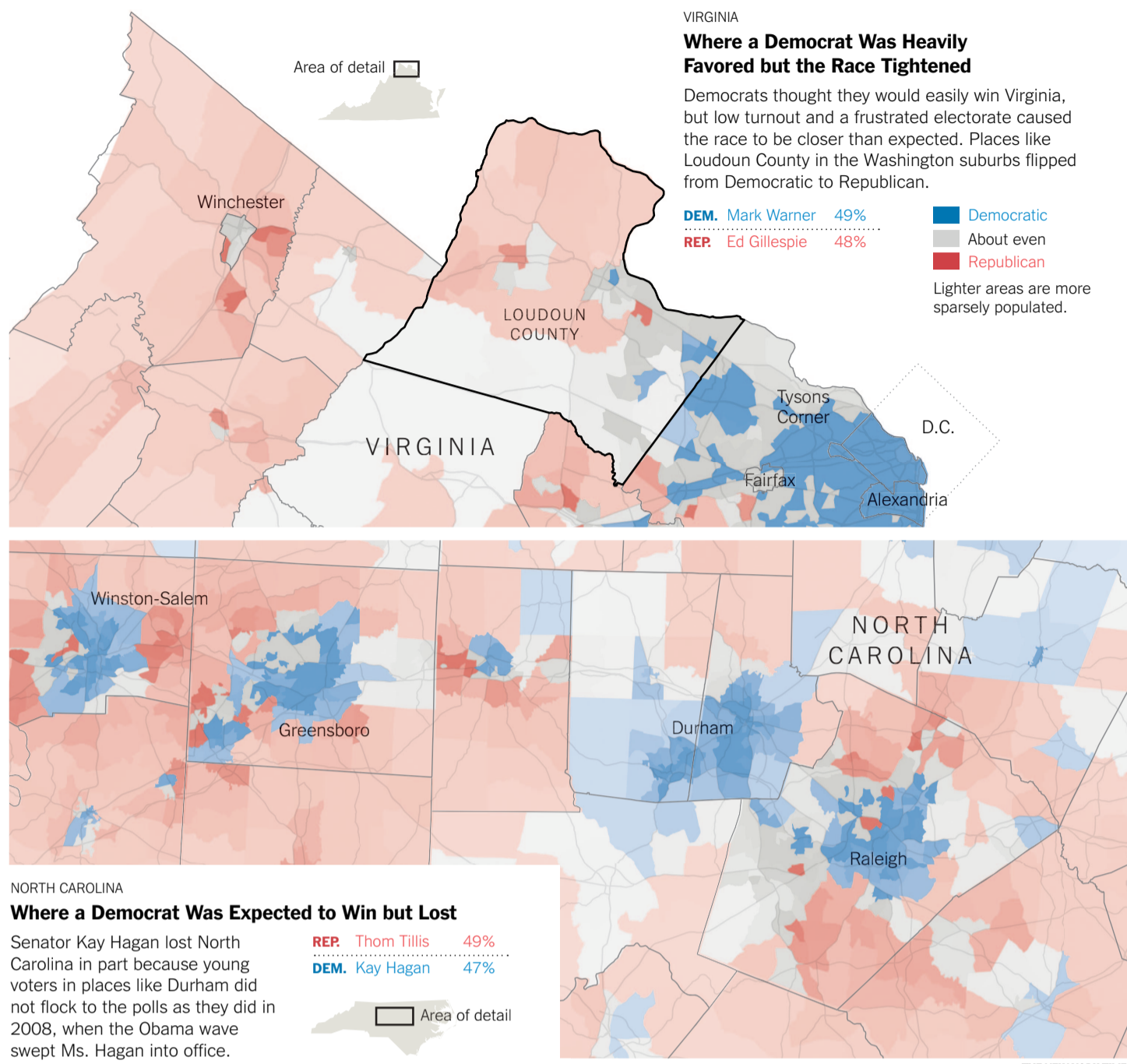


Obama Vows to Work With, and Without, Republicans



President Says He Will Overhaul Immigration Policy Unilaterally

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS and PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Obama shook off an electoral drubbing on Wednesday and said he was eager to find common ground with Republicans during the final two years of his presidency, but he swiftly defied their objections by vowing to bypass Congress and use his executive authority to change the nation's immigration system.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES
President Obama's tone was upbeat despite election losses.

In a sign of how he intends to govern under a new political order with ascendant Republican leaders, Mr. Obama renewed his commitment to act on his own to allow millions of undocumented immigrants to stay in the country.

His remarks, at a news conference in the East Room of the White House, were meant to put the vitriol of the campaign behind him — he responded to disaffected Americans by saying that "I hear you" and that his election mandate was to "get stuff done." But his promised action on immigration underscored the profound partisan disagreements that persist in Washington.

Republicans quickly accused the president of reaching out to them with one hand while slapping them with the other. [Page P2.]

Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, a Republican who is in line to be the majority leader in the new Congress, warned Mr. Obama in a news conference in Louisville not to act on immigration on his own.

front of a bull," Mr. McConnell said. The back-and-forth came on a grim day at the White House after an election that cost the Democrats the Senate and called into question the president's capacity to accomplish much of substance in his remaining time in office.

For all the talk of cooperation, Mr. Obama confronted the reality that gridlock may still rule Washington, curtailing his legacy and frustrating his lofty ambitions.

Mr. Obama seemed determined not to let the setback consume what is left of his presidency. Relentlessly cheerful during his afternoon news conference, Mr. Obama congratulated Republicans on their election success and offered words of conciliation. But he volunteered little regret or a sense that he needed to change course.

"It doesn't make me mopey. It energizes me, because it means Continued on Page P3

In States Seen to Be Tilting Left, Voters Defy Democrats' Forecast

By JONATHAN MARTIN

Republicans working on the Senate race in Colorado sensed something was shifting even before the votes were counted.

Voters in suburban Denver — who had backed President Obama twice — were abandoning Senator Mark Udall, a Democrat, in the final days before the election.

"We thought the evening could be decided early," said Cory Gardner, the Republican who defeated Mr. Udall.

More striking than any Republican gains in red-state America on Tuesday were the party's Senate victories in Colorado and North Carolina and the near miss in Virginia.

All are states that both parties believed were trending Democratic, and that Democrats boasted would before long be out of reach to Republicans.

But a powerful lesson for both

parties emerged from the returns: Demographic shifts that are gradually reshaping the American electorate, making it more racially diverse and younger, cannot overcome a difficult political environment and a weak message in a nonpresidential year.

And the Democratic edge in sophisticated technological voter mobilization and targeting is eroding, as Republicans adopt similar techniques and catch up.

"Democrats have sold this myth about their magic on the ground," said Brad Todd, a strategist for Mr. Gardner. "But they threw the best they had at us, and it wasn't enough."

Tuesday's results are causing leaders of both parties, and those with their eye on the White House, to re-examine their as-

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Outside Groups With Deep Pockets Lift G.O.P. With Nimble Strategy, 'Super PACs' Show Power in Victory

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE

Last fall, Steven Law, the president of the nation's largest Republican "super PAC," met with two of his party's biggest donors in a Houston office. Both had given generously to Mr. Law's organization, American Crossroads, and other Republican outside groups in 2012, when they spent more than \$700 million but failed to defeat President Obama or flip the Senate to Republican control. The donors were polite but incredulous.

"How is this year going to be any different?" one asked.

The donors got their answer on Tuesday, when Republicans won at least seven seats in the Senate, cementing full control of Congress. The election was not only a major victory for the Republican Party, but a pivotal moment for the super PACs and political nonprofit groups that helped the party defeat Democrats across the country.

Over the last year and a half,

voted to specific races. They begged donors for money, overcame internal rivalries that lingered through Election Day, and ultimately deployed at least \$300 million in a favorable political environment, helping drive the 2014 midterms to become the costliest in history.

All told, the political network overseen by the conservative billionaires Charles G. and David H. Koch appeared to be the largest overall source of outside television spending on behalf of Republicans. Seven Koch-backed groups spent roughly \$77 million on television advertising, officials said, including 11 Senate races, and almost double that amount on grass-roots organizing.

Koch groups appeared to be the biggest outside spenders on television in Arkansas, Iowa and Louisiana, airing a combined \$25 million in ads. Republican candidates won Arkansas and Iowa, and a Republican is favored to win a runoff in Louisiana.

American Crossroads and its Continued on Page P9

Fall of the Banner Ad: The Monster That Swallowed the Web

Twenty years ago last month, a team of well-meaning designers, coders and magazine publishers inadvertently unleashed on an unsuspecting world one of the most misguided and destructive technologies of the Internet age: the web banner ad.

If that is an exaggeration, it is only a slight one. The first banner ads — those long rectangular ads

at the top of a web page — looked innocent enough; a half-dozen spots for a variety of large companies, including AT&T, Volvo and Zima, they made their debut on HotWired, the web offshoot of Wired Magazine, on Oct. 27, 1994. People who took part in their creation say the first banners were a resounding success, garnering adulation from readers and advertisers.

But their success birthed a monster that went on to swallow the web whole and has created

two decades of havoc. "It's almost like a prank that was played by the technology industry on the media industry 20 years ago," said Chris Dixon, a technology investor at the firm Andreessen Horowitz who has long lamented the reach and permanence of the banner ad.

These days, finally, the banner ad is in decline. That is because the web, the medium in which it has thrived, is also in decline. Today we live in a mobile, social world, spending most of our time

online using apps that load faster and are much prettier and more useful than websites. Instead of banners, many of these apps, including Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, make money through ads that appear in users' social feeds, rather than off to the side of the page.

But what's so bad about banners?

For one, they have ruined the appearance and usability of the web, covering every available

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MATTHEW MILLMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

If a Tiny House Is Just Too Big
Retro trailers, sometimes moored in the yard like the Airstream above, become cozy second homes. Design Notebook, Page D1.

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Islamic State Loses Momentum
Militants with the Islamic State seemed unstoppable a few months ago, but analysts say the group's days of quick, easy gains in Iraq may be ending. PAGE A5

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A First at Guantánamo
Under a new system of parole-board-like hearings, a Kuwaiti held for nearly 13 years in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, was released. PAGE A19

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Mother Guilty of Manslaughter
Prosecutors had sought a murder conviction for Gigi Jordan, who claimed "extreme emotional disturbance" in the 2010 poisoning of her son, 8. PAGE A22

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Publicity Spat Over an Actress
Jessica Chastain, who stars in two overlapping films, "Interstellar" and "A Most Violent Year," is barely allowed to promote one of them. PAGE C1

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