATION • SPACE EXPLORATION • PANDEMIC RESPONSE AND PUBLIC HEALTH POLICIES • SOCIAL MEDIA REGULATION AND MISINFORMATION • BIOETHICS AND GENETIC ENGINEERING • REFUGEE POLICIES AND HUMANITARIAN CRISES • WATER RIGHTS AND CONSERVATION

Happy Medium writers choose their own topics and write at their own pace.

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The Importance of Copy Editors

Introduction

In the realm of publishing, copy editor's are often overshadowed, though they remain the unsung heroes ensuring clarity and accuracy. Many believe that seasoned writer's works are above scrutiny, a notion that's often misleading.

Historical Context

Copy editors have been the silent gatekeepers in print media for centuries. Their meticulous work allowed many renowned publications to sidestep potentially embarrassing blunders.

Why Copy Editors Matter in the Digital Age

The rapidity of online publishings exponentially magnify the possibility of errors. An un-edited article can disseminate misleading information, tarnish reputations, and undermine a publication's credibility; emphasizing the importance of the editor's role in preserving journalistic integrity.

Let us know how you did:



Skills and Qualities of an Effective Copy Editor

Possessing a keen eye for detail, an in-depth grasp of language nuances, and a intrinsic understanding of a publication's voice are the hallmarks of an effective copy editor. Moreover, they require a delicate balance of patience and a fine-tuned sense for articulating clarity.

Conclusion

Concluding, the role of copy editors is not just pivotal but indispensable in upholding the sanctity of published content's. It's a earnest request to readers to recognize and laud the silent contribution of copy editors in they're cherished reads.



The ability to express one's beliefs on political and social matters through speech—verbal or nonverbal—without fear of government-led censure for doing so is a central element of American democracy. The First Amendment to the Constitution protects this right by proscribing Congress from passing a law “abridging the freedom of speech” possessed by individuals (U.S. Const. amend. I). Vigorous enforcement of the Free Speech Clause is vital “for the political

participation of [the citizenry]” by preserving an open marketplace of ideas whereby citizens may “form their [political] opinions and judgments” in a complete manner via the full exposure to the merits of “various [competing] viewpoints” on issues of significance (Badamchi 2015). The expression of political speech may take on numerous forms: spoken words, written pamphlets, or symbolic action. But no matter the form of expression, political speech cannot be prohibited by the

government simply “because of its message, its ideas, its subject matter, or its content” (“Ashcroft v. ACLU”).

As broad as the contours of the First Amendment may be, the enumerated rights protected within are not absolute. Governments on the local, state, and federal levels have all attempted to set limits on the degree to which individuals may speak freely (“Categories of Speech”). That is because an unqualified right to speech and expressive

conduct can often conflict with a separate, but undoubtedly important, governmental interest: protecting both the citizenry and the state itself from actual or threat of violence. After all, any functioning society would seek to ensure stability among its members. Preventing the actual or perceived incitement of violence against either the body politic at large or its individual members via appropriate legislation is legally permissible in certain circumstances. If an individual exercises his

The Outer Limits of Free-Speech: VIOLENCE AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT

By Joseph Brugellis
Marketing Editor

or her free speech rights to communicate a message perceived as being (a) an incitement of violence, (b) fighting words against another person, or (c) true “threats” against an individual or collective group, the First Amendment “does not bar” a government from taking suppressive action against the speech (“Categories of Speech”). The clash between the Free Speech Clause and government-backed attempts to prevent violence has been fought along these battle lines for more than a century. An analysis of each of these three unprotected speech categories will help to illuminate how the scope of this precious First Amendment right has fluctuated throughout the years.

Before performing such an analysis, a general historical background of the First Amendment’s Free Speech Clause and how it has been interpreted by the Federal Judiciary is warranted.

The First Amendment—together with the other nine separate provisions that collectively make up the Constitution’s Bill of Rights—was hardly the major focus of debate in Philadelphia at the beginning of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Much of the discussion in Philadelphia was instead focused on setting up the structure and powers of the federal government to correct for the many fundamental deficiencies present in the previous national charter—the Articles of Confederation (Rosen and Rubenstein 2023). When the participants of the Convention finally got around to discussing what we know today as the Bill of Rights, their discussion was largely limited to whether such a document was necessary at all to preserve ordered liberty (Hamilton 1787). Many Federalists such as Alexander Hamilton strongly opposed a Bill of Rights, arguing that its inclusion was not only unnecessary but could even dangerously serve as an implied pretext for the government to assume regulatory powers over individual liberties (Hamilton 1787). Anti-Federalists and several state legislatures, however, voiced much concern over the absence of any provisions in the Constitution

explicitly protecting individual liberties such as freedom of speech or religion (NCC Staff 2023). Therefore, in order to secure the ratification of the Constitution by these states, James Madison (with Anti-Federalist input) drafted a list of proposed amendments that would eventually become the Bill of Rights (NCC Staff 2023). Upon Virginia’s approval on December 15, 1791, the Bill of Rights was ratified.

Despite the broad generality of its text, “the framers gave very little indication as to the exact meaning of the [First] Amendment” (Congdon 2004). Historical evidence from the Founding Era indicates that freedom of speech was considered to be a natural right retained by the individual that was nevertheless subject to certain restrictions for the benefit of the “public good” (Campbell 2017). Making “well-intentioned statements of one’s view[points]” was considered an inalienable right to the Founders, but evidently, the Free Speech Clause lacked the same rigor under other circumstances (Campbell 2017). Stringent anti-blasphemy laws were enforceable for more than a century after ratification (“Blasphemy and the First Amendment” 2021). Bans on profanity usage abounded (Campbell 2017). And the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798’s prohibition against the “utter[ance]...[of] any false, scandalous [or] malicious” sentiments against the United States was repeatedly upheld by lower courts before it expired in 1801 (Congdon 2004). In spite of the First Amendment’s seemingly broad textual protections, both state legislatures and the federal government continued to implement somewhat strict restrictions on speech for decades after ratification.

For the first 120 years after the ratification of the Bill of Rights, the U.S. Supreme Court was notably silent on the Free Speech Clause of the First Amendment; the first case testing the limits of this provision did not arrive at the Court until after World War I (Irons 2006). The idea that freedom of speech was a fundamental individual right was not made official by the Supreme Court until

1925, in a case that held the Free Speech Clause applicable to States as well as the federal government (Congdon 2004). Since then, the Court has made clear that so-called “content-based” laws, or laws that “restrict or compel speech based on its content” are “presumptively unconstitutional”; to clear such a high bar, the government must demonstrate that a law restricting freedom of speech advances a “compelling” governmental interest and represents the “least restrictive means” of securing such an interest (“Free Speech: Content Based Laws”). But unprotected speech falling outside of boundary lines of the First Amendment— including incitement, fighting words, and “true” threats—is subject to government regulation.

* * *

With this general background of the First Amendment in mind, a closer look at the three unprotected categories above will illustrate how both the federal and numerous state governments have balanced the interest of free speech with the countervailing desire to insulate the state and its individual members from attempted or actual violence.

Incitement and Sedition

The Supreme Court’s first foray into this murky field came soon after the end of World War I. During the height of U.S. military involvement, the Wilson administration was determined to stamp out all opposition to American wartime participation by sponsoring private campaigns that encouraged civilians to “spy on their [fellow] neighbors” for evidence of disloyalty (Irons 2006). Congress sought to formalize this anti-dissident campaign with the passage of the Espionage Act of 1917. The Espionage Act mandated imprisonment for those who “attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, [or] mutiny” among military forces or for those who “willfully obstruct” American military recruitment

“
Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

(First Amendment, US Constitution)

processes (Irons 267). In *Schenck v. United States* (1919), the Supreme Court famously upheld the three-count conviction of Charles Schenck for violating the Espionage Act by distributing leaflets encouraging men not to register for the draft (Congdon 2004). In a pithy opinion by Justice Holmes, the Court reasoned that while Schenck's actions "in ordinary times" would have been constitutional, the surrounding wartime effort made it so that Schenck's speech posed an "[utter] hindrance" to the Nation's efforts ("Schenck v. US"). Holmes set forth the following infamous test to govern future cases: whether the nature of the speech combined with surrounding circumstances creates a clear and present danger of "bringing about substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent" ("Schenck v. US").

The clear-and-present-danger (CAPD) inquiry was similar in many respects to the equally misguided "bad-tendency" legal test, which once permitted governments to outright prohibit certain speech (e.g. pro-Communist sympathies) subjectively viewed as being prone to endanger "the public welfare... and the foundations of organized government [by] threaten[ing] its overthrow" ("Whitney v. CA"). But unlike the bad-tendency test, which easily morphed into a discriminatory blanket-ban on uttering certain speech at all times regardless of speaker intent, the CAPD test explicitly highlighted the importance of both speaker intent and surrounding circumstances in making a legal determination (Congdon 2004).

After decades of sometimes reluctant application of the CAPD criterion, the Supreme Court chartered a new course in *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969). The State of Ohio had convicted Clarence Brandenburg, a leader of the Ku Klux Klan, under its criminal syndicalism statute which prohibited the advocacy of "violence[] or unlawful methods of terrorism" to accomplish political reform ("Brandenburg v. OH"). The Court invalidated Brandenburg's conviction and struck down the criminal syndicalism law. Essentially repudiating

the CAPD test as construed in Schenck, the Brandenburg Court reasoned that a state cannot prohibit the advocacy of using force except when such advocacy is "likely to incite or produce imminent lawless action" ("Brandenburg v. OH"). Within a half-century span, the Supreme Court swapped its overbroad CAPD standard in favor of a much stricter imminent-lawless-action test that permits government interference in proscribing violent incitement only under narrow circumstances.

Fighting Words

In a similar vein, the Supreme Court has also ruled that so-called "fighting words" fall outside the scope of the First Amendment's protection. The Court first enunciated this doctrine in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (1942). The State of New Hampshire convicted Walter Chaplinsky under a statute prohibiting the use of "offensive, derisive, or annoying" words to provoke someone on a street (Congdon 2004). After meeting local resistance to distributing Jehovah's Witness literature, Chaplinsky called the town marshal a "damned Fascist" while being led away by police ("Chaplinsky v. NH"). The Court upheld his conviction, reasoning that Chaplinsky's speech constitutes "fighting words" because they inflicted direct harm and incited an "immediate breach of the peace" ("Chaplinsky v. NH").

In subsequent years, the Court has clarified that the fighting words doctrine is not a roving license for the government to censor speech or conduct that it finds disagreeable or even offensive. In *Texas v. Johnson* (1989), for example, the Supreme Court invalidated the conviction of Gregory Lee Johnson for burning an American flag to protest the policies of the Reagan administration. The Court refused to classify Johnson's expression of dissatisfaction as constituting "fighting words", reasoning that "[n]o reasonable onlooker" would consider the burning of an American flag as

being either a direct personal insult or an invitation to engage in a peace-breaching fistfight ("TX v. Johnson").

R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul provides another limiting example of the fighting words doctrine. Here, a teenager was convicted under a local ordinance for "placing" a "burning cross" in the front yard of a Black family. The teenager challenged the ordinance as being both overbroad and impermissibly content-based by singling out the act of cross-burning as being worthy of government-imposed sanction ("RAV v. St. Paul"). The Court agreed and struck down the ordinance, even while proceeding under the assumption that the teenager's actions did constitute "fighting words." The Court reasoned that by singling out and prohibiting only "fighting words" that would provoke violence on the basis of "race, color, creed, religion, or gender," the ordinance impermissibly imposes "special prohibitions" on these speakers, as opposed to those who use "fighting words" to provoke hostility on the basis of, say, political affiliation ("RAV v. St. Paul"). While reaffirming the validity of the fighting words doctrine, the Court has endeavored to prevent governments from weaponizing it to censor disfavorable speech.

"True" Threats

Finally, the Supreme Court has held that the government has a "legitimate interest" against the proliferation of so-called "true threats" against individuals (Congdon 2004). The true threat doctrine was first formulated more than fifty years ago in *Watts v. United States* (1969). During a discussion group focused on police brutality at the height of the Vietnam War, 18-year-old Robert Watts complained about having received his draft classification and date for physical examination. He then proceeded to comment that, should the military ever make him "carry a rifle", the first person whom he wishes to see is President "L.B.J."

("Watts v. US"). The government charged him with violating a federal statute that prohibits any person from "knowingly and willfully... threaten[ing] to take the life of... the President of the United States" ("Watts v. US"). While the Court upheld the statute as a lawful exercise of a compelling governmental interest, it nevertheless invalidated Watts' conviction. The Court reasoned that the government must prove that

Motivated by the concern that the true threats doctrine could morph into another roving license used to censor speech, the Court imposed additional limitations to the doctrine's employment in June 2023.

Watts' sentiments constituted an actual "true 'threat'" to the President's life, rather than just inflamed "political hyperbole" ("Watts v. US"). Since political discourse can often be "imprecise and obnoxious", the true threats doctrine must be limited to prevent censorship of a wide variety of permissible speech (Congdon 2004).

The Court has also applied the true threats doctrine to conduct as well. In *Virginia v. Black* (2003), the Court evaluated the constitutionality of a Virginia law that designated cross-burning as *prima facie* (on its face) evidence of an intent to intimidate others ("VA v. Black"). In light of the association between cross-burning and brutal intimidation efforts by the Ku Klux Klan, the Court concluded that states are permitted to "outlaw cross burnings done with the intent to intimidate". However, the Virginia statute at issue was struck down because the designation of cross-burning automatically as *prima facie* evidence of intimidation "blurs the line" between protected speech and proscribable intimidation, as not every individual who burns a cross is committing the act to stoke intimidation ("VA v. Black").

Motivated by the concern that the true threats doctrine could morph into another roving license used to censor speech, the Court imposed additional limitations to the doctrine's employment in June 2023. In *Counterman v. Colorado*, the Court announced a subjective-intent requirement that prosecutors must clear before prosecuting an individual for truly threatening speech (Liptak 2023). The State of Colorado had convicted Billy Counterman under a law that prohibits one from "[r]epeatedly... mak[ing] any form of communication with another person" in "a manner that would cause a reasonable person to suffer serious emotional distress and does cause that person . . . to suffer serious emotional distress" after he repeatedly sent hundreds of Facebook messages to a female singer in a stalking-like manner ("Counterman v. CO"). The Court vacated his conviction and established a

subjective-intent requirement for prosecution of "true" threats. This requires a state to prove "recklessness" on behalf of the alleged perpetrator- or, in other words, prove that the "true" threats speaker "is aware that others could regard his statements as threatening violence and delivers them anyway" ("Counterman v. CO"). This new recklessness standard is emblematic of how the Court seeks to protect a state's interest in prosecuting truly threatening statements while preventing undue encroachment of the free speech rights that are enjoyed by all.

* * *

Freedom of speech is undoubtedly a deeply-rooted fundamental right cherished by all Americans. The First Amendment ensures that governments may not bar even the most patently offensive speech simply because they disagree with the subject matter of the speaker's message. At the same time, and consistent with historical evidence, the Supreme Court has qualified this right by creating narrow categories of speech liable to regulation based on the countervailing governmental interest in preventing violence among members of the collective society. As shown, the tension between these two important interests has engendered substantial litigation and volumes of discussion over the last century. The litigants in these cases espoused eccentric and sometimes even deeply hurtful messages and ideas that could provoke anger among the targets of such speech. Even so, one thing remains clear: no matter how substantial a violence-preventive interest the government may proffer up, such an interest cannot serve as a pretext to outright eliminate the expression of even fringe views from society.

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Trump's Legal Woes:

How Will it Affect the Primaries?

By Arwen O'Brien

Editor in Chief

In an unprecedented turn of events, Donald Trump, the former president and current presidential candidate, finds himself in uncharted waters, becoming the first U.S. president to be indicted while simultaneously dealing with multiple other major legal cases and federal felony counts. As his name remains a constant fixture in news headlines, there is speculation on how these legal challenges will shape the course of the upcoming primary and election season.

On March 30, 2023, Trump found himself facing the first indictment in a New York State case related to the alleged falsification of business records tied to a hush money payment to adult film star Stormy Daniels (Freifeld et al. 2023). The payment was overseen by Trump's personal lawyer, Michael Cohen, in 2016 to maintain silence about a decade-old alleged sexual encounter between Daniels and Trump. Although Trump had denied the relationship and pleaded not guilty to falsifying the business records, he

has openly acknowledged the payment itself, which, while an unsavory look for a head of state, does not directly violate any U.S. laws. However, prosecutors argue that it does breach campaign financing regulations. The trial date has been set for March 2024.

Separately, a federal jury has found Trump liable for allegations of sexually abusing esteemed writer E. Jean Carroll back in the mid-1990s and subsequently lying about the incident in 2022 (Reuters 2023). Delivering a momentous verdict in May, the jury ordered Trump to pay \$5 million in damages. The legal battle is not over, as Trump is planning an appeal. Trump has also been involved in other potentially more damaging cases from a political point of view.

On June 13, 2023, Trump stood before the federal court in Miami and pleaded not guilty, this time facing charges related to the "illegal retention of classified documents" (Protess et al. 2023). Boxes of national security documents were discovered in the former president's Florida residence, potentially implicating him in a violation of the Presidential Records Act of 1978. A trial for this case has been set for May 2024.

In addition, Trump is also facing a Georgia state indictment into whether election results were tampered with in the 2020 presidential election. On January 2, 2021, Trump placed a phone call to Georgia's Republican secretary of state Brad Raffensperger during which Trump urged him to "find" enough votes to overturn the election outcome in his favor (Reuters 2023). This investigation has raised concerns about the potential violations of no less than three Georgia criminal laws, specifically encompassing "conspiracy to commit election fraud, criminal solicitation to commit election fraud, and intentional interference with performance of election duties" (Reuters 2023). Federal prosecutors are also looking into his role to overturn the election and his role in the January 6 riot, which has led to charges including conspiracy to defraud the United States and inciting an insurrection.



the four indictments of **DONALD J. TRUMP**



NEW YORK: false business records
August 1, 2023



FEDERAL: conspiracy to willfully retain national defense files
June 8, 2023



FEDERAL: conspiracy to defraud the US, obstruct Congress
August 1, 2023



GEORGIA: witness influencing, forgery, racketeering
August 14, 2023

In the face of all these legal woes, Trump remains undeterred, pushing forward with his 2024 campaign for the White House. Ultimately there is nothing stopping him from doing so, as the U.S. Constitution notably sets forth just three prerequisites for the presidency in Article II Section I Clause 5. One must be a natural-born citizen, of 35 years of age or older, and have resided in the U.S. for 14 years. Consequently, despite any potential legal entanglements—even if he were to end up behind bars—Trump encounters no constitutional impediment to his potential candidacy for the presidency once again.

In fact, Trump appears unconcerned about the potential negative impact on his presidential bid. When questioned about the possibility of withdrawing from the race ahead of the Conservative Political Action Conference in March, Trump confidently dismissed such notions, stating, “I wouldn’t even think about leaving... probably it will enhance my numbers” (Romero 2023). So the question remains – will these legal woes actually boost Trump’s support in the upcoming election? A big factor that contributed to Trump’s win in 2016 was the relentless

media coverage he received. Embracing the belief that “all press is good press,” Trump adroitly controlled the media spotlight throughout the entire presidential campaign, amassing a substantial base of supporters. Now, in 2023, history seems to be repeating itself as Trump once again retakes the media spotlight in overshadowing his main primary opponent, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, and making headlines about himself—even if unintentionally. This effective reclamation of the media spotlight has thrust Trump back into the public consciousness, rekindling the fervor of his supporters and potentially attracting new ones.

A theory has emerged on how the storm of legal battles may help Trump gain traction – the witch hunt narrative. This argument suggests that Trump has become a target of unfair scrutiny, with some, including Trump himself, asserting that the cases against him have been purposefully drawn up and investigated in order to stain his image. According to Republican congressman Dan Newhouse, the current legal challenges Trump is facing would have likely destroyed the reputation of any other presidential contender in past

decades. However, Newhouse contends that the situation is different for Trump, particularly among Republican supporters (Colvin and Peoples 2023). He attributes Trump’s relatively unscathed image within his party to the fact that his supporters have anticipated these legal issues, as Trump himself had repeatedly suggested the possibility of facing indictments. Consequently, many Republican voters perceive the charges against him as mere political maneuvers rather than genuine legal concerns (Colvin and Peoples 2023). By effectively setting expectations for potential charges well in advance, Trump appears to have controlled the narrative to his advantage among his supporters. Since Trump emerged as the front-runner for the 2024 GOP nomination in April, the percentage of Republicans with a favorable view of him has experienced an 8% decline, polls show, but 60% of Republicans still hold a favorable view (Colvin and Sanders 2023). With the upcoming primaries looming, DeSantis may be facing an uphill battle against Trump. Recent polling data from Monmouth University, conducted between July 12 and 19, 2023, reveals that Trump is still backed by 55% of potential GOP voters, while DeSantis trails behind at 35%.

The real long-term significance may lay in the sway of the narrative over a different segment of the electorate – the moderates and independents. For Trump, winning over these crucial voters is paramount to securing a path to the White House. Some may see him as unjustly mistreated while others may feel appalled by his conduct and apparent disregard for established presidential and democratic norms, choosing to instead vote for his opponents. According to a survey conducted from March 20th to March 23rd, 2023 by NPR/PBS NewsHour/Marist National Poll, 41% of respondents view the

investigations as a “witch hunt,” while 56% believe they are fair. Within the Republican Party, a staggering 80% of members stand firmly behind the notion that the investigations are nothing more than a “witch hunt.” But, the poll highlights that only 23% of Americans as a whole share the belief that Trump did nothing wrong, suggesting a more nuanced perspective on his actions during his tenure as president.

The survey results underscore the enduring polarization that has characterized American politics in recent years. The “witch hunt” narrative, embraced by a substantial portion of Republicans, amplifies the idea that the investigations targeting Trump are politically motivated and lack legitimacy. However, the recent decline in Trump’s favorability suggests that not all Republicans are maintaining support amid the ongoing legal battles. Meanwhile, a majority of the population maintains that the investigations are warranted and must be conducted impartially to uphold the principles of justice and accountability. Ultimately, this could play on people’s minds when the country votes on November 5, 2024.



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What is the Presidential Records Act?

By **Ashley Pickus**
National Politics Reporter

Congress enacted the Presidential Records Act (PRA) in 1978 initially as a reaction to the Richard Nixon Watergate scandal and a dispute over his presidential records. The new legislation essentially changed the legal ownership of presidential records from private to public; the records belonged to the United States government rather than the President himself. It also laid out the process of filing records and what happens after a President's term comes to an end.

All official White House records were considered the President's personal property previous to the PRA, which first applied to the Reagan administration. Thus, from Presidents Washington to Carter, the President could do whatever he pleased with official records. Presidents Hoover through Carter chose to donate their records to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), along with the Presidential Library buildings where they are stored (National Archives and Records Administration 2023). This changed after Nixon attempted to withhold secret recordings created in the White House.

The Watergate Hotel is the center of the scandal that brought down the



Documents possessed by Fmr. President Donald J. Trump at Mar-a-Lago. Photo: Department of Justice

Nixon presidency. On June 17, 1972, five men broke into the Democratic National Committee headquarters located in the hotel. After being apprehended by authorities, Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray was notified that one of the men arrested was a security officer for the Committee to Re-Elect the President, tying him directly to Nixon's campaign (FBI 2016).

In the aftermath of the Watergate scandal, it was discovered that Nixon secretly recorded conversations held in the White House, including conversations regarding the Watergate burglary and the administration's plans to try and cover it up. In 1974, a grand jury indicted seven of Nixon's closest aides for their roles in the Watergate affair. Nixon refused to hand the tapes over to the special prosecutor and defendants, claiming that he had the right to withhold the information

due to executive privilege. This led to *United States v Nixon* in 1974, where the Supreme Court ruled that "when the ground for asserting privilege as to subpoenaed materials sought for use in a criminal trial is based only on the generalized interest in confidentiality, it cannot prevail over the fundamental demands of due process of law in the fair administration of criminal justice," (*United States v Nixon* 1974). On August 8, 1974, Nixon announced his resignation. At the end of the same year, Congress passed what would become the predecessor to the PRA—the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act (PRMPA). Applied only to the Nixon presidential materials, the act stipulated that "those materials relevant to the understanding of Abuse of Governmental Power and Watergate are to be processed and

released to the public prior to the release of all other materials," (National Archives and Records Administration 2016).

In order to prevent a similar situation from occurring in the future, Congress passed the PRA in 1978. The act states "The United States shall reserve and retain complete ownership, possession, and control of Presidential records," (Presidential Record Act 1978). Therefore, presidential records are no longer considered personal property of the President. Instead, they are the property of the federal government.

The act also defines personal records versus presidential records to mitigate any potential confusion; personal records include "diaries, journals, or other personal notes serving as the functional equivalent of a diary or journal which are not prepared or utilized for, or circulated or communicated in the course of, transacting Government business." Conversely, presidential records are defined as, "documentary materials created or received by the President, the President's immediate staff, or a unit or individual of the Executive Office of the President whose function is to advise or assist the President, in the course of conducting activities which relate to or have an effect upon the carrying out of the constitutional, statutory, or other official or ceremonial duties of the President." To summarize, personal records belong to the President while presidential records belong to the government.

The President is also expected to separate personal documents from presidential records before leaving office, as custody of the latter immediately transfers to NARA. Additionally, the President does not have the discretion to categorize a presidential record as a personal record. Donald Trump's attorney, Tim Parlato, claimed that a President "is supposed to take the next two years after they leave office to go through all these documents to figure out what's personal and what's presidential," (Gangel et al. 2023). However, in regards to sorting records after a President's

term ends, NARA released a statement on June 9, 2023, asserting that "There is no history, practice, or provision in law for presidents to take official records with them when they leave office to sort through, such as for a two-year period as described in some reports. If a former President or Vice President finds Presidential records among personal materials, he or she is expected to contact NARA in a timely manner to secure the transfer of those Presidential records to NARA."

Overall, the purpose of the PRA is to preserve presidential records. It also established a new statutory structure under which Presidents must manage their records in order to preserve sensitive documents and avoid getting them into the hands of hostile or bad actors. Ironically, originally enacted as a response to a presidential scandal, the PRA only regained relevance in the wake of another.

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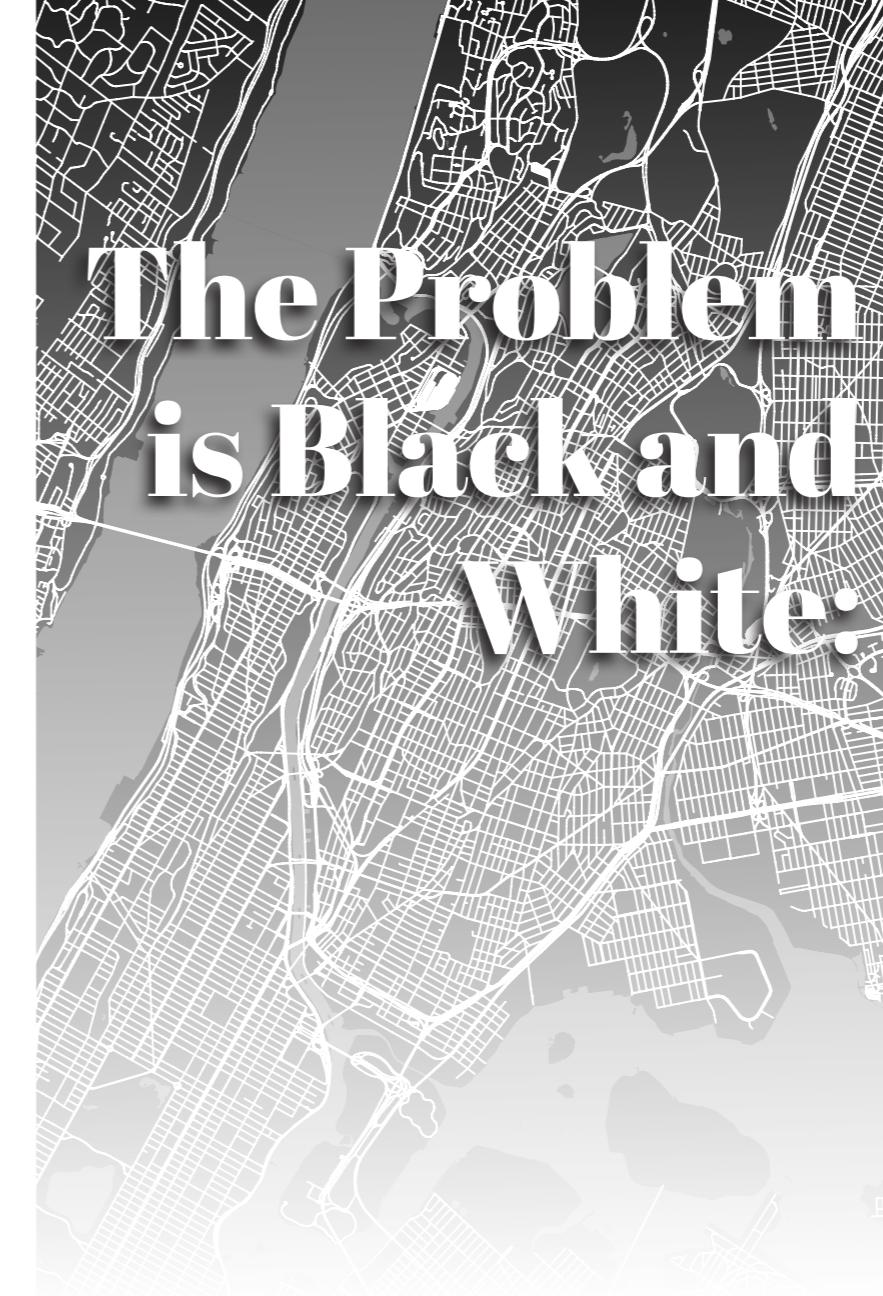
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The Problem is Black and White:

Drastic Disparities Between Low-Income and Affluent Communities Throughout New York State

By Rachael Ali
Distinguished Writer

I was born and raised in the Bronx, the daughter of two Trinidadian immigrants. Throughout middle and high school, I went to a predominantly white, all-girls private school on a scholarship in the affluent city of Greenwich, Connecticut. For eight years, I traveled daily between these two cities, observing the differences between the two communities—and there were many. Greenwich looked so prim and proper, with

many families of four living in six-bedroom mansions on 10-acre properties. In contrast, my neighborhood was overcrowded, with my sidewalks covered in feces and litter. It was not uncommon for parents, grandparents, and five children to live together in a two-bedroom apartment. Why were our communities so different?

To start, there is a clear racial divide between low-income communities in NYC and wealthier communities throughout the state. According to the US Census Bureau, 9.0% of the Bronx population is white, while 44.3% is Hispanic/Latino and 43.8% is

Black/African American (US Census 2021). Many of my high school classmates were from Rye, New York. I had been to Rye a few times to visit friends from school; I even went to a country club there for the first and only time in my life. I remember seeing lots of greenery throughout Rye, as well as large houses and clean-cut hedges. Rather than the trash-littered streets I was used to, the streets of Rye were littered with expensive boutiques and brands I had never heard of, like Lululemon and Lily Pulitzer. In stark contrast with the Bronx, 83.8% of the Rye population is white, 9.6% Hispanic, and 2.1% Black (US Census 2021).

The US Census Bureau also provides economic data, stating that 24.4% of people in the Bronx live in poverty, yet this number is only 4.9% in Rye (US Census 2021). The median household income in the Bronx was \$41,895 in 2020, less than a quarter of Rye's \$193,919 (US Census 2021). These statistics

are mirrored when looking more broadly at the United States. In 2019, the poverty rate for the Black population was 18.8%, while this number was 15.7% for Hispanic communities, and 7.3% for whites (Creamer 2020).

Where do these racial and economic disparities come from? It goes back decades, as the federal and local governments implemented several racist laws, such as racially restrictive covenants. These clauses were written into property deeds for individual homes or even entire neighborhoods and explicitly banned people of color from renting or purchasing properties (Brenzel 2022). These covenants became common in the 1920s but were rendered unenforceable by the Housing Rights Act of 1968 ("Bill" 2022). However, racist language from these covenants can still be found in deeds throughout New York. In 2020, it was discovered that 288 deeds in Brighton, NY contained a clause that "[n]o lot or dwelling shall be sold to or occupied by a colored person" (Brenzel 2022). Several states, such as Idaho ("Bill" 2022) and California ("California Law" 2022), have passed bills requiring this discriminatory language to be erased from property deeds. New York has no such laws, but the State



Greenwich Avenue
Greenwich, CT

Assembly passed a bill in March 2022 that would require property owners to remove these racial deed restrictions (Brenzel 2022). This bill is still awaiting Senate approval over a year later.

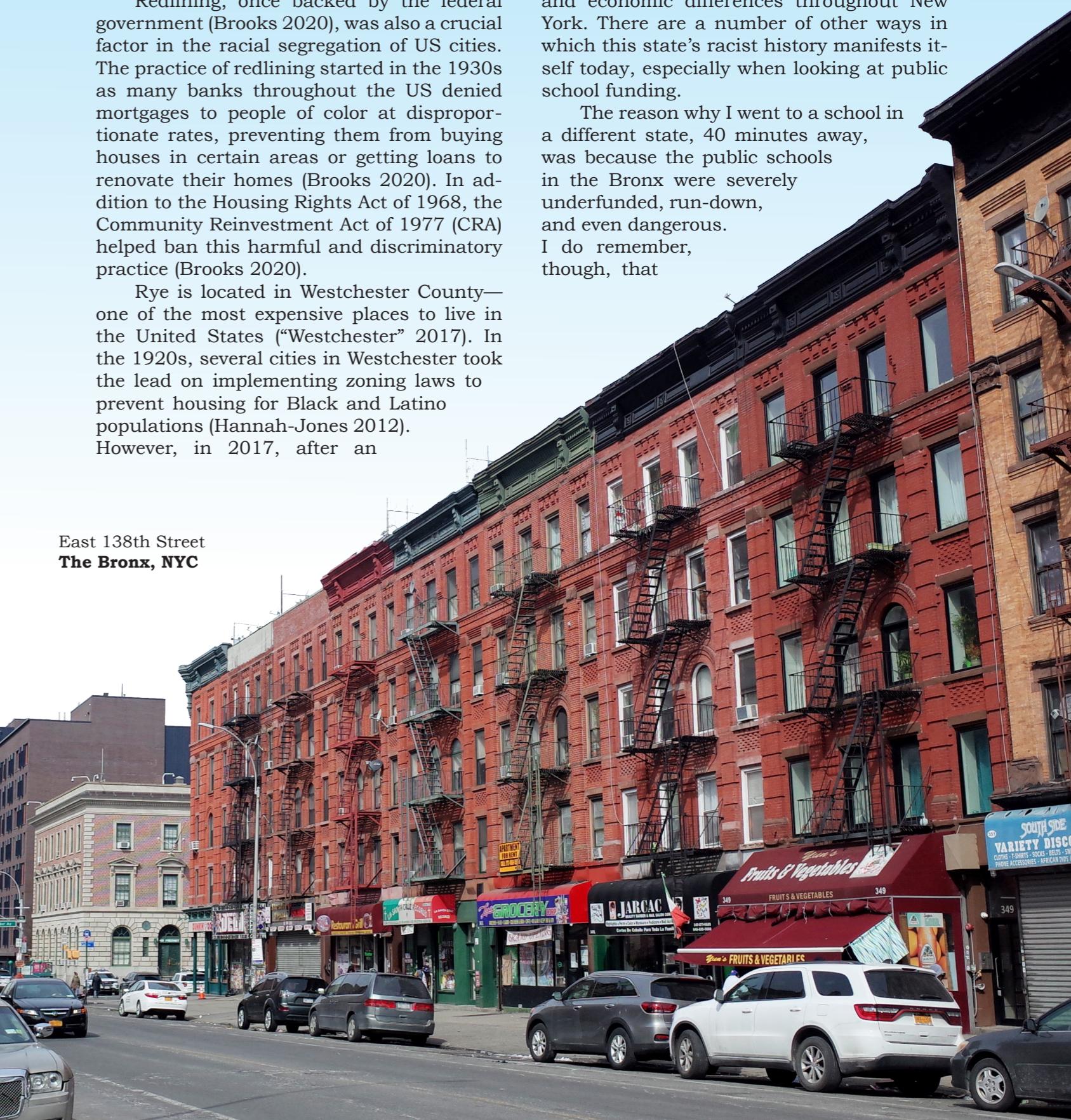
Redlining, once backed by the federal government (Brooks 2020), was also a crucial factor in the racial segregation of US cities. The practice of redlining started in the 1930s as many banks throughout the US denied mortgages to people of color at disproportionate rates, preventing them from buying houses in certain areas or getting loans to renovate their homes (Brooks 2020). In addition to the Housing Rights Act of 1968, the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 (CRA) helped ban this harmful and discriminatory practice (Brooks 2020).

Rye is located in Westchester County—one of the most expensive places to live in the United States ("Westchester" 2017). In the 1920s, several cities in Westchester took the lead on implementing zoning laws to prevent housing for Black and Latino populations (Hannah-Jones 2012).

However, in 2017, after an

8-year-long battle with the federal government, Westchester began construction on affordable housing units to promote racial integration ("Westchester" 2017). Despite this progress, there are still drastic racial and economic differences throughout New York. There are a number of other ways in which this state's racist history manifests itself today, especially when looking at public school funding.

The reason why I went to a school in a different state, 40 minutes away, was because the public schools in the Bronx were severely underfunded, run-down, and even dangerous. I do remember, though, that



East 138th Street
The Bronx, NYC

public schools in more affluent suburbs like New Rochelle and Greenwich had abundant resources and spacious campuses. Why were our public schools so different?

School district borders reflect the decades of residential segregation mentioned above. More than half of American students go to “racially concentrated” schools, meaning that populations at these schools are either more than three-quarters white or more than three-quarters non-white (Lombardo 2019). In terms of funding, predominantly white school districts throughout the United States receive around \$23 billion more than districts that serve primarily students of color (Lombardo 2019).

Schools that have lower funding also tend to have higher drop-out rates. In fact, the Bronx has the highest drop-out rate (9.4%) of all the boroughs in NYC (“Dropout Rate” 2020). This percentage is significantly higher than other boroughs whose drop-out rates range from 3.8% in Staten Island to 5.3% in Brooklyn (“Dropout Rate” 2020). In 2018, the dropout rate for Black students was 6.4%, with that number at 4.2% for white students (Cai 2020). This high dropout rate correlates directly with statistics regarding race and unemployment. For example, 22% of Black 18 to 24-year-olds were neither enrolled in school nor working in 2018, and this was notably higher than the percentage of all other Americans in this age group (14%) (Cai 2020). Faced with these challenges, NYC parents and City Council members protested Mayor Adams’ proposal to cut the city’s Department of Education (DOE) budget by \$1 billion (Rama 2022). However, the most recent city budget has actually reflected a budget increase instead of the proposed budget cuts. As of this year, the DOE’s spending has increased by \$121 million (Gould 2023). These funds are intended to increase school-based mental health support (Gould 2023) as well as the Summer Rising Program which provides free academic enrichment activities (field trips, arts/crafts, outdoor recreation) to all NYC public school students in grades K-8

(“Summer Rising” 2023). These activities are supervised by licensed teachers and the state provides these children with free breakfast and lunch (“Summer Rising” 2023).

It is important to note the racial demographic changes that have taken place in New York City in the past century. The Bronx saw an influx of white immigrants (Irish, Italian, European-Jewish) at the turn of the 20th century. These high immigration rates were the result of rapid urbanization (more jobs) and low-cost public transportation. By 1926, the Bronx was infamous for its high crime rate and rampant gang activity (“History of the Bronx” 2008). This low quality of life resulted in a common phenomenon known as “white flight,” when white populations migrate from urban areas to more suburban neighborhoods (“White Flight” 2023). After climbing the social ladder, white immigrant families moved out of the Bronx between the 1930s and 1960s, and they left behind housing and job opportunities for a new wave of Black and Brown immigrants (“History of the Bronx” 2008). However, these new immigrants of color have faced racial discrimination for decades and are still unable to escape a crippling cycle of poverty.

Due to decades of racially motivated housing and educational policies, Black and Brown children in NYC are forced to survive shabby housing conditions and a discriminatory educational system. I was fortunate enough to receive a scholarship and financial aid to attend a prestigious private school in Greenwich CT, but American children should have equal educational opportunities no matter where they live. I shouldn’t have needed to travel roughly 80 minutes every day over state lines just to receive a good education; Black and Brown children deserve the same opportunities that white students have been afforded for decades.

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New York's Failed Housing Deal: WHAT WENT WRONG?

By Jonathan Maestre

Although the homeless population in New York is decreasing from pandemic levels, homelessness and housing insecurity are still persistent enough to say there is a housing crisis. New York currently has the second-highest homeless population in the United States, with roughly 13% of the country's homeless population living in the state. Since 2007, the homeless population in the state has increased by 18.5%, with most of the homeless population residing in New York City (de Sousa et al. 2022). The problem is only expected to get worse as the population of New York City is expected to reach 9.1 million by 2030 (New York City Department of City Planning 2006). According to a report from the Real Estate Board of New York, or REBNY, 560,000 new housing units must be constructed by 2030 in New York City in order to meet growing demand (2023). This is where the New York Housing Compact comes in.

In the latest State of the State address, Governor Kathy Hochul announced her plan to tackle New York's housing crisis. The New York Housing Compact was a bold initiative that aimed to create 800,000 new housing units over the next decade, with 500,000 of them to be built in New York City (Governor Kathy Hochul 2023a). Hochul's plan sought to achieve its goal using a number of strategies. These strategies include increasing infrastructure funding for municipalities, legalizing office and basement conversions, and authorizing property tax exemptions for affordable housing outside of New York City and secondary housing units on single-family properties, also known as

accessory dwelling units (Governor Kathy Hochul 2023b). However, the main focus of the compact is that it would establish new statewide housing targets. Downstate localities would be forced to increase the housing supply by 3% every 3 years and upstate localities by 1% every 3 years, with affordable multi-family housing units given double weight (Governor Kathy Hochul 2023b). If localities are unable or unwilling to meet these new housing targets, developers would be allowed to bypass local zoning codes and negotiate for approval directly with the state.

After the State of the State address, Governor Hochul's ambitious plan received nearly as much praise as it did criticism from local leaders. The plan was praised for seeking to cut red tape for new housing projects in order to stimulate housing growth. However, it saw pushback from many local community leaders because it also would have significantly decreased the powers of local zoning authorities. In particular, Hochul's plan saw massive pushback in suburban counties like Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk. Although the Governor was praised by many local suburban officials for her ambitions, many of these same officials would unite against the plan because of their shared desire for zoning authority to remain in their hands. But, this pushback wasn't unexpected. "I know from personal experience, most municipalities are incredibly wed to their authority with home rule and are very defensive of that," said New York State Senator Peter Harckham when initially asked about Hochul's plan (Brand and Campbell 2023a). Before long, local officials would be rallying under signs reading, "Local Control, Not Hochul Control" (Chang 2023). However, the housing compact would also start to see more opposition from the left.

While the suburban "Not In My Backyard" crowd opposed the housing plan for going too far, tenant advocates and progressive lawmakers opposed the deal for not going far enough. Tenants have long been fighting for "good cause" eviction laws, which would restrict rent increases and prevent private

landlords from evicting tenants without a specific reason. So, by halting the Governor's proposals, progressive lawmakers hoped to use the housing deal as a means to gain support for "good cause" as well as rental assistance programs like the Housing Access Voucher Program, or HAVP. "If good cause and HAVP aren't part of the deal, then we can't accept it!" tweeted Assemblymember Phara Souffrant Forrest (Brand and Campbell 2023b).

Soon, both houses of the state legislature would each propose their own versions of the housing deal that attempted to appeal to NIMBYs and progressives alike. These counter-proposals radically changed the goals of the Governor's plan. Gone was the state's ability to override local zoning codes, which was the core of the initial plan. Instead, the legislature proposed a weaker incentive-based housing plan, which the Governor initially opposed due to similar incentive-based plans failing in other states (Governor Kathy Hochul 2023b). In addition to dropping the key strategy of Governor Hochul's plan, neither of the counter-proposals also included tax exemptions for accessory dwelling units or plans for denser transit-based zoning. Both the Senate and Assembly did include "good cause" pledges in their proposals but they were criticized for seeming to lack any real commitments (Small 2023).

Although the housing deal was now a shell of its former self, it still included many of its original components such as the legalization of office conversions and a new rental voucher program. However, this did not mean that housing proposals were now set to be included in the new state budget. The legislature's unwillingness to support

| Governor of New York
Kathy Hochul



Governor Hochul's key terms of the original plan caused tensions that would continue to prevent a housing plan from being agreed upon. This would come to a head when Governor Hochul threatened to veto any proposal from the legislature (Ferré-Sadurní 2023). By the end of the legislative session, it was clear that a housing deal would not be met and finger-pointing began among New York's top political figures. In a joint statement from Senate Majority Leader Andrea Stewart-Cousins and Assembly Speaker Carl Heastie, they said, "Unfortunately, it was clear that we could not come to an agreement with the governor on this plan. It takes all three parties - the Senate, the Assembly and the governor - in order to enact legislation into law." Governor Hochul fought back with a statement of her own. Julie Wood, the Governor's communications director said in a statement, "Governor Hochul put forward nation-leading housing legislation in her executive budget that the legislature flatly rejected. Now, in the final hours of the legislative session, the Assembly and the Senate

are blaming the governor for their own failure to act" (Chadha 2023).

The New York Housing Compact failed, and the only party to leave satisfied were local suburban officials who got to keep local control. While it's easy to attempt to blame one party for the failure to reach a housing deal, it's clear that the state's collective action problems reach deeper than one bad actor being at fault. Late budgets have long been an issue in New York, especially when controversial issues are being debated. When the state budget was overdue in 2017, former Governor Andrew Cuomo blamed its tardiness on the political polarization surrounding the issue of bail reform (Fink 2023). Like bail reform, housing is a very polarizing issue and one that will likely grow as the housing crisis worsens, and the fight for a housing deal will surely continue into the next legislative session. We can only hope that New York's political savvy are able to learn from the failures of the past legislative session and that polarization does not cause history to repeat itself.

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