



The Taft Institute

FOR GOVERNMENT & CIVIC EDUCATION

Making Democracy Work

EXPANDING AND IMPROVING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE U.S. SINCE 1961

TRUMP 2.0: AMERICA ON THE BRINK



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Format

- ❖ Lecture – 45 min
- ❖ Q & A – 45 min
- ❖ Follow-Up after session:
 - Email questions to: makrasner@gmail.com
 - Recording to be posted at: TaftInstitute.org
 - Check out substack: “*Rants and Reason*”
 - Previous talks posted there as well

Overview

❖ Three parts:

- CHANGES Trump and his minions have made (Bad news)
- RESISTANCE to those changes (Good news)
- PROSPECTS for the Midterms, in particular, and the future, in general (Uncertain news)
 - The Best
 - The Worst
 - The Middling/Muddling

❖ Note: Mostly domestic politics

The Changes: Government and Politics (PARTIAL LIST)

- ❖ Greatly increased presidential power, violating law and Constitution
- ❖ Destruction of the Administrative State
- ❖ Institutionalized Violence in domestic politics and foreign policy
- ❖ Weaponized DOJ, FBI (Military?)
- ❖ Prosecution/harassment/surveillance of critics, opponents, dissenters
- ❖ Diminished civil rights
- ❖ Foreign policy based on personal corruption, megalomaniacal fantasy, and alliance with right wing dictators
- ❖ Mid-decade gerrymandering
- ❖ Attempted voter suppression

Long List–But Pause a Moment

- ❖ Not all Trump—He had a lot of prior help, so let's ask
- ❖ What (Who) set the stage for Trump?

Trends to Oligarchy, Executive Power, Fascism

- ❖ Globalization, Financialization, Automation
- ❖ Reshape Economy
- ❖ Big Redistribution Upward
- ❖ Rand Study – \$50,000,000,000,000 transferred from working and middle-class people to the top 1% (1975-2018)

Big Money, Politics, Crisis

- ❖ Huge fortunes finance right wing political offensive – Kochs, et al
- ❖ Beginning in the 1970s (Powell memorandum)
- ❖ Capture state legislatures – gerrymander lines for state legislatures and the House of Representatives
- ❖ Federalist Society stacks federal judiciary, Supreme Court
- ❖ Citizens United Decision opens door for big money in campaigns
- ❖ Elections awash in money
- ❖ Elon Musk in 2024 – Quarter of a billion dollars at the last minute
- ❖ Cynicism abounds – legitimacy crisis – system is no good

Right Wing Media: The Alternate Reality

- ❖ The alternate universe – ultranationalist, authoritarian, racist, sexist, trans-and-homophobic – created by:
 - Right wing talk radio (Rush Limbaugh) and
 - Fox News (Roger Ailes and Rupert Murdoch) and
 - Featuring beleaguered, embattled, white, Christian, taxpaying, hardworking, God-fearing, patriotic Americans,
 - Victimized by minorities, women, coastal elites, LGBTQ+.
- ❖ These poor neglected Americans need:
 - A Hero
 - A Savior
 - A Strong Man Who Alone Can Fix It

With a Little Help From...

- ❖ Ronald Reagan
- ❖ Newt Gingrich
- ❖ Tom DeLay
- ❖ Frank Luntz
- ❖ Who begin the process of **demonizing the opposition:**
 - Frame Democrats – existential threat
 - **THE ENEMY** (not opponents)
- ❖ As destroyers of the American Dream
- ❖ As champions of the undeserving, and un-American – minorities, etc.
- ❖ “What kind of American are you?” – *Civil War, 2024*

And a Little More Help From...

- ❖ Barack Obama, who...
 - Neglects the grass-roots organizations that help him win in 2008
 - Bails out the banks, but leaves the homeowners to flounder
 - Prosecutes nearly no one for the Financial Crisis
- ❖ Economic inequality worsens during his time in office
- ❖ Signs the Defense Authorization Act of 2012, which...
 - Authorizes military to detain indefinitely without charge or trial anyone suspected of terrorism, and
 - Orders killing of Anwar al-Awlaki, American citizen, no trial

Could go on...

- ◆ Hillary Clinton
- ◆ Joe Biden
- ◆ Kamala Harris?

But Let's Get Back to Trump...

- ❖ Who continues these trends
- ❖ But adds wholesale violence
- ❖ And greatly accelerates the process

1. Expanded Presidential Power – \$

- ❖ Acts that violates laws or the Constitution or both
- ❖ Budget: Constitution, Art. I: “Power of the Purse” to the Congress
- ❖ Impoundment Act of 1974 requires the President to spend the money that Congress has appropriated for the stated purpose.
- ❖ **Trump (Musk) dismantles agencies; fires staff, doesn’t spend the money; cancels contracts – AID, CFPB, and others**
- ❖ District courts side with contractors and staff, but
 - Supreme Court finds technical reasons to prevent or delay challenges to Presidential action.
- ❖ No challenge from the MAGA/Republican controlled Congress

2. Attacking the Administrative State

- ❖ Dismantling Agencies – USAID, CFPB – without changing the law that created the agency
- ❖ Removing Commissioners from IRC's – Independent Regulatory Commissions that are supposed to be independent of the Congress and the President
- ❖ Despite the laws passed by the Congress that specify when a commissioner can be removed
- ❖ Supreme Court, using extravagant “unitary executive theory,” seems poised to approve this except for:
 - The Federal Reserve, which serves the big banks' interests

3A. Legitimizing Violence

- ❖ Pardons January 6th insurrectionists...
- ❖ Who attacked the police
 - Four suicides among the police in the months after the attack

3B. Institutionalizing Violence

President's Personal Secret Police Force: ICE

- ❖ Vast resources, little accountability
 - Do president's (Stephen Miller's) bidding
- ❖ \$75,000,000,000 budget in the Big Ugly Bill
 - More than any other law enforcement agency
 - Aiming to expand the number of agents to 10,000 and
 - Detention centers to nearly 100,000 beds

Media and Democrats Miss the Point

- ❖ ICE is not:
 - “Out of control” or “Rogue”
- ❖ It’s doing exactly what it’s supposed to do:
 - Playing to the MAGA base
 - Performatively scapegoating immigrants
 - Showing the MAGA base evil immigrants getting what they deserve

ICE is Normalizing Violence

- ❖ ICE aims to intimidate Americans in general, preparing the way for complete dictatorship:
 - Normalizing the idea of unchecked violence in the service of the President
 - Normalizing the presence of armed, unaccountable secret police everywhere
 - To intimidate and inure

Normalizing Repression and the Overlord

- ❖ Normalizing repression: anyone who exercises their rights:
 - to assemble,
 - to protest,
 - to observe and record law enforcement officers
- ❖ To be a vigilant citizen, the essence of democracy, as Fintan O'Toole reminds us:
 - Asks for brutal treatment, including being shot dead
- ❖ Making Trump the dispenser of violence and death...
 - The all-powerful OVERLORD

4. Weaponized DOJ, FBI (Military???)

- ❖ Agencies that used to be nonpartisan – by norm, not law
 - No presidential control after appointments
- ❖ Now highly partisan and serving president's impulses which are
 - Those of a vengeful five-year old

5. Retribution, Punishment, Intimidation

- ❖ Cases against Comey, Schiff, James, Bolton, and Jack Smith
- ❖ Retribution for speaking/acting against Trump
- ❖ Congresswoman LaMonica McIver, who tried to get into an ICE facility exercising Congressional oversight
- ❖ Don Lemon and Georgia Fort, journalists covering a protest in Minneapolis against an ICE supporting clergyman
- ❖ Investigations of:
 - Jerome Powell, head of the Federal Reserve
 - Lisa Cook, a Federal Reserve Governor
- ❖ And others

Surveillance and Intimidation

- ❖ People protesting/observing ICE photographed:
 - Told they are now in “terrorist database”
 - ICE denies this before Congress
- ❖ Administrative warrants used to try to surveil those monitoring ICE and other groups
- ❖ Sometimes withdrawn in face of lawsuits

A Polite Dissenting Email...

- ◆ An American man emails mild protest of deportation of an Afghan refugee:
 - Five hours later, Google says it's been subpoenaed for his data
 - He gets a visit from Homeland Security officers who question him as though he made a violent threat.

*Thanks to Nelson Kasfir for alerting me to this

Weaponized Military???

- ❖ Make spectacularly unqualified Trump Loyalist Secy of Defense
- ❖ Purge high officers; replace with less independent ones
- ❖ Politicize—Trump’s Sept 2025 speech to summoned brass:
 - “Dangerous cities” should be “training grounds for military” to fight “invasion,” and “war from within”
- ❖ Deployments of troops to Chicago; Washington, DC; Los Angeles; Memphis; Portland, Oregon
- ❖ Attacks on alleged drug traffickers – Pacific and Caribbean
- ❖ Trump’s Feb 13, 2026 Speech at Fort Bragg: “Vote Republican”

6. Civil Rights: Revoking DEI and Censoring

- ❖ All Diversity, Equity, Inclusion programs within federal government eliminated
- ❖ Universities and others threatened unless they also eliminate
- ❖ Museums and other institutions forced to purge content that shows harm done to native Americans, Black people, women, LGBTQ+ or their accomplishments despite the barriers against them

7.-8. Compromised Elections

- ❖ Building on many state laws
- ❖ Gerrymandering state legislatures Congressional delegations
- ❖ Made it harder to register and vote
- ❖ Threatened those registering voters and assisting voting with felony convictions
- ❖ Allowed purges of voter rolls that disproportionately affect minorities and other likely Democratic voters

Elections: Mid-Decade Gerrymandering

- ❖ Unprecedented that it happens
- ❖ Unprecedented that a president asks for it and states comply
 - Except for Indiana (Yay, Hoosiers!)
- ❖ Texas, North Carolina, Florida, Missouri, for the Republicans
- ❖ California for the Democrats and maybe Virginia and Maryland
- ❖ Could be close to a wash (Cook Report and Sabato's Crystal Ball)

Attempted Voter Suppression

- ❖ President tries by executive order to establish
- ❖ “Show-your-papers” Voter Registration
- ❖ Need proof of citizenship: Passport, Birth Certificate
- ❖ Also tries to eliminate birthright citizenship (14th amendment)
- ❖ Courts reject but:
 - House of Representatives passes SAVE Act with proof of citizenship voter registration and other such measures
 - Unlikely to pass Senate (Republicans keep filibuster; need 60 votes)

Changes: Civil Society

- ❖ President attacks key institutions
- ❖ This is another instance of increased presidential power, but the target is outside the government
- ❖ Attacks media, law firms, universities

The Media: Caving in and Rolling Over

- ❖ Trump sues several big media organizations
- ❖ FCC, led by Trump appointee, threatens others
- ❖ Big media largely caves
- ❖ Zuckerberg eliminates fact-checking for Meta apps
- ❖ ABC & CBS (pre-Ellison), settle lawsuits for big bucks, drop Colbert
- ❖ Bezos neuters *Washington Post* editorial staff, then guts newsroom
- ❖ Musk takes over Twitter, makes it a MAGA hot spot
- ❖ Ellison takes over CBS, installs a far-right news director, Bari Weiss
- ❖ Ellison also acquires big interest in TikTok

The Media—Failing to Name

- ❖ Even Institutions such as the New York Times, which resists pressures and lawsuits cannot bring themselves to say:
 - The government is lying
 - The President wants to be a dictator
 - Blur the reality
 - Normalize Trump
 - Complicit in Trump's victories

Results

- ❖ The alternate universe—ultranationalist, authoritarian, racist, sexist, trans-and homophobic—created by:
 - Right wing talk radio (Rush Limbaugh) and
 - Fox News (Roger Ailes and Rupert Murdoch)
- ❖ Supported by more legacy and social media
- ❖ And fewer challengers
- ❖ And is thus positioned to influence more people
- ❖ MAGA base will be with us for a very long time!

Who benefits? (Cui bono)

- ❖ This emotionally charged alternate universe...
 - Scapegoats immigrants, minorities, women, LGBTQ+
 - Distracts from elite's excesses
 - Creates grotesque economic inequalities
 - Uses political domination
 - And the greatly diminished living standards and life chances of the many
 - Not to mention environmental destruction

The Big Law Firms

- ❖ Trump also attacked the big law firms
- ❖ Threatening their security clearances and their ability to do business with the federal government
- ❖ Despite the patent illegality of the attack, many caved in and agreed to do 940 million dollars of pro bono work for Trump allied organizations
- ❖ Paul Weiss, Skadden Arps, Milbank, Simpson Thatcher, et. al.

And the Universities

- ❖ Threatened with loss of federal funding—huge part of budgets
- ❖ Columbia caves in, as do Northwestern, Cornell and others
- ❖ Harvard resists—still in dispute
- ❖ But many others "obey in advance"
- ❖ Pass restrictions on student and faculty speech and assembly
- ❖ Curtail faculty governance
- ❖ Impose draconian penalties on protesting students and faculty
- ❖ Suspend DEI programs
- ❖ Advance Trump's agenda of suppressing speech and civil rights

Why Target the Law Firms and The Universities?

- ❖ If you plan to break the law...
 - who would help those who are injured?
- ❖ If you plan to attack freedom and civil rights and liberties...
 - where would dissent come from?
- ❖ Who would protest?
- ❖ Who would speak up?
- ❖ Who would call you out?

Who suffers?

- ❖ Workers: OSHA—NLRB
- ❖ Consumers: CFPB
- ❖ Breathers (Human Beings and others)
 - Reversing the finding that the EPA can regulate greenhouse gases

Who benefits?

- ❖ Oil companies
- ❖ Polluters in general
- ❖ Corporations in general
 - Much easier to beat unions
 - Much less regulation
- ❖ Elon Musk in particular—dozens of investigations by the federal agencies into his contracts with the federal government have been eliminated

Bad News: Specific Results for Govt./Politics

- ❖ Greatly weakened rule of law
- ❖ Major departures from the Constitution
- ❖ Greatly weakened civil rights and liberties
- ❖ Nearly erased checks and balances
- ❖ Unaccountable presidential power
- ❖ Intimidation and violence as instruments of power

The Bad News: Results in Civil Society

- ❖ Greatly diminished media independence
- ❖ Other major civil-society institutions either co-opted or coerced

Where are We Now?

❖ What does this all add up to?

The Very Bad News: General Political Results

❖ System change:

**We don't have a
democracy anymore**

❖ Not even the deeply flawed democracy you may remember from 2015.

What do we have: The New System

❖ Fancy name:

Competitive Authoritarianism

- ❖ Ziblatt, Levitsky, and Way in *Foreign Policy*, “*The Price of American Authoritarianism*,”
- ❖ Also predicted the year before by Levitsky and Way
- ❖ What does that term mean?

Competitive Authoritarianism

- ❖ A system in which the incumbents—the party controlling the government:
 - Use that power to attack opponents and critics, and to tilt the playing field in their favor
 - Weaponize the government to make it much harder for their opponents to win elections
 - And to deprive opponents and critics of their rights and make their lives miserable.
- ❖ But their control is limited:
 - Elections still happen
 - The opposition can still win, but it isn't a fair, open, law-based system.

A Note

- ❖ Depriving people of their rights and subjecting them to harassment, displacement, loss of jobs, imprisonment, and lethal violence, has happened before in America:
 - To native Americans, to Black people and other people of color
 - To women, especially those pressing for rights
 - To labor organizers and workers
 - To left wing activists and war resisters
 - WWI and the Cold War.
- ❖ The difference is now it's everyone who isn't a white, Christian, straight, MAGA supporter who is at risk

Closer to Fascism

- ❖ Been pushed down the road toward fascism, but haven't gotten there yet
 - In a service plaza or, better, paused at an intersection
- ❖ Three roads—Good, Bad, Mixed

Good News: In a Nutshell)

- ❖ There's still a chance to recover:
 - To reverse the trend
 - To get back to a deeply flawed democracy
- ❖ And there are encouraging signs, especially the recent massive resistance in Minnesota

Good News: The Courts, the Streets, Elections

The Courts

- ❖ Many federal court rulings against actions by Trump, Musk, ICE, including some from Trump and Bush 1 and 2 appointees
- ❖ Most recently, eloquent ruling that the attempt to punish Senator Kelly for speaking out is unconstitutional
- ❖ Other rulings against mass deportations, deployment of troops, excessive force against protestors and journalists
- ❖ Though often flaunted by the administration and delayed by the Supreme Court, whose immunity decision sets Trump up
- ❖ Still sets some limits what the Executive can do

The Courts: Juries, Grand and Petit

- ❖ Federal Grand Juries reject prosecutors' attempts to reindict Letitia James and to indict six members of the Congress who urged troops to refuse illegal orders
 - Despite the old saw that a prosecutor can get a grand jury to indict a ham sandwich
- ❖ Speaking of sandwiches:
 - Jury in Washington, DC acquitted Sean Dunn, who threw a salami sandwich at a border patrol agent

The Courts: A Word of Caution

- ❖ Lower courts have rendered many judgements against excesses, but...
 - The Supreme Court has, by its earlier decision granting the President immunity for acts committed in the line of duty, enabled a lot of what Trump is doing
 - It has supported his taking over the independent regulatory commissions
 - Except for the Federal Reserve (serves the big banks)
 - And it looks likely to support his troop deployments

The Streets: Amazing Bravery

- ❖ Amazing bravery in the face of:
 - Tear gas
 - Beatings
 - Rubber bullets
 - Lost eyes
 - Deaths of those running away and
- ❖ Shooting of Silverio Villegas González, Renee Good, Alex Pretti

The Streets: Building a Movement

- ◆ Everyday people being extraordinary:
 - Standing up for their neighbors
 - Standing up to ICE even after the murders
 - “We’re not scared. We’re not afraid. Minnesota taught us to be brave.”

The Challenges to the People of Minnesota

- ❖ Will you abandon your neighbors?
- ❖ Will you watch passively as they are:
 - assaulted
 - abducted
 - transported away to be detained in misery?
- ❖ Will you watch their children used as bait?
- ❖ Will you abandon your beliefs?
- ❖ **Will you abandon your own humanity?**

Analysis: Erica Chenoweth

◆ Erica Chenoweth—(3.5%)

Chenoweth: Reasons for Success

- ❖ Diverse participants: Big tent, all walks of life, all kinds of abilities
- ❖ Diverse forms of participation: not just confronting ICE
- ❖ Mutual aid:
 - Walking kids to school
 - Buying groceries
 - Making meals
 - Raising money for rent
- ❖ Repression backfires: because it's observed, recorded; produces defections—Republicans, police
 - Cell phone technology makes a big difference
- ❖ Discipline and resilience in face of violence

This is the Coalition of “No”

- ❖ The coalition to defend against violations of rights
 - To defend the rule of law
 - To say “No” to a lawless, violent paramilitary
 - To say “No” to neighbors being abused
 - To say “No” to scapegoating immigrants or minorities
 - To unite against a vicious enemy
- ❖ But more is needed for political success, especially long term
- ❖ Turning now to the midterm elections

A Coalition of “Yes?” – The Best Case

- ❖ The big question for the future of our politics is:
Can the Democratic Party – or someone else – put together a lasting coalition that isn’t just opposed to what Trump and the MAGA Republicans are doing: The “No coalition”
BUT...has a positive program of its own: The “Yes Coalition”
- ❖ Program/organization attracts and holds a majority (like New Deal)
- ❖ Including much more of the white working class (38% of the voters in 2024 by one measure)
- ❖ Voted 66% – two-thirds – for for Trump in 2024

Obstacles to Unity

- ❖ Democrats split
- ❖ Corporate Wing: Clintons, Schumer, Jeffries, Obama
- ❖ Labor/environmentalist/movements Wing: Bernie, AOC, Mamdani
- ❖ Some encouraging signs post 2025 elections among Democrats
- ❖ Ruben Gallego – centrist Senator from Arizona endorses “big tent”
 - “Mamdani might not be successful in Arizona. I might not be successful in NYC. Need a big tent, don’t agree on everything”
- ❖ AOC (who’s warred with other Democrats in the past): “many paths” for Democrats going forward

Will There Even Be Midterm Elections?

- ❖ 2026 elections will likely occur
- ❖ Too Brazen to try to cancel
- ❖ States run elections – hard to imagine they will give them up
- ❖ Dems may win despite all the obstacles as they have won recently

Elections: 2025 and 2026 (SO FAR)

- ❖ As demonstrated by their **successes in the elections of 2025**
- ❖ Wisconsin Supreme Court—Musk puts in millions, loses by landslide
- ❖ Democrats win big in governors' races in New Jersey and Virginia
- ❖ And NYC mayoral election—Zohran Mamdani
- ❖ Maine voters reject voting restrictions
- ❖ California voters pass proposition 50 to counter Texas and other Republican gerrymandering
- ❖ Taylor Rehmet, union leader, wins state senate race in deep red Texas...with one tenth the money!

How did they do it?

❖ Organizing

- In NYC, DSA trains thousands and thousands of canvassers
- Grassroots groups, like Movement Voter Project, get involved there and in California
- In Texas, local organizers create broad based coalition

❖ Messaging – what’s on people’s minds right here, right now

- Affordability, high cost of living, rent, electricity... Trump’s unkept promises
- Rehmet: “Not running against Trump”

Can it Happen Nationally?

- ❖ Democratic leadership – Schumer, Jeffries:
 - Not inspiring – good at snatching defeat from jaws of victory
- ❖ Many Democratic leaders – state and local – mainly interested in keeping their jobs
- ❖ Not willing to work with young people, innovators, progressives
- ❖ But there are other states like Wisconsin, Minnesota
- ❖ Grassroots organizing to support progressive candidates

What We Can Do

- ❖ Very much a mixed picture and very much an opportunity
- ❖ For all of us to get involved: state parties, *States Win*, *The State Project*, *MVP*, *Focus 4 Democracy*, *Indivisible*
- ❖ Progressive Democrats running in primaries in blue districts
- ❖ For example: Jasmine Clark, GA 13, African American female STEM scientist

Good Signs and Portents for Democrats

- ❖ Trump's popularity tanking
- ❖ Approval rating at 39% in one recent poll
- ❖ CNN: Rerun 2024 and Harris wins
- ❖ Trump voters having second thoughts on economy and immigration
- ❖ He doesn't deliver lower prices
- ❖ Too much violence on immigration
- ❖ CNN: Democrats favored to win the House and 40% chance for the Senate
- ❖ If it were a "normal election," Dems romp and stomp, but it isn't

[Thank you to Jim Eaton for alerting me to this CNN polling]

Beat Voter Suppression, Election Subversion

- ❖ Organize like mad for turnout, so that elections are not close
- ❖ Harder for Republican legislatures to intervene
- ❖ Have an army of lawyers at the ready to prevent ICE from patrolling polling stations (surround the polls?)
 - Go for injunctions ahead of time
- ❖ Mobilize state and local law enforcement where possible
- ❖ Train millions in civil disobedience to get between ICE and the polls

Best Case Scenario – People Not Leaders

- ❖ If groups like Indivisible and MoveOn and the Working Families Party and MVP and Focus 4 Democracy...
- ❖ That are committed in different ways to grassroots organizing...
- ❖ And the more open, progressive Democratic state and local parties can forge some sort of alliance that takes over the Democratic Party (or creates a new party)...
- ❖ In the same way that the billionaire-backed MAGA movement took over the Republican Party...
- ❖ Then it matters less who the leaders are, who the candidates are

Power Shifts

❖ Power shifts away from:

- The big donors
- The old-style, top-down leadership

❖ And to:

- A coalition/organization that represents the interests of everyday people, not big money

Candidates Matter Less

- ❖ Candidates become more the servants and less the masters
 - More controlled by the grassroots
 - More accountable
 - More responsive
- ❖ Because their own political futures are on the line
- ❖ So it matters less if it's Gavin Newsom or Gretchen Whitmer or AOC, because any nominee must answer to this dominant force within the party

If This Happens...

- ❖ If a positive coalition forms
- ❖ If it prevails within the Democratic Party
- ❖ If the Democratic Party puts forward a program that attracts support
- ❖ And delivers on that program
- ❖ And if the grassroots remain alert, active, and involved...

Then...

- ❖ There's the possibility of restoring a measure of democracy and moving toward social justice
- ❖ And long term – maybe doing something to preserve a habitable planet
 - Climate crisis not waiting for us to get our act together

The Worst Scenario

- ❖ Trump/MAGA somehow recover and
- ❖ Win the elections of 2026 and 2028
- ❖ Or disrupt and steal elections of 2026 and 2028
- ❖ And get away with it

Full Scale Fascist Dictatorship

- ❖ Elections entirely rigged
- ❖ Media entirely muzzled
- ❖ Secret police everywhere
- ❖ Neighbors spy on neighbors
- ❖ Dissenters and opponents tortured, imprisoned, killed, or exiled
- ❖ (Look now for real estate in Montreal)

Middling and Muddling

- ❖ Power shifts back and forth
- ❖ For example, Democrats win both Houses of the Congress in 2026
- ❖ Slow the growth of presidential power
- ❖ And the excesses of violence
- ❖ But lose presidency in 2028
- ❖ Stalemate and struggle

In Conclusion

Let's Hope and Work Like Hell For the Best!

Thank you!



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